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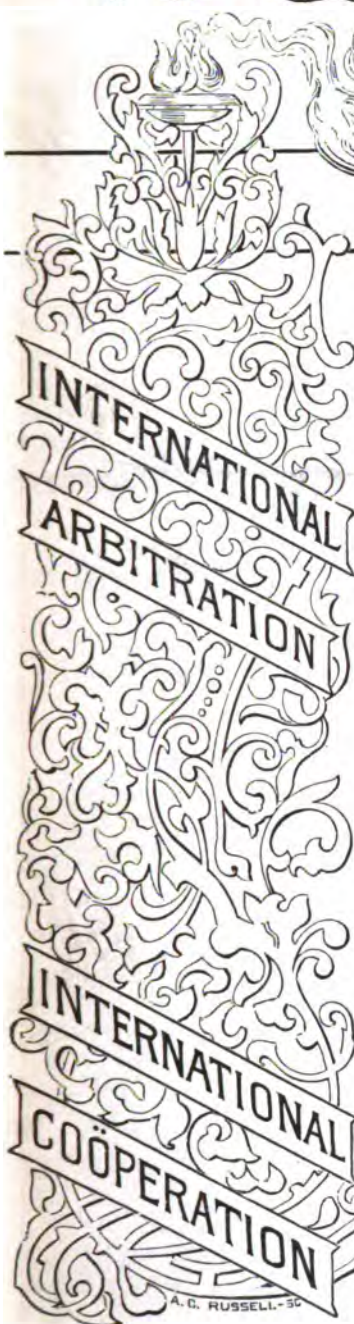


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Arbitration is the most proper means to preserve peace. Instead of an appeal to force it is an appeal to justice. I know all that has been said, all that may be said, respecting the difficulty of constituting a supreme international tribunal of arbitration. There is not a government which does not teach its people that recourse to force is forbidden, is culpable, criminal. And that which the governments altogether condemn, they themselves do. Why, then, is that resort to force which is not permitted to a people, when they are threatened or oppressed in the exercise of their liberties and rights, by their own government,—why is this permitted to that same government when there may be some doubtful danger of its being assailed in its honor or independence? How is it that justice should not have the same law in respect to governments as in respect to peoples, in respect to nations as in respect to individuals? If justice is essentially superior to force, when difference arises between states why not appeal to justice, instead of appealing to force? Shall it be impossible, then, to constitute an international tribunal, before which shall be brought all differences between governments, before which shall be discussed all those questions that have a common interest to many nations? I do not believe it.

EMILE DE GIRARDIN.



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**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

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**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

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## The Outlook.

It is impossible to balance up the items for peace and for war and to say exactly how the account stands at the opening of the New Year. The influences working both ways are too numerous, too complex, too intermingled to be dealt with in any mathematical way. There is no doubt that the cause of peace and goodwill, both in men's thoughts and feelings and in the institutions of society, or rather in the changes taking place in these institutions, is stronger now than at any former time. Only those who disbelieve in the growing prevalence of truth and goodness will deny this. But in what does the gain consist?

There has certainly been much, during the year just closed, which was dark and unpromising. The miserable struggle in Cuba has continued, with no signs of decrease in its hatreds and its cold-blooded inhumanities, until recently, if there are any such

signs even now. The war between Greece and Turkey has been fought. Though short, it caused the loss of thousands of lives, the wreck of many homes and the intensifying of an old racial feud. Greece was crushed and had to kiss the dust. Turkey, which has long been the synonym of unspeakable iniquity, came out of the war with "glory", raised almost to the rank of a great power, and actually taken into the secret councils of at least one Christian nation! There have been, as usual, civil war and attempted revolutions in the Spanish-American countries. Great Britain has had on her hands an ugly war, not yet ended, with the frontier tribes in North-western India, brought on by her own former unjust and unwise aggressions in those regions. The "spheres of influence" in Africa have been the occasion of friction, which happily has not at any time become really threatening. The British forces have been fighting their way up the Nile, killing off natives, and reëstablishing lost British supremacy in those regions, — a supremacy originally acquired by methods unknown either to the sermon on the mount or to the decalogue.

The strained condition of European affairs has continued much the same. France has determined to increase both her army and her navy. The German Emperor, defeated in one attempt greatly to enlarge the German navy, has been forcing the subject again with all his ingenuity and imperial influence. The British navy has gone on growing, and a determined effort has for some time been made to increase the British army and to introduce conscription in the United Kingdom. The Triple Alliance continues. Over against it, the alliance between France and Russia, long supposed to exist, has been officially announced to the world, its power for mischief possibly being increased by the secrecy which covers its specific provisions. Russia has been alert and aggressive. Her enormous military

development has not slackened in the least. The slightest resistance to it has been ruthlessly punished with imprisonment and exile, notably in the case of the Doukhoborts. Japan has gone forward in her naval extension, by leaps and bounds, until she has quite frightened the other naval powers.

The game of greed and grab has gone steadily on. Spurred on by England's chronic example, Germany has lately taken to bullying weaker powers and her ministry have boldly announced that she proposes to grab her share along with the others. Poor, helpless China has been the object of attack, and the cloud of disturbance has suddenly appeared along the whole Chinese coast. What this new complication will result in, the gradual partition of China, war between the great fleets, or only a spell of growling and snarling, and a lot of diplomatic finessing, it is too early to say.

Looking alone to these disturbances of the year, the prospect for the early coming of the era of goodwill and peace is not in the least flattering. But there is another side. The forces which are working out the brotherhood of man have never been so intelligently and persistently and widely active and influential as within the last twelve months. The Church, under whatever name, throughout the whole civilized world and in heathen lands, has enlarged its testimony against the wickedness and the unreason of war. The organized peace movement has continued to grow and strengthen itself, in the number of its associations, in the power and usefulness of its congresses, in the number, character and influence of the men and women who have come into its ranks. The press,—whole sections of it permanently,—has been with the movement as never before. It has set itself, in Anglo-Saxon countries particularly, against jingoism, against aggressiveness and injustice towards native races, against greed of territory, and against the stirring up and intensifying of international animosities. It has laid a heavy hand of restraint upon the forces of hatred and disunity. It will do better still, but it has already done much. Commercial interests have continued during the year the declared foe of war. In the educational field, increased attention has been given to the right teaching of history. Arbitration, as a method of settling differences, has continued to grow in favor, a number of by no means insignificant cases having been thus disposed of during '97. The loss of the

Anglo-American treaty, which was on the point of uniting for the first time two great nations in the bonds of a holy, disinterested friendship, was a heavy blow. But it resulted in making the cause much more vigorous and healthy and intelligent than it was before. The two nations, which are one in so many ways, are nearer one by *intelligent choice* and hearty sympathy now than when the treaty was signed a year ago. The interest in permanent arbitration has also grown steadily and found ways of expressing itself in other countries.

If we should attempt to express briefly the gain which the peace cause has made within the year 1897, we should say that it consisted, not so much in the number of new adherents, as in a more intelligent grasp of principles, and in the growing consciousness in civilized society that these principles must prevail if social progress is to go on. We feel perfectly sure, therefore, of the future; and in this hope, supported by the profound conviction that the cause is founded in truth and righteousness and that all the larger hopes of humanity, — nations and individuals, — are dependent upon its triumph, we are ready and glad to continue to promote it by every means at command.

### The President's Message.

"Peace and goodwill with all the nations of the earth continue unbroken." That was the note with which President McKinley began his recent message to Congress. It is not often that this sentence in a presidential message has meant as much as it means this time. Our peace with the other nations, for some time past, has not been a mere matter of course. There have been a number of points in our foreign relations where a little unwisdom or rashness might have plunged us at once into open hostilities. Within two years our relations with Great Britain, Turkey and Spain have been at times such as, under slightly modified conditions, would almost certainly have led to war. At not all of these points has the danger yet ceased. Our peace with the nations of the earth has been maintained and continues unbroken because we have had two Administrations which "sought peace and ensued it." A considerable number of our own people would have hurried us long ago into war. Some are still clamoring for it. But against these mischief-makers at home two presidents have defended us.

The result is that our goodwill, the goodwill of the nation at large towards other peoples, as manifested through the conduct of the national leaders, has kept us "on a peace footing." The President thinks we ought to be thankful to "a beneficent Providence" for this felicitous condition. So we ought. But we ought also to be grateful to good, sensible presidents. For under a reckless president it is not likely that even "a beneficent Providence" would have kept us out of the iniquity of war.

"A matter of genuine satisfaction is the growing feeling of fraternal regard and unification of all sections of our country, the incompleteness of which has too long delayed realization of the highest blessings of the Union."

After these introductory thoughts the President gives his attention to a variety of subjects in detail, of which only those which are germane to our object can be here touched upon. A noticeable feature of the message is the large place given in it to foreign affairs, more than half the document being devoted to these. Our nation is no longer isolated. Such a change in means of intercommunication and interassociation has come about that we are in the closest touch with practically all parts of the world. It is cause for profound gratitude that our foreign policy under these new conditions, as it is outlined in this message, is to remain, as in the past, one of peaceful, friendly neutrality.

As was expected, the Cuban question occupies the foremost place in the message, more than one third of the document being given to this subject. The President reviews the history of the present and the preceding insurrections, examines the intimate relations of Cuba to the United States, states clearly our obligations as a neutral power to Spain, expresses his conviction that the new policy inaugurated by Sagasta is resulting in an improved condition of affairs in Cuba, and finally declares his belief that the time has come neither for the recognition of the belligerency of the Cubans nor for intervention upon humanitarian grounds. As to forcible annexation, "that can not be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression." In closing his discussion of the question, he says:

"The near future will demonstrate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace just alike to the Cubans and to Spain as well as equi-

table to all our interests so intimately involved in the welfare of Cuba is likely to be attained. If not, the exigency of further and other action will be determined in the line of indisputable right and duty. It will be faced without misgiving or hesitancy in the light of the obligation this government owes to itself, to the people who have confided to it the protection of their interest and honor, and to humanity.

"Sure of the right, keeping free from all offense ourselves, actuated only by upright and patriotic considerations, moved neither by passion nor selfishness, the government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens, and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring.

"If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

The President's wise, discriminating, high-minded and truly American position on this vexed subject has met with nearly unanimous approval on the part of the nation—except Mr. Hannis Taylor, whose advice is not followed, and some "intense Americans" who are thirsting for somebody's blood.

Referring to the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii submitted by him to the Senate on the 16th of June last, the President reiterates his desire to see the treaty ratified and the Hawaiian Republic made an integral part of the United States. He disavows all idea of "any aggressive policy of absorption in regard to the Hawaiian group," but believes that the logic of a long series of events is immediate annexation. "Every consideration of dignity and honor requires" that the treaty be confirmed by our Senate. While believing ourselves that the reasons against annexation outweigh those in its favor, we have not the least doubt that the President is as thoroughly sincere in his judgment on this matter as in the matter of Cuba. The judgment of the nation is clearly divided on the subject, many of the best citizens being on opposite sides, and it is not at all sure yet that the President's opinion will prevail.

On the subject of the Nicaragua Canal, the building of which by the United States the President evidently favors, he will make further suggestions to Congress when the Commission which is now

engaged in making surveys, estimating the cost of construction, etc., shall have made its report.

In the matter of international bimetallism, the President earnestly hopes that the labors of the Commission, whose efforts have been thought by many to have signally failed, "may result in an international agreement which will bring about recognition of both gold and silver as money upon such terms and with such safeguards as will secure the use of both metals upon a basis which shall work no injustice to any class of our citizens."

As to our trade relations with other nations the message states that Hon. John A. Kasson has been appointed a special commissioner to negotiate with foreign countries desiring to avail themselves of the reciprocity provisions of the new tariff law. The negotiations are now proceeding with several governments. The President advises the enlargement and improvement of our merchant marine. "The government by every proper constitutional means should aid in making our ships familiar visitors at every commercial port of the world."

The message alludes briefly to the negotiations now going on in reference to the seal question, the result of which it is hoped may soon be reported to Congress.

No passage in the message says as much in as few words as that relating to arbitration. President McKinley has put admirably into four sentences what he told the Mohonk Arbitration Conference Committee he would say. It is not unlikely that in the near future there will be such developments in the matter of an Anglo-American treaty that the President will send to the Senate a special message on the subject. For this further and fuller treatment, the declaration in the recent message, which we quote in full, is an excellent prelude:

*"International arbitration can not be omitted from the list of subjects claiming our consideration. Events have only served to strengthen the general views on this question expressed in my inaugural address. The best sentiment of the civilized world is moving toward the settlement of differences between nations without resorting to the horrors of war. Treaties embodying these humane principles on broad lines, without in any way imperiling our interest or our honor, shall have my constant encouragement."*

## The Annexation of Hawaii.

Before Congress met last month it was considered certain that the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii would go through the Senate with flying colors, possibly within a week after that body re-assembled. But when the Senate came together it was soon discovered that the treaty could not certainly muster in its favor a two-thirds majority of the Senators. Later a canvass showed that thirty-nine Senators were opposed to annexation. When Mr. Hoar presented to the Senate the petition of the native Hawaiians, signed by 21,000 or two-thirds of the whole number of pure natives, protesting against annexation, the effect both on the Senate and the country was such as to make it practically certain that the treaty will never come to a vote.

The only way left, therefore, by which the advocates of annexation can hope to accomplish their purpose is through a joint resolution, as in the case of Texas. It is considered doubtful if even in this way the project can be gotten through the Senate. There is known to be much opposition to annexation in the House. In any event, the scheme can not now be railroaded through. Debate on it is, we think, sure to increase opposition, rather than diminish it, in both Houses, and debate is certain to arise when the subject comes up. Opinion throughout the country seems not very materially to have changed, the doubt of the desirability of annexation is certainly stronger to-day than it has before been since President Harrison presented the first annexation treaty. The sentimental clamor for annexation is evidently waning. As this is probably the last opportunity we shall have of discussing the subject before it is finally disposed of, we deem it proper to rehearse the reasons given pro and con and to restate our position.

The arguments in favor of annexation, so far as we have seen them, are these:

Hawaii has asked to be annexed to this country; we ought not to refuse to incorporate with us a people which desires to become one with us.

It is the duty of the United States to extend its free institutions to other quarters of the globe wherever possible.

The colony of Americans in Hawaii, now the rulers of the country, deserve our support in their efforts to preserve and promote American civilization, which they and their ancestors have planted

there. They can not long maintain it in present circumstances without annexation.

The Sandwich islands are of great value to us commercially, and this value would be much heightened by annexation.

We need the control of Hawaii in order to keep our commerce free and unrestricted in all quarters of the Pacific.

We need the islands for a coaling station and a centre of naval defense against attacks on our Pacific coast.

If we do not annex Hawaii, Japan or Great Britain or some other nation will. The present government can not continue to maintain its independence.

Japan is becoming a great sea power, is in danger of controlling the Pacific, and may sometime make a descent upon us. We must be forearmed against her by taking Hawaii.

The "logic" of our historical relations to Hawaii demands annexation. Very much the same as this is the "manifest destiny" argument.

These arguments have been variously expanded and hammered in with all sorts of high-sounding, pious, "patriotic" and scarecrow phrases. We know of no reason that has been given in favor of annexation which can not be reduced to one of these, unless we consider as a different argument the statement that it is the duty of America (the United States) to "expand" and "take" anywhere and everywhere "what we need (want)."

The counter contentions may be briefly stated as follows:

Only a small portion of the population of the islands, less than 4,000 out of a total of 109,000, have expressed their wish to be annexed to this government. The native Hawaiians, more than two-thirds of them in a written memorial, protest against annexation. It is contrary to all the principles of our national life to force the great majority of the population into union with us without giving them a chance to declare their wish.

The present government of the islands is an oligarchy, though in republican form, which came into existence in a revolutionary way with the naval aid of the United States. To annex the islands, in the interests of this commercial oligarchy, without consulting the rest of the population, would be adding wrong to wrong.

It is not the duty of the United States to extend its free institutions by methods which trample under foot the very principles on which our civilization is built.

Commercially, annexation would be of advantage to the sugar-planters of Hawaii, by removing all tariffs at our ports. It would be of no appreciable

advantage to this country, which is naturally and always will be the chief foreign market for Hawaiian productions.

As to the freedom of our commerce in all parts of the Pacific, there will not be the least trouble if we behave ourselves and show ourselves reasonable, just and fair towards others.

There is no evidence that Great Britain or Japan or any other nation is secretly planning or intending to annex the islands if we do not.

The idea that Japan has any purpose to attack us on our western coast is pure, even ridiculous fancy.

The possession of Hawaii by some other nation would not in the least endanger us. No nation has the remotest intention of attacking us. If such were the fact, the greatness of our territory, the size of our population, the inexhaustibleness of our resources, render us practically invulnerable, certainly impregnable.

We are and shall be even more capable of dictating the independence of Hawaii than we have been in the past. Our simple word is all that is needed.

Our historic relations to these Pacific islands point logically to independence and not to annexation. As to "manifest destiny" that is a dark word of political sorcery, that may have any meaning which an aggressive "expansionist" wishes to give to it.

The mixed population of the islands, with its various un-American characteristics, is at the present time entirely unsuited to United States citizenship. Annexation would occasion difficult and vexatious problems of government, especially since we have no system of colonial administration.

Annexation would be the inauguration of a policy which would weaken our Continental security. It would require a large increase in our navy. Hawaii would have to be fortified and strongly garrisoned. In case of war, instead of being a defense, it would be the one weak point inviting attack. We should therefore be embarked on a system of naval extension, which would not only be overwhelmingly expensive but would inevitably lead to entangling relations with the great naval powers. It would be the gateway for the final and full introduction of the system of European militarism, of which we are in no small danger already. The whole system of American civil and religious liberty would thus be imperiled before an all-devouring militarism, against which, until recently, our nation has always stood.

Some of these arguments against annexation are of no great force, when taken alone, and can be answered with tolerable satisfaction by those who favor taking Hawaii in; yet the united force of the several different contentions, especially the two or three last given, makes the case against annexation so strong as to be practically irrefutable. We very



much hope this view may prevail in Congress, in whatever form the subject may be brought forward after the holidays. We do not say that the time will never come when it may be right and expedient to make this group of islands a part of our domain. But at the present time it seems to us clear that it is neither right nor expedient, but unwise and dangerous from the standpoint both of our private national interests and of our great duty to try to bring the world to a higher standard of righteous and peaceful living.

### A Mongolian Invasion.

In an otherwise able and admirable statement of the reasons for an Anglo-American Arbitration treaty, published in the papers on December 17th, Mr. William Randal Cremer, now in Washington in the interests of such a treaty, gave the following argument for a federation of the Anglo-Saxon race, which we regret very much that he should have used in such a connection :

“ There are strong arguments, however, for a federation of the Anglo-Saxon race, and I am glad to note that there are men on both sides of the water who are alive to the enormous danger that confronts both branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. As you are aware, the great supply of cotton, which your Southern States used to furnish us with, was practically cut off by your civil war. It occasioned terrible suffering in our cotton manufacturing districts, thousands of cotton operatives in Lancashire and Cheshire being reduced to misery and starvation. Being deprived of the Southern supply, we turned to India, and since then India has supplied us with a large quantity of cotton. At first it was a very inferior grade, known as Surrat, which the operatives disliked to handle. It reminds me of a story John Bright told me. He said that during the cotton famine a good divine was invoking heaven for more abundant supplies of cotton, when one of the operatives called out : ‘ Yes, O Lord, grant our prayer, but please don’t send us Surrat.’ ” These poorer grades have now given way to high grade cottons, and many factories have been transferred from Lancashire and Cheshire to Bombay and Calcutta. Perhaps it is unpatriotic, but capital is not sentimental. It found in India the raw material, and labor at a few pence a day as against fifteen to twenty shillings per week in England. As a result India is growing cotton, and Indian operatives are manufacturing it. But the great danger to which I alluded is the solid advances and growing power of the Mongolian races. America and Great Britain have taught them the

useful arts, and unfortunately the art of destruction. Having done so, they are meeting us on more than equal terms in the markets of the world. Their goods are overrunning Europe and America. The Japanese have entered our workshops and learned our trades, only to go back and produce goods at half the price that we can. They are also skilled — especially the Japanese — in the science of naval warfare. They build ironclads, make guns, and with their countless millions of population it will take the united energies of the Anglo-Saxon races to compete with the Japanese and the Chinese in the markets of the world, and prevent them from swarming over the continents of Europe and America. Is not that an argument for a federation between the branches of the Anglo-Saxon race — a federation that will arrest this rapid spread of the Mongolian races ? ”

Mr. Cremer does not put forth these considerations as a direct argument for a treaty of arbitration, but he evidently meant by them to remove objections to a treaty on the part of a certain class of our Senators and citizens. Their dislike of Great Britain was to be quieted by an appeal to the dread of a Mongolian invasion. If the statement given in the citation properly reports Mr. Cremer, we regret very much that one who is working for the high and unselfish cause of arbitration and for ultimate peace between all nations, should have allowed himself to resort to a narrow, selfish, unpacific argument which smacks of political shrewdness of no high order. The sort of federation here argued for, if the argument means anything, is both commercial and political. The commercial federation, if devised to keep back the spread of the Mongolian commerce, would have to have in it a prohibitive provision towards those races. Beyond that, any federation of Great Britain and the United States to “ arrest this rapid spread of the Mongolian races ” would have to be in the form of a defensive military alliance and a joint restrictive immigration law, the latter at any rate.

Now, there is no possible connection between an arbitration treaty and such a federation as Mr. Cremer hints at. An arbitration treaty proposes simply to secure the peaceful judicial settlement of difficulties between the two nations ; nothing more. In respect to all other matters each nation would be absolutely free and untrammelled. If the suspicion should go out that the friends of Anglo-American permanent arbitration had in view to bring about thereby an Anglo-American federation, in any sense against other nations, incalculable injury would



thereby be wrought to the whole cause of arbitration and the peace of the world. The friends of arbitration ought to keep strictly on their own ground. It is a strong, an unassailable one. To mix it up with other things is to weaken if not to ruin it.

This whole fear of our Anglo-Saxon civilization, strong materially, intellectually and spiritually as it is, being overrun, overwhelmed and driven out of the market by Mongolianism is, in our judgment, ridiculously puerile. Instead of an "enormous danger," there is simply no permanent danger at all from it. Even the rapid spread of the Mongolian races has been shown to be largely a mere spectre of alarmists' brains. If the Anglo-Saxon race has so lost its vigor that it cannot keep on its feet against these children of the Orient, without making a military alliance against them, shutting them out from our territories and the benefits of our civilization, and building a commercial wall against them, it deserves to go down before them.

We do not believe that the idea of any such anti-Mongolian federation between this country and Great Britain will meet with sympathy among the friends of arbitration in this country. They do not even like to see it used as an argument to decoy into line those whose hearts are against England. What they want is that the two English-speaking nations shall set an example to the world of their belief in the high virtues of the method of arbitration as a permanent means of adjusting all international disputes. They want this method argued for and tried on its own merits, pure and simple. Whatever federation beyond this they might give their voices for would have to be of a purely pacific character and such as would not array other nations against us and us against them. The American advocates of permanent arbitration, however much they may wish to see the first great step taken with Great Britain, believe in the universal brotherhood of mankind, in the sisterhood of nations. They hold the great principles of brotherhood, of international friendliness, coöperation and mutual service above all questions of temporary commercial advantage to one nation or race as against others. They want a permanent arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain. They want it without delay. They mean to work for it until they get it. But they want one also with Japan, just as soon as they can get it, and they will never knowingly block the way.

Perhaps we have taken Mr. Cremer too seriously. We are sure that he believes just as we do in this matter, in spite of the fact that this paragraph in the newspaper report slipped from him.

## Editorial Notes.

The arbitrators of the Behring Sea claims made their award on December 22, and sent copies of it to the Dominion government, the United States government and the British Ambassador at Washington. The award amounts to \$294,181.91, which with interest added, about 50 per cent, will amount to a little more than the sum which the Canadians proposed to accept in 1894. In 1894, Secretary Gresham, on behalf of the United States, offered a lump sum of \$400,000. The Canadian government wanted \$450,000. The amount was compromised at \$425,000. This sum the United States House of Representatives declined to appropriate, on grounds well-known to everybody who has followed the subject. Commissioners were then appointed, according to the provisions of the Paris award, to examine the facts and determine the amount of damages which our government should pay. These Commissioners sat at Victoria, B.C., and took the evidence in the case. The arguments were heard by them some weeks ago at Halifax. The award which they have made is final. The House of Representatives will appropriate this sum, we have not the least doubt, without any quibbling. Then we shall expect the charges of dishonor against our country which have so frequently been made in England touching this matter, to cease forever. There has never been the least inclination towards dishonor in the matter on the part of anybody in our government or Congress. There have been delays, which we have regretted, but they have been unavoidable on account of the complexity of the case. The happy solution has at last been reached, and the event will be another of the rapidly increasing influences which are making war more and more impossible between the two great nations of Anglo-Saxons. As to the amount of damages, the United States will have cause to rejoice that she has so little to pay. The total amount of claims put in by the sealers was nearly six times the amount which the Commissioners have awarded. Our case before them must have been a very good one. The announcement of the award is reported to be well received not only by the Dominion government but everywhere by the Canadian people, except the sealers themselves who expected a larger sum. It is certainly well received in this country.

From time to time there has been talk, that in case the seal question could not be settled in any other way, our government should order the immediate killing of all the seals on the seal islands and the turning of the money into the treasury. This proposition has been seriously made by a number of prominent men, as the speediest way of settling a vexatious question which, with proper national dispositions, might have been disposed of half a dozen

years ago. There is now a bill before the House of Representatives, introduced by Mr. Johnson of North Dakota, to make this disposition of the matter. President David S. Jordan, who has been the leading United States expert in the seal negotiations, has come out in the strongest opposition to such a course. Here is what he says :

"As the animals are never all present at one time on the islands, a remnant would be left, which in time would revive the herd, and, with it, the whole question. In the mean time, every objection which has been urged against pelagic sealing would be justly chargeable against such a slaughter. It would be necessary to lie in wait for the gravid females and kill them as they come ashore on land to give birth to their young or to provide them with nourishment. The young must be slaughtered wantonly or else left to starve. The proposition is an abominable one, without a single redeeming feature.

"The fur seal is the noblest of all the animals of the sea. Though sadly reduced in numbers, a nucleus of the fur seal herd is still left. Under favorable conditions it can be restored. The Pribylof herd once yielded 100,000 skins annually, worth \$2,000,000 or more, and without injury to itself. This would represent a cash value of \$25,000,000. If properly protected, it will again reach this value.

"To slaughter the herd ourselves because its preservation is beset with diplomatic difficulties in which the fault has not all been on one side, would be a confession of impotence unworthy of a civilized nation. It would transfer to the United States alone and for all time, the odium for the destruction of the fur seal herds."

We do not believe that Representative Johnson will have any respectable following in the House, in the present status of the negotiations, at least.

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A bill to prohibit pelagic sealing by citizens of the United States has been passed by both Houses of Congress. This measure has been taken in order to expedite the negotiations now going on between Canada and this country, with the view of preserving the seal herd in Behring Sea. We were asking Great Britain and other nations to suspend pelagic sealing and there was no law to prevent our own citizens doing as much of it as they liked. Hence the action of Congress to remove this ground of criticism. The bill passed, if it should receive the President's approval, will have a wide-reaching effect on the whole seal industry. It provides in section 9 as follows :

"That the importation into the United States by any person whatsoever of fur-seal skins taken in the waters mentioned in this act, whether raw, dressed, dyed or manufactured, is hereby prohibited, and all such articles imported after this act shall take effect shall not be permitted to be exported, but shall be seized and destroyed by the proper officers of the United States."

The waters meant include the whole Pacific Ocean. As this country is the largest market in the world for sealskins, this entire prohibition of their importation will greatly

cripple the seal industry in Canada, Great Britain and elsewhere.

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The Japanese minister at Washington is said to have informed the State Department that his government has never had any thought of annexing Hawaii, and that it has no objection to the annexation of the islands by the United States. What the Japanese government intends to insist upon, he says, is that the Japanese in Hawaii and any other Japanese who choose to go there shall be accorded all the rights secured to them by the treaty between Japan and Hawaii. In case of annexation, the Japanese under this treaty would have the right to become citizens of the United States, a right which they do not now have under our laws. Are the friends of annexation willing to grant them this right, which the Japanese minister says his government would insist on in case of annexation? It is a senseless, un-American law which now prevents intelligent, well-behaved Japanese from becoming citizens of this country. But would the advocates of annexation be willing by annexation to have this law erased from the statute books, and let the Japanese "overrun" us as they are now "overrunning" Hawaii? After all, there are a good many funny Americans, and not a few kinds of Americanism.

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Hon. Daniel Agnew, ex-chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in an article in the last number of the *Forum*, contends that the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii is unconstitutional. Here is his first reason :

"There is no express power in the Constitution to acquire and incorporate a foreign territory and people into the Union. Precedents are cited to justify the annexation of Hawaii. Precedent does not amend the Constitution. Amendment requires a vote of two-thirds of Congress, and of three-fourths of the States. Consent of the Senate alone is not enough. Precedent belongs to the *leges non scriptas* ; it has no force except by usage and consent, and must be precisely in point. There is no precedent to justify the admission by treaty of Hawaii. The purchases of Louisiana, Florida and Alaska are cited ; but these are not in point. A purchase unauthorized by the Constitution can be justified only by an overruling necessity for the national safety. To warrant the exercise of a power not found in the Constitution, the necessity must be clear and imperative. Without this it is a violation of the oath of office. The life of the Constitution is as sacred to the people as natural life is to the individual."

Judge Agnew then goes into a brief review of the purchases of Louisiana, Florida and Alaska, with the purpose of showing that the necessity in each case was reasonably clear, and that they furnish no precedent for the annexation of Hawaii. As to the case of Texas he says :

"Texas was admitted by Act of Congress, all the elements of legislation, including the Representatives of

the people, joining in the Act. Being an Act, in all the forms of the Constitution, it differs from a treaty, which originates in the will of one man, and has not the consent of the Representatives. Yet the Act was really unconstitutional, there being no power granted in the Constitution to acquire foreign territory."

If we understand Judge Agnew's position, it is that the only way in which foreign territory can be legally annexed or purchased is by a two-thirds vote of Congress and a direct vote of the States.

"Every well-read lawyer knows that the Constitution of the United States is an instrument of expressly granted powers; and a power not found stated in it, or which cannot be justly implied from the expressly granted powers, is expressly reserved to the people or the States, and expressly withheld from the United States by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution. The power to purchase or to annex foreign territory and a foreign people is not only not granted, but, being within the express exceptions of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, cannot be implied.

"The compact of States is more sacred than a partnership of individuals; yet it is common law and common justice that one partner can not introduce another without the consent of his fellows. . . Confirmation of the Senate is no substitute for the consent of the people."

Judge Agnew is certainly right in holding, as he appears to hold, that a treaty of annexation does not come within the meaning of *treaty* as announced in the Constitution, this term, as there used, clearly meaning an arrangement between two sovereign and independent powers, and not an arrangement by which one of them is absorbed into the other. "It has no relation, not even the most distant, to the incorporation of a foreign territory and people into the Union."

Hon. James Bryce, author of "The American Commonwealth," has a strong article in the December *Forum* on "The Policy of Annexation for America." We have not seen the case against annexation presented better by anyone else. Here is what he says about our need of only a small navy, if we keep clear of the annexation folly:

"Now, of course, the United States can, if she likes, build and maintain a navy adequate for this purpose (to prevent the seizure of Hawaii, etc., by a hostile fleet, in case of war). But is it worth her while to do so? Why should she spend the hundreds of millions of dollars that would be needed? Of all the great powers of the world, she is the one least likely to be attacked; not only because she has few occasions for quarrelling with other states, but also because no other state has anything to win by fighting her. There is not a power in the world which would not lose more than it could possibly gain by a war with America; so that the only circumstance that can be imagined as likely to induce a war is great exasperation of feeling arising from overbearing conduct, or injurious language proceeding from one or other party to the dispute. The conclusion follows that, unless the United States desired to undertake some war of aggression — also

an improbable hypothesis — she has no occasion for a navy equal in numbers and armament to the navies of the great European powers. In other words, a great navy would be to her a luxury, and a very costly luxury.

. . . A few vessels, sufficient to protect the rights of American citizens in the territories of semi-civilized states, seem sufficient for any needs that are likely to arise; seeing that the real strength of the country is to be found in its territorial invulnerability, and in the fact that no other country can hope to gain anything from strife with it. With these advantages, and with her immense population and wealth, America is powerful enough to be able to dispense in the future, as she has successfully dispensed in the past, with those armaments the maintenance of which presses with such terrible weight on England and France, on Germany and Italy."

The Haytian incident ended by the government submitting to all of Germany's demands, in face of the display of force and the threat of bombardment of the defenceless works of Port-au-Prince, unless the demands were complied with within eight hours from the time of delivery of the ultimatum. The Haytian authorities did wisely to submit rather than attempt to resist by force, through which they could have accomplished nothing but their own destruction. But the more the whole matter becomes known, the more clear it is that there has not been in modern times a more disgusting example of the bullying of a small and weak power by a large, strong one. Hayti was willing to submit the whole matter to the arbitrament of reason and justice. But, no! She must go down on her knees to Germany, without ceremony, or have her brains blown out. The event was more disgraceful than the bullying of Chile a few years ago by our own government, because the nation humiliated was weaker and the offense much less. We are glad to see that Germany's insolence, and especially the insulting words uttered about the character of the Haytians, has been all but universally condemned. We should feel that there was little hope for civilization, if such had not been the case. We sympathize with the great masses of the German people, loyal and noble lovers of liberty and fairness, who we have reason to believe have felt deeply the disgrace which has thus come to their nation.

The Rev. C. A. Berry, D.D., of whose visit to this country in the interests of Anglo-American arbitration we spoke briefly in our last issue, has returned to England. While in this country he spoke a number of times in churches and elsewhere, and wherever he touched upon the subject of arbitration and peace between his country and ours, it was always with great force and eloquence. He was most cordially received in all places where he stopped, and found, no doubt to his great pleasure and encouragement, that the Christian people of the United States are everywhere as strongly in favor of permanent arbitration between the two countries as

the Christian people of England are, and that they feel as deeply as can well be imagined the disgrace of the mutilation and defeat of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty in the Senate. Dr. Berry acted as chaplain to the House of Representatives at the opening of Congress on the 7th of December and on the following day to the Senate. His prayer was described as being "solemn and impressive." We give below the text of the letter from the Council of the English Free Church Federation which Dr. Berry brought with him, and which has been widely published in the religious press.

To the Churches of Christ in the United States of America the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England sends affectionate greeting.

DEAR BRETHREN,—In March, 1896, we sent you a letter, inviting you to join us in the earnest and continual endeavor to induce the two peoples, among whom you and we have been set as witnesses for the gospel of our common Lord, to adopt the principle of Arbitration in all cases of difficulty which might arise between them. We have many assurances that our communication was frankly and sympathetically received.

The Treaty of Arbitration, which the action of your Congress and our House of Commons led the executives of both nations to try to secure, has not yet been adopted. We are not, however, discouraged; nor do we consider ourselves released from our pledge to you to labor for such a Treaty.

We are convinced that the Christian feeling in both lands is with us.

The Master, whom we serve with a common loyalty and devotion, and whose universal dominion we are together working for, is worshipped by us as the Prince of Peace; and it is as much our duty to strive for the establishment of His peaceful method as to seek to preach his salvation in all countries.

The obstacles which statesmen find in formulating a Treaty of Arbitration will surely give way to the determination of the two peoples to live in harmony; and the resolve of America and England to follow Christ in their national policy would be good tidings to all mankind.

We therefore renew our promise not to rest satisfied until the principle of Arbitration is made part of our national policy; and we affectionately ask for your continued co-operation in this Christian aim.

Our brother the Rev. Charles Albert Berry, D.D., the first President of our Council, whose name is attached to our letter of last year, is about to visit the United States in obedience to invitations given to him by some of your churches and religious societies.

This question of International Arbitration is so near his heart that, almost certainly, he will speak of it in your hearing. He has no instructions as to what he shall say; but we have such confidence in his practical wisdom as well as in his ability to represent our feeling and judgment, that we ask you to receive him as a messenger of our goodwill, and a faithful exponent of our sentiment.

Dr. Berry is sure to have a hearty welcome from you; we commend him to you as a man who prizes your

national honor, and rejoices in all your prosperity, as he prizes and rejoices in our own.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

J. MONRO GIBSON, D.D., President.

H. PRICE HUGHES, M.A., Ex-President.

ALEX. MACKENNAL, D.D., Secretary.

Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street,  
London, October 25th, 1897.

At a recent meeting of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, Mr. Charles H. Cramp, the ship-builder, treated his hearers to the following extraordinary bit of news in reference to English influence in this country:

"English ideas and doctrines penetrate every walk of life and every branch of activity in the United States. At no time prior to the declaration of independence during the colonial period was our moral and intellectual subjection to Great Britain so complete as it is now. In my judgment this relation between England and our country forms the greatest underlying cause of prevailing financial and industrial conditions here, and more particularly in the ship-building industry."

Mr. Cramp has certainly forgotten the Senatorial "walk of life" and "branch of activity" that ought to have been taken in to make his diagnosis complete. It would be an excellent service if Mr. Cramp would go on a lecturing tour through the cities and towns of England and present "facts and figures" to prove that "every walk of life and every branch of activity in the United States" is so passionately fond of that country. It would do much to relieve our British cousins of an impression prevailing very generally among them that this country was never so anti-English as at the present time, not being willing to tie itself up with the mother country even by a perfectly innocent treaty of arbitration. The hallucination which is afflicting Mr. Cramp would doubtless be entirely dispelled by a government order to build two or three iron-clads. To follow England's naval policy would not be "moral and intellectual subjection"!

It now seems possible that battles may be fought under water before the fulfilment of Tennyson's prophecy of "airy navies" dropping down their "ghastly dew." The other day, in the presence of one thousand people, the Argonaut, a submarine boat built in Baltimore, was submerged in twenty feet of water, remained at the bottom of the Patapsco river four hours and behaved admirably, fulfilling all the expectations of the inventor. The trial took place near Fort McHenry, in the Patapsco river.

"There were two descents. As the vessel lay at anchor she looked very much like a miniature monitor. Her decks were covered with water, only the hollow masts towering above, supplying air to those inside.

After an exhibition of her going powers above water, the little craft took up a position a short distance from shore and in two minutes after coming to a standstill

went to the bottom in 20 feet of water and cruised around at the will of those inside.

A dinner was served under water, and the guests experienced no difficulty while eating.

The second party had the same experience as the first, and the test was pronounced by all in every way satisfactory. It was then explained that three systems could be used for submerged travelling. With the masts used at the trial, which are hollow, permitting air to come in on one side and go out on the other, the vessel can work forty feet under water.

In deeper water hose is used, which answers the purposes of supplying air to the gasoline engine and also supplies the crew. In water 100 feet deep the storage battery is depended upon for power and light and the compressed air reservoir for the air supply.

When the hollow masts are submerged and water pours in, an automatic valve stops the flow. The diver obtains his supply of air from a tube running around the top of the vessel, which contains compressed air. He experienced no trouble in the test to-day, either in going out or returning."

How will they fortify a harbor against such a craft as this? All the old fortifications may have to be abandoned as useless, and new ones built under water! Now for a new appropriation! There is great danger lest we be found unprepared!

Dr. Washington Gladden, among other excellent things, gave utterance at the anniversary of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, Nov. 11, to the following:

"If men are brethren, and if the most unnatural and monstrous business they can possibly engage in is fighting one another (and this is certainly the doctrine of Jesus Christ), then I see no reason why this truth should not be asserted and insisted on as the only principle that can bear rule in the realm of labor and capital. I know of factories where it is really believed and acted on. I know employers to whom the truth that the men who work for them are their brother men, partners of their welfare and sharers of their prosperity, is just as palpable as gravitation, and just as thoroughly respected. Those are happy factories, you may guess—and prosperous, too, thank God! They ought to prosper. Is it really incredible that men should find more profit in helping one another than in cheating and fighting one another? To some, to many, I fear, it is incredible. With the New Testament in our hands for eighteen hundred years, we have not yet really learned to believe that friendship is better than strife; and we still go on assuming that the society in which each one is trying to get all he can away from everybody else, and to give as little as he can to everybody else, is the only normal society; that if we should turn right about and give all we could to everybody, taking from others only that which they could freely give, we should speedily find ourselves in the highway to ruin. Is it not curious that reasonable men should not be able to see that by such assumptions the social order is simply inverted as to its leading motive, and that it is high time for those men who have the power to turn the world upside down to come hither also, that they may get it right side up. To all right reason it is so palpable, so utterly common-sense, that it is

cheaper and easier and safer and more profitable for those who are working together to be friends than to be foes, to be brothers than to be competitors—so perfectly obvious is all this that one sometimes feels like going out with Wisdom "into the top of the high places, beside the gates at the entry of the city, at the coming in of the doors," and crying with her: "O ye simple, understand prudence, and ye fools, be ye of understanding heart!"

The following appeal to the people of the United States in behalf of the sufferers in Cuba has been issued by the State Department.

"By direction of the President, the public is informed that, in deference to the earnest desire of the government to contribute by effective action toward the relief of the suffering people in the island of Cuba, arrangements have been perfected by which charitable contributions, in money or in kind, can be sent to the island by the benevolently disposed people of the United States.

"Money, provisions, clothing, medicines and the like articles of prime necessity can be forwarded to Gen. Fitz-Hugh Lee, the consul-general of the United States at Havana, and all articles now dutiable by law, so consigned, will be admitted into Cuba free of duty. The consul-general has been instructed to receive the same and to cooperate with the local authorities and the charitable boards for the distribution of such relief among the destitute and needy people of Cuba.

"The President is confident that the people of the United States, who have on many occasions in the past responded most generously to the cry for bread from the people stricken by famine or sore calamity, and who have beheld no less generous action on the part of foreign communities when their own countrymen have suffered from fire and flood, will heed the appeal for aid that comes from the destitute at their own threshold, and, especially at this season of goodwill and rejoicing, give of their abundance to this humane end."

The following beautiful passages are found in the Sabbath Ritual of the Union Prayer Book used by the Jews:

"Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the world. Bless our country, that it may ever be a stronghold of peace, and its advocate in the councils of nations. May contentment reign within its borders, health and happiness within its homes. Strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellowship between all the inhabitants of our land. Plant virtue in every soul, and may the love of thy name hallow every home and every heart. Praise be to Thee, Giver of peace.

\*\*\* O may all, created in Thy image, recognize that they are brethren, so that they, one in spirit and one in fellowship, may be forever united before Thee. Then shall Thy Kingdom be established on earth, and the word of Thine ancient seer be fulfilled: The Eternal alone shall rule forever and aye."

Hon. Gardner G. Hubbard, who died on December 10th at his home in Washington, was one of the warmest friends of a permanent Anglo-American treaty of Arbi-

tration. He was chairman of the local committee which made arrangements for the National Arbitration Conference held at Washington in April, 1896. Mr. Hubbard was one of the most active and intelligent of the promoters of the Bell telephone, its success being largely due to his wisdom and energy. Alexander Graham Bell, whose name is always associated with the telephone, was his son-in-law. Mr. Hubbard's early home was in Boston, but, removing twenty-five years ago on account of the climate, he settled in Washington where he continued to reside until the time of his death. He was president of the board of trustees of the Covenant Presbyterian Church, with which he was connected from the time of its organization.

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The 19th of December, Peace Sunday, was observed by the pastors of many churches, throughout the nation. We have no means of knowing how many. The peace department of the W. C. T. U., through its local superintendents did much to secure the observance of the day in their several localities. All the ministers in the District of Columbia were invited to devote some part of the day to the consideration of the subject of peace, and a number of them responded and preached strong, timely sermons. In addition to the attention given to the cause on this special day, the Christmas Sunday was also made the occasion, by many pastors, of treating the subject. Peace was also made the topic of special programs in a number of Sunday schools.

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On the wires, the cables and in the press the situation in the East has been very critical for the last two weeks. But information just as we go to press indicates that the situation has been much exaggerated. Minister Denby sends word from Peking that the German occupation of Kiao Chau will end when the Chinese government complies with the demands made upon it for the murder of the two German missionaries. The Russian occupation of the harbor at Port Arthur is understood to be merely for winter quarters, in accordance with a treaty between Russia and China. The massing of the British and Japanese fleets at Pe Chi Li is also said to mean nothing, these two nations having some years ago secured from China the right to keep their vessels in those waters. Finally, the last telegrams from Hong Kong and Tonquin deny the French occupation of the island of Hai Nan. We hope, for the honor of civilization, that these last reports may prove true. But, in spite of them, it seems certain that things in the Far East are in a very unsettled state and that the great powers, including Japan, are watching the situation and one another with a good deal of nervousness as well as ambition. We do not expect, however, either war or any immediate attempt to dismember China.

## Brevities.

The definitive treaty of peace between Turkey and Greece has been concluded and ratified by both King George and the Sultan.

. . . A bill was passed by the House of Representatives on December 16th appropriating \$175,000 for the relief of the people who are in the Yukon river country.

. . . From the report of Consul-General Haywood at Honolulu to the State Department it seems that there are less than 25,000 Japanese in Hawaii, less than half of whom are employed on the sugar plantations.

. . . The world's production of gold in 1896, according to the forthcoming report of the director of the mint, was \$203,000,000. The silver produced during the same period had a commercial value of \$111,278,000, the coinage value of which was \$213,463,700.

. . . A joint resolution accepting the invitation of Norway to participate in an international fisheries exposition next year was passed by the Senate December 17th.

. . . Mr. Underwood, president of the Alaska Central Railway, says that if Congress grants his road the right of way, he will have trains running from the nearest tide-water to Dawson City by the 15th of June. All the valuable mining land in the Klondyke region is said to be already taken up.

. . . *Concord*, the journal of the (London) International Arbitration and Peace Association, is to begin the new year with several improvements. It will be increased to twelve pages, have a new heading, be printed in larger type, and have some new contributors added to its list. It has been a strong, well-edited journal in the past and we wish it great success in its efforts to increase its usefulness.

. . . Beginning with this month, a new bimonthly review is to be published at Milan, Italy, for the promotion of a better internationalism. Its title is to be *La Vita Internazionale*, and it will be edited by E. T. Moneta, one of the foremost advocates of peace in Italy, assisted by several distinguished writers among the friends of peace.

. . . *La Conference Interparlementaire*, the organ of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, which has been edited by Dr. Gobat, secretary of the Interparliamentary Bureau, at Berne, is to be discontinued for lack of financial support. It has been published for four years and has done excellent service. It is much to be regretted that it could not be kept alive.

. . . The heirs of Mr. Alfred Nobel, though worth millions themselves, are contesting his will, being especially opposed to that portion of the legacy devoted to the cause of peace.

. . . Rev. T. A. Leonard, pastor of the Congregational Church, Colne, Lancashire, England, has started a Boys' Lifeguards' Brigade in connection with his church. Its aim is "to advance Christ's Kingdom amongst boys, by teaching them to be obedient, reverent, to help others, to forgive injuries, to be unselfish, and at all times to live at peace with others."



... The reciprocity negotiations with both Germany and France are at a standstill. There is little disposition to make material concessions on either side. The negotiations with Great Britain as to the British West Indies are proceeding slowly, but an agreement is not expected at an early date.

... In a recent address in Boston, Hon. Charles S. Hamlin, former Assistant Secretary of State, stated that never before in the history of this government had any administration gone so far as the present one in its efforts to bring about a permanent settlement of all questions in difference between the United States and Canada in a manner just and right to all concerned, President McKinley's desire being to wipe out forever all serious differences which from time to time cause irritation.

... Bishop Willis of Honolulu passed last month through Boston on his way home. He stated that a large majority of the people of the islands are opposed to annexation. The electorate, as now constituted, is very much in its favor. The new oath of allegiance has made registration very restricted. Under the old régime there were about 14,000 voters. The new oath requires subscribers to abstain from all attempts to restore the monarchy. Only about 3,000 voters, he said, have taken the oath, about half of them office-holders.

... The International Brotherhood League of Washington, D. C. seeks to cultivate the spirit of brotherhood in all sorts and conditions of men. It is doing excellent work among the children in its Sunday afternoon meetings, where the fundamental ideas of kindness and brotherhood are taught.

... Through the influence of Mr. Bellamy Storer, United States minister to Belgium, Americans resident in that country will not be required to serve in the civic guard, as they with other foreigners were required to do by the law of September last. By a treaty between the two countries, neither can call upon the citizens of the other for military service. The Belgian government holds that service in the civic guard is not military service.

... Mr. Hannis Taylor, ex-minister to Spain, to whose remarkable article in the *North American Review* attention was called in our last issue, has severely denounced the President's message for its indifference to Cuba. He thinks Congress ought firmly and scornfully to reject such a policy of irresolution and non-action as that proposed in this "heartless, selfish message." He has no faith whatever in Spain's pretenses of granting autonomy to the island.

... An attempt was made on the 6th of December, by two soldiers of the imperial service, to assassinate the Sultan, at the Yildiz Kiosk, his palace. The attempt was frustrated by attendants.

... The Haytian government has informed our State Department of its willingness to refer the claim of Bernard Campbell, an American citizen, to arbitration. The claim is for \$100,000, and grew out of injuries which he received from being beaten by men who, he claims, were Haytian soldiers. It is understood that our government is ready to accept arbitration in the case.

... The Dutch government was defeated on December 15th in the Chamber of Deputies, which by a vote of forty-six to forty-one refused to authorize the building of new warships. "Brave little Holland"!

... Peace has finally been signed in the Philippines. The insurgent chiefs handed their surrender to Gen. Rivera on December 15th, who accepted their submission in the name of the Spanish government. Hostilities were at once suspended, and the various groups at once gave themselves up with their arms, the chiefs stipulating only that they should have free pardon and money with which to emigrate. Both these conditions were granted.

## Hawaiian Annexation.

HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL'S SPEECH  
BEFORE THE BOOT AND SHOE CLUB OF BOSTON,  
DECEMBER 22, 1897.

As I was forewarned by the gentleman from whom I received your invitation to meet the members of the Boston Boot and Shoe Club this evening, that the time for the discussion of the topic before us was limited to two hours, and that four persons were to participate in the debate, I have forecast the observations that I have had in mind that I might avoid the danger of trespassing upon the privileges of others who are to address you.

Since the organization of the government there have been four opportunities for the annexation of territory within continental lines, and all of them have been accepted. In the same period of time there have been three tenders of insular possessions, two of them without direct consideration in money, and all of them have been declined.

The first of these was the tender of the Sandwich Islands, made through our then Commissioner, Mr. Elisha H. Allen, in the year 1852. It was in the early months of Mr. Fillmore's administration, when Mr. Webster was Secretary of State.

Mr. Allen had been my acquaintance and friend from the year 1847, when we were associated as members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and as members also of an important Special Committee.

Upon his arrival in Boston he took lodgings at the Adams House where I was then living. Our meetings at the table and otherwise were frequent and it was then that I received from Mr. Allen the statement that he came with authority, *carte blanche*, from the king to tender the islands to the United States. There may have been terms and conditions, but none were mentioned by Mr. Allen. At the same time he informed me that the offer had been declined by Mr. Webster.

The treaty for the acquisition of the island of St. Thomas, that was negotiated by Mr. Seward in President Johnson's administration, was not ratified by the Senate. The cause of its failure, or the circumstances incident to its failure, have been the subject of controversy. The undertaking failed, and that controversy should not now be revived.

In General Grant's first term the country had an opportunity to acquire so much of the island of San Domingo as is known by that name. The terms of acquisition were favorable. The project was supported resolutely by General Grant, when his influence in the country had not suffered any serious impairment. The offer was re-

jected by the Senate, and there were no indications of a controlling public opinion adverse to its action.

Thus it appears that there have been three favorable opportunities for the acquisition of insular possessions, all of which have been declined. Two of them were within a day's sail of our mainland coasts, while one of them, and that the one now urged upon the country, is more than two thousand miles from our nearest harbor on the Pacific Ocean.

The question of the extension of slavery was involved in the projects for the annexation of Louisiana, Texas and California, and except for the existence of that question the acquisition of those vast territories would have received a general support in all parts of the country.

The fourth was the acquisition of Alaska, a territory that in 1867 offered but few attractions to the people of the United States. It is worthy of remark that the men of the revolutionary era contemplated a union with Canada.

This résumé warrants the statement that the country has accepted continental territory as a wise public policy, now fully justified by experience, and that it has as uniformly rejected insular possessions.

And, further, this résumé warrants the statement that the burden of proof is upon those who demand a change in our public policy.

The public policy of the country may not have been based upon distinct propositions resting in the public mind, but I formulate that policy in two propositions, namely:—First, continental acquisitions of contiguous territory tend to peace; second, the acquisition of insular territories increases the chances of war and adds to the difficulties in the way of conducting war.

If the first proposition is under question in the mind of anyone, much support may be found in our own experience and in the recent experience of other countries. The force of the North was augmented immensely in our Civil War by the consideration that two contiguous nations would not remain at peace, except during brief intervals between long and lengthening periods of open or smothered hostilities.

By unification the Provinces and States of Germany and Italy have been forced into peaceful relations with each other.

And, if now it were possible for France, Italy, Spain and Portugal to unite into one Confederated Republic they would not only command peace for themselves, but they might dictate peace for Europe.

The possession by Great Britain of the Canadas has given rise to many, I may say to most, of the questions that have disturbed our relations with England during the last sixty years. I mention the Oregon dispute, the San Juan dispute, the Caroline affair, the Northeastern boundary controversy, the Fenian invasions, the fisheries and now the seal fishery in Behring Sea.

If the United States and the Canadas were under one government the killing of seal upon the open sea would not be defended by anyone.

It is to be admitted that small countries and minor communities are strengthened and protected by union with strong states. That, as a practical question, is their question and not our question. If the gain is theirs and the loss is ours there can be no ground of defence for a policy of annexation, unless it can be found in the indulgence of the feeling called sympathy. Sympathy is akin

to one of the passions, and the guidance of the passions in public affairs ought never to be accepted.

My second proposition is not within the limits of actual demonstration, but it can command some support argumentatively.

Assume a war with England, would our position be strengthened or weakened by the possession of St. Thomas, San Domingo or Hayti, or by the possession of one or all of the islands of the Caribbean Sea?

Assume a war with England, or Russia, or Japan, or China, a possible, aggressive and warlike power in a future not far away, and would the possession of the eight tropical islands in the mid-Pacific and extending over three degrees of latitude and six meridians of longitude, be a help or a peril? Would a coaling station or a harbor of resort at the mouth of the Pearl River, two thousand miles and more from our Pacific coasts give security, either in form or in fact, to California, Oregon, Washington, or to the dwellers on the shore and islands of Alaska?

Does the example of England attract us? The august ceremonies which closed the sixtieth year of the reign of Queen Victoria, were clouded by the fact that those had been years of uninterrupted wars,—wars in which there had been hardships and dangers in unequal contests with inferior peoples; wars made necessary by the policy of England to preserve unbroken and to strengthen, if possible, the chain of empire that England has carried around the globe. For England this may have been a wise policy. An attempt at its imitation by us cannot bring either success or honor. England conquers that she may inhabit and trade. A small island in a northern sea with a hardy and adventurous population must gain new lands as a refuge and home for its accumulating masses. Thus it seeks and secures protection for its home industries by first subduing and then clothing the millions of Asia and the half-clad tribes of Africa.

Thus and by such processes was the foundation laid for the great eulogium which Mr. Webster pronounced upon our ancestors in America and in England when he said of the Colonists, "They raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome in the height of her glory is not to be compared; a power that has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with its possessions and military posts whose morning drum beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

But the example of England is not for us. The field for conquest, for appropriation is about all occupied. Our theory is a theory of self government. Such has been our practice. Next we demand equality of citizenship in the States and equality of States in the Union. All this is inconsistent with the acquisition of distant and incongruous populations. And nowhere can there be found a more incongruous population than the present population of the Hawaiian Islands.

The future of the United States cannot be predicted, but of unoccupied territory we have a vast domain. Its vastness may be set forth in one statement: If the population of all the States and Territories of the Union could be transported to the State of Texas the number of inhabitants to the square mile would not exceed the number now resident in the States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

By the treaty of 1875 and the amendment of 1887, we have as full control of the trade of the Hawaiian Islands



as we should have were those Islands made a part of the United States. Our manufactures, from iron bridges to friction matches, are entered without duty, and in return the sugar, rice, coffee and other products of the Islands are admitted free of duty at all our custom houses.

By the treaty of 1887 we acquired Pearl River Harbor, the most valuable harbor of the Islands.

The treaty of 1875 contains a stipulation that as long as the treaty shall remain in force the authorities of the Islands will not "dispose of or create any lien upon any port, harbor, or other territory, . . . or grant any special privilege or right of use therein, to any other power, state or government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation shall obtain the same privileges, relative to the admission of any articles free of duty."

These agreements and stipulations are all very well, says the advocate of annexation, but the treaty may be abrogated whenever we decline the treaty of annexation. What are the probabilities? In 1875 when the Islands were free to deal with England or with any other nation, when the United States had no foothold, we dictated the terms of the treaty.

Again in 1887, under the lead of Senator Edmunds, and when there was a heavy adverse public sentiment in the United States, and the treaty was in peril from our action, the Hawaiian authorities conceded the possession of Pearl River Harbor. For what reason have all these concessions been made? For fifty years the fortunes of the Islands have been in our hands, and the day of their freedom from our control is far away.

All the benefits that can come from annexation are now enjoyed by us, and they will continue to be enjoyed by us and by our successors through many generations, while we now are, and they hereafter are to be relieved of all responsibility for the government of the Islands. Moreover, the Islands can rest securely in mid ocean, freed from the anxieties and apprehensions of war, as Belgium and Switzerland are secure, though surrounded by rival and hostile States.

Whence this security for our supremacy in the Islands? It is to be found in two facts. First, in the situation of the Islands with reference to other countries. When we had acquired California and had connected it by railroads with the older States of the Union, the United States became the convenient, indeed the only valuable market for the products of the Islands. Distant as we are from the Islands, we are their only neighbors. Japan is 3400 miles from Honolulu. Hong Kong is 5000 miles away. The countries of Central and South America can only be reached by ocean voyages of three, four, five and six thousand miles.

My second reason is equally conclusive. Those distant countries are of no considerable value as markets for the products of the Islands.

In 1896 the total of exports was \$15,515,230, and of this the sum of \$55,132 found a market in other countries. In the same year the imports amounted to \$7,164,562. Of this sum the imports from the United States amounted to \$5,235,729. The exports of sugar to the United States in the year 1896 amounted to \$14,932,173.

What would be the consequences of the abrogation of the treaty? What the consequences of the annexation of the Islands by Japan or by England? The loss of the free American market and the imposition of a duty by

the United States of forty per cent or more on the sugar product of the Islands would inevitably follow. What next? The depreciation of the sugar plantations at the rate of twenty-five per cent or more, and the ruin of the owners. And who are the owners? The owners of the plantations are the two thousand and seven hundred voters in a population of 109,000, and those whom they represent. The owners are the meagre minority now in authority and who constitute the government of Hawaii. They cannot consent to annexation by any other country. They cannot afford to abrogate the treaty. From 1882 to 1887, when propositions for the abrogation of the treaty were pending in our Congress, the business of the Islands was interrupted, property was depressed, the sugar planters were threatened with bankruptcy and the representatives of the Hawaiians appeared before the Committees on Foreign Affairs, pleading for the preservation of the treaty.

The pecuniary interests are much larger now than they then were, and by those interests any and every government that may be set up, by whatever name called and by whomsoever managed, will be controlled. The old monarchy had no affection for the United States, but its policy was subordinated to our policy, and such must be the condition of every successor, whether an oligarchy, a monarchy, or a republic.

From these general remarks I turn to the consideration of the circumstances under which we are invited to accept the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. We are not so far removed in time from the events that occurred in Hawaii in the early months of the year 1893, that we may disregard the political character and moral quality of the proceedings, called a revolution, when we are invited to accept the territory that was then and thus wrested from its ancient proprietors.

There is nothing sacred in a monarchy, indeed there is nothing sacred in any government, whatever its form or name. The right of a government to exist comes from the will of the people freely expressed. This test is fatal to the claim of those who now rule in Hawaii.

There are forty thousand Hawaiians in the Islands and of those thirty-one thousand are of unmixed blood. It is claimed that under the old Régime there were ten thousand voters. They owed allegiance to the old government. There may have been others who were subjects. These as a body have never been consulted. Assume, what I do assume, that the Queen had no rights except such as may have been derived from the people, and that there was a continuing right in the people to supersede her in authority, and yet the fact remains that that power in the people has never been exercised.

Mr. Secretary Foster, in the treaty which he prepared in the last days of President Harrison's administration, admitted a right as then existing in the Queen and beyond her in the heir apparent to the throne.

By that *projet* of a treaty the Queen was to be paid the sum of \$20,000 annually during her life and the Princess was to receive in hand from the United States the sum of \$150,000, provided, however, that those two women, respectively, should, "in good faith, submit to the authority of the government of the United States and the local government of the Islands."

Thus did that *projet* recognize the personal rights of the Queen and also the right of succession in the dynasty of which she was then the head.

There may be those who favor annexation, who will excuse themselves in the thought that the government was only a monarchy, and that its overthrow, however accomplished, was a praiseworthy act.

Governments ought not to disregard their moral obligations.

This transaction is tainted with injustice. Injustice it may be to the deposed Queen, but assuredly it is tainted with injustice to the 40,000 Hawaiians who should be permitted to speak in regard to the government of their native land. And we who have maintained the doctrine of Home Rule, who have pleaded for Ireland, who have raised millions of men from slavery to citizenship, can we either defend this proceeding or accept the fruit thereof?

Finally, what disposition is to be made of the present population? Of the native Hawaiians there are about 40,000, of Japanese 24,000, of Chinese 21,000, of Portuguese 15,000, of Americans 8,000, of British, Germans and French combined there are 4,000, of other nationalities a thousand. Thus the Islands contain a population of 109,000. Are the Japanese and Chinese to be deported, the plantations to be abandoned and their owners to be consigned to ruin?

The pending treaty prohibits the further immigration of Chinese, and those who are now resident in the Islands are excluded from the mainland of the United States. By annexation the country will have in view the alternative of a vassal population within its jurisdiction, or the presence of a Mongolian State in the Union.

### A Dangerous Movement.

It is strange how quickly the lessons of history are forgotten. A year ago or scarcely more, the hearts of the generous and humane throughout our country were burning with shame and indignation, as they were made to realize how the Christians under Turkish rule had suffered for our jealous and selfish foreign policy in times past. As has already been pointed out, that policy was the direct effect of the international distrust and jealousy which is inseparable from militarism, and which must continue while our great armaments last.

We interfered in 1876 between Russia and Turkey in the matter of the Armenian provinces, because we were jealous of the Russian power, and feared its further extension. Twenty years later we discovered that we ourselves were the objects of jealousy and suspicion, and that our self-constituted protectorship of the Armenians was a futile thing, which we dared not exercise in the hour of their direst need. Nay, our government did not even venture to send them pecuniary help; and had not the people of England, with some in other lands also, come forward with private help to a very large extent, the survivors of the massacres would actually have been left to starve.

These awful facts were used at the time, — we do not say without justice — as a political weapon. But this has probably tended to divert attention from the deeper lesson indicated above, the shameful and unchristian character of the militarism which feeds on suspicion and which destroys the possibility of concerted action for any great and noble ends.

Certainly there is no present indication that this lesson has been taken to heart. So far from the feverish eagerness to increase our armaments having suffered any recent

check, it has in England received a new impetus during the past few months; and we are now moving on with alarming speed. Last year, a large additional sum was voted for the navy; now the cry goes forth that the army must be strengthened. Such a demand was made by Lord Wolseley in the paradoxical speech at Glasgow, in which he described England as the most peace-loving nation in the world, but nearly always at war somewhere, in the interests of peace. Next came the speech of the under secretary for war, taking up the speech of Lord Wolseley, and dilating on the "stupendous increase of territory" which the army is called to defend. A few days later a still more alarming utterance was made public, that of the Solicitor-General. It has been known for some time that the conscription is in favor with certain military authorities; but when an official person in high position lets fall such expressions as that "it might be necessary to resort to the ballot, so that a certain proportion of citizens might be *required* to serve in the militia," we feel ourselves in face of a danger which it is scarcely possible to exaggerate.

As if this were not enough, speech has followed speech within the last few days, either advocating an increase in the army — which, as Mr. Broderick announces, is to be proposed by the government — or defending the aggressive policy which occasions the call for such increase. This obvious connection must be carefully borne in mind, or we shall hardly realize the evil of identifying patriotism with the support of our petty wars of annexation, as has been done by Mr. Chamberlain at Glasgow, while at the same time, in the ears of our young people of both sexes, he poured ridicule on those who teach a world-wide human brotherhood.

It does not seem to be fully realized what rapid strides have been made in the increase of armaments during the latter part of the present reign. Since 1845, the outlay on the army and navy has been trebled, while the population has increased by less than fifty per cent. Thus the taxation of Great Britain for military purposes has, roughly speaking, *doubled* in proportion to the number of inhabitants, in little over forty years. And we know perfectly well that every addition to our own naval or military strength is a challenge to other nations to add to theirs; and that there is therefore no limit to such increase under the present vicious system, but that of the power of endurance of overtaxed populations. The comments of moderate French writers on Trafalgar celebrations may serve to remind us of a fact with which we are but too familiar. We may note also the struggles of China and Japan to take their place in the community of nations by becoming naval or military powers.

The perpetual increase of armies, out of proportion to the growth of population, naturally occasions two alternative evils, the gravity of which can scarcely be exaggerated, — either the militarizing of whole nations, as on the continent, or, as with ourselves, the entrapping of the young and thoughtless into a career which under the conditions of a standing army means moral ruin to a large proportion of them. The very large number of boys under twenty serving in our own ranks, in India as well as elsewhere, is a fact equally sorrowful and disgraceful. Many, indeed, are even under seventeen. To what all this leads we know only too well.

Yet we can not regard the Continental system with any more complacency, when we consider the rapidity with

which free nations have been transformed into subjects of a despotism, through an all-devouring militarism which at first presented itself under the attractive aspect of patriotism. We feel it to be a healthy sign that the people of England should regard compulsory military service with the utmost repugnance, as fatal to liberty. But let us observe that this position may be undermined. It is scarcely recognized to how large an extent young people, including even mere babies in their infant classes, are receiving military training; and it is even less recognized how surely such a training will foster a warlike spirit. It is no imaginary danger that the coming generation as a whole may be familiarized with the thought of taking human life and led to acquire a taste for military service. We can scarcely believe that the probability is overlooked by military men in high positions who patronize Boys' Brigades and other similar organizations. Assuredly the peril is too serious for lovers of peace and of liberty to overlook; least of all should it pass unnoticed by the followers of the Prince of Peace, those whom he has made free, and who are called to stand fast in his liberty, and not to be "entangled again" with any "yoke of bondage."

And is there not a special duty laid on the ministers of the gospel, those who have to proclaim the absolute supremacy of Christ in the world for which he died, and to call men to place themselves under his "sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be," — the duty of making their voices heard, clearly and unmistakably, in opposition to a popular cry which would lure men away from him? Week by week it is their high privilege to dwell on the self-surrender of Christ, on his laying down of his glory, "taking part" with us in that "flesh and blood" which involves so many sufferings and temptations, becoming subject even to death, — but in this position of weakness and danger living in absolute trust, refusing all defense which meant loss and pain to others, meeting injuries and insults not only with dignified meekness but with a patient and forgiving love which nothing could outweary, and finally enduring the cross, and even by that deepest darkness and humiliation winning a victory and a glory which no words can name, and a sovereignty which will one day be acknowledged throughout all the worlds. These things it is given them to teach, and then, turning to their brethren, to tell them as his messengers of their high calling to walk in his steps. Does this calling mean — can it ever mean — the cowardice of armaments and the brutality of slaughter? Rather, must it not mean an absolute protest against these things, at any needed cost? Surely the submitting to be called by cheap nicknames, the loss of reputation or position, or the sacrifice of some of the strong but misleading impulses of nature, would not be too high a price to pay for the privilege of faithfulness to Him whose true manliness was no less conspicuous than his patience.

At this very moment, there are followers of their Lord who are suffering worse things than obloquy for their faithfulness to him in this very matter. Here in England we can as yet speak out clearly and fully, without encountering any personal risk. Will not the churches use this opportunity while it lasts, and stem the advancing tide of militarism before it grows resistless in its strength?

We would not appear to overlook what has already been done in this direction. Far from this, we recognize with thankfulness the important service that has been rendered

to the cause of arbitration by the warm advocacy of the churches here as in America, and by all they have done to promote a brotherly feeling between the English-speaking races. But there is still the utmost need for a strong and unanimous movement forwards. There are solemn warnings before our eyes, not only in the fatal progress of militarism on the Continent, but in the degeneration of our own national morality. We look to the ministers of Christ to arrest this downward march; believing that they may yet save their country, if they will rise in the strength of his word within them, away from the splendors of an empire growing through bloodshed and broken faith, to the true glory of the Son of God. *Now* is the time; now, while we are preparing to celebrate his coming on this earth in weakness, yet in that weakness bearing with him the all-conquering might by which he triumphed over death. May God grant to his servants clear sight, and words of power; for truly in this matter we know not what a day may bring forth; and should a downward course be persisted in, the issue may be one of which we little dream.

— W. C. BRAITHWAITE, Esq., in *War or Brotherhood*.

## Justice Field and the Supreme Court.

There can be little doubt that the Supreme Court of the United States is one of the greatest, if not the greatest and noblest, of all our institutions. It is a great peace institution, the model, in some important respects, of the great international tribunal which is some day certain to be set up for all the nations of the world. We are sure our readers will all be delighted and profited by reading the letter which Justice Stephen J. Field recently sent to the other members of the Court when he retired from it after thirty-four years of service. It is needless to say, what the whole nation knows, that Justice Field has been one of the most diligent, able and conscientious jurists ever connected with the Supreme Court. Here is the text of the letter:

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 12, 1897.

*Dear Mr. Chief Justice and Brethren:* Near the close of last term, feeling that the duties of my office had become too arduous for my strength, I transmitted my resignation to the President, to take effect on the first day of December next, and this he has accepted, with kindly expressions of regard, as will be seen from a copy of his letter, which is as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 9, 1897.

*Hon. Stephen J. Field, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D.C.—*

My Dear Sir: In April last Chief Justice Fuller, accompanied by Mr. Justice Brewer handed me your resignation as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to take effect Dec. 1, 1897. In hereby accepting your resignation, I wish to express my deep regret that you feel compelled by advancing years to sever your active connection with the court of which you have so long been a distinguished member.

"Entering upon your great office in May, 1863, you will, on the 1st of next December, have served upon this bench for a period of thirty-four years and seven months, a term longer than that of any member of the court since

its creation and throughout a period of special importance in the history of the country, occupied with as grave public questions as have ever confronted that tribunal for decision.

"I congratulate you therefore most heartily upon a service of such exceptional duration, fidelity and distinction. Nor can I overlook that you received your commission from Abraham Lincoln, and, graciously spared by a kind Providence, have survived all the members of the court of his appointment.

"Upon your retirement, both the bench and the country will sustain a great loss, but the high character and great ability of your work will live and long be remembered, not only by your colleagues, but by your grateful fellow countrymen.

"With personal esteem and sincere best wishes for your contentment and happiness during the period of rest which you have so well earned, I am, dear sir, very truly yours,  
WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

My judicial career covers many years of service. Having been elected a member of the Supreme Court of California, I assumed that office Oct. 13, 1857, holding it for five years, seven months and five days, the latter part of the time being Chief Justice. On the 10th of March, 1863, I was commissioned by President Lincoln a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, taking the oath of office on the 20th day of the following May.

When my resignation takes effect my period of service on this bench will have exceeded that of any of my predecessors, while my entire judicial life will have embraced more than forty years. I may be pardoned for saying that during all this period, long in comparison with the brevity of human life, though in the retrospect it has gone with the swiftness of a tale that is told, I have not shunned to declare in every case coming before me for decision the conclusions which my deliberate convictions compelled me to arrive at, by the conscientious exercise of such abilities and requirements as I possessed.

It is a pleasant thing in my memory that my appointment came from President Lincoln, of whose appointees I am the last survivor. Up to that time there had been no representative here of the Pacific coast. A new empire had risen in the West, whose laws were those of another country. The land titles were from Spanish and Mexican grants, both of which were often overlaid by the claims of the first settlers. To bring order out of this confusion, Congress passed an act providing for another seat on this bench, with the intention that it should be filled by some one familiar with these conflicting titles and with the mining laws of the coast, and as it so happened that I had framed the principal of these laws, and was, moreover, Chief Justice of California, it was the wish of the Senators and Representatives of that state, as well as those from Oregon, that I should succeed to the new position. At their request Mr. Lincoln sent my name to the Senate, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed. This kindly welcome was extended in March, but I did not at once enter on the discharge of the duties of the office, for the reason that as Chief Justice of California I had heard arguments in many cases, in the disposition of which, and especially in the preparation of opinions, it was fitting that I should participate before leaving that bench; and I fixed the 20th of May as the day on which to take, as I did, the oath, because it was

the eighty-second birthday of my father, who indulged a just pride at my accession to this exalted position.

At the head of the court when I became one of its members, was the venerable Chief Justice Taney, and among the Associate Justices was Justice Waite, who had sat with Chief Justice Marshall, thus constituting a link between the past and the future; and, as it were, binding into unity nearly an entire century of the life of this court.

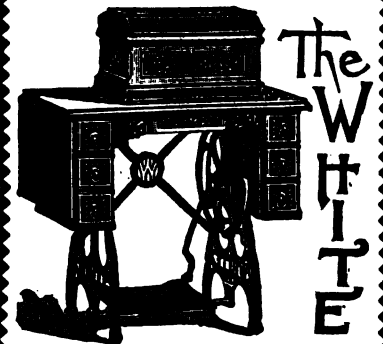
During my incumbency three Chief Justices and sixteen Associated Justices have passed away, leaving me precious remembrances of common labors and intimate and agreeable companionship.

When I came here the country was in the midst of war. Washington was one great camp, and now and then the boom of cannon could be heard from the other side of the Potomac. But we could not say "inter arma silent leges." This court met in regular session, never once failing in time or place, and its work went on as though there were no sound of battle. Indeed, the war itself simply added

to the amount of litigation here as elsewhere. But the war ended in a couple of years, and then came the great period of reconstruction and the last amendments to the Federal constitution. In the effort to re-establish the Nation, to adjust all things to the changed political, social, and economic conditions, questions of far-reaching import were developed—questions of personal liberty, of constitutional right, which, after oft-times heated discussions before the people and in the halls of Congress, came to us for decision. I do not exaggerate when I say that no more difficult and momentous questions were ever presented to this or any other court. I look back with pride and joy to the fact that I was permitted to take part in the consideration of all those important questions, and that not infrequently I was called upon to express the judg-

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ment of this court thereon. And now that those times of angry debate, deep feeling, and judicial decision have passed, it is pleasant to realize that the conclusions announced by this court have been accepted, not simply of necessity as so prescribed by the fundamental law, but, in the main, as in themselves both correct and wise.

As we all know, the period of the war was followed by one continuous event to the present time of marvellous material development. Wealth accumulated such as never before was dreamed of in this country. Gigantic enterprises were undertaken and carried through. Inventions have multiplied the conveniences of life, as well as the possibilities of achievement. Indeed, the conditions of life have essentially changed from those that prevailed prior to the war. Out of this changed social and economical condition have sprung not merely an immense multitude of cases, but litigation of a character vitally affecting the future prosperity and safety of this country. To this court have come for final solution and decision many of these questions and cases. By the blessings of Almighty God, my health and life have been preserved, and I have been enabled to take part in the consideration of all these cases. Few appreciate the magnitude of our labors. The burden resting upon us for the last fifteen or twenty years has been enormous. The volumes of our reports show that I alone have written 620 opinions. If to these were added fifty-seven opinions in the Circuit court and 365 prepared while I was on the Supreme court of California, it will be seen that I have voiced the decision in 1,042 cases.

If it may be said that all of our decisions have not met with the universal approval of the American people, yet it is to the great glory of that people that always and everywhere has been yielded a willing obedience to them. The fact is eloquent of the stability of popular institutions, and demonstrates that the people of these United States are capable of self-government.

As I look back over the more than a third of a century that I have sat on this bench, I am more and more impressed with the immeasurable importance of this court. Now and then we hear it spoken of as an aristocratic feature of a republican government. But it is the most democratic of all. Senators represent their states and Representatives their constituents, but this court stands for the whole country, and as such it is truly "of the people, by the people, and for the people." It has indeed no power to legislate. It cannot appropriate a dollar of money. It carries neither the purse nor the sword. But it possesses the power of declaring the law, and in that is found the safeguard which keeps the whole mighty fabric of government from rushing to destruction. This negative power, the power of resistance, is the only safety of a popular government, and it is an additional assurance when the power is in such hands as yours.

With this I give place to my successor, but I can never cease to linger on the memories of the past. Among the compensations for all the hard work that a seat on this

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bench imposes have been the intimacies and friendships that have been formed between its members. Though we have often differed in our opinions, it has always been an honest difference, which did not affect our mutual regard and respect. These many years have indeed been years of labor and of toil, but they have brought their own rewards; and we can all join in thanksgiving to the Author of our being that we have been permitted to spend so much of our lives in the service of our country.

With profound respect and regard, I am, my dear brethren, very sincerely and always yours,

STEPHEN J. FIELD.

Autonomy goes into effect in Cuba on January 1. The plan as published indicates that Spain has kept all real power in her own hands. The insurgents positively refuse to accept autonomy. General Gomez has issued instructions that all Spanish envoys coming to the insurgents to try to induce them to accept autonomy shall be court-martialed and shot. It was under these instructions that General Ruiz was ordered court-martialed by General Aranguren. It seems that all hopes for immediate peace are gone. The devastating struggle will go on till one side or the other is exhausted.



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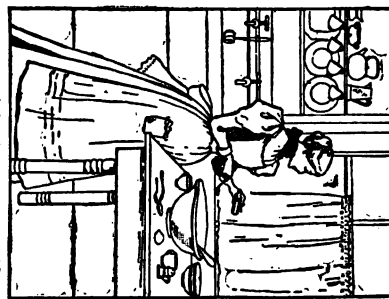
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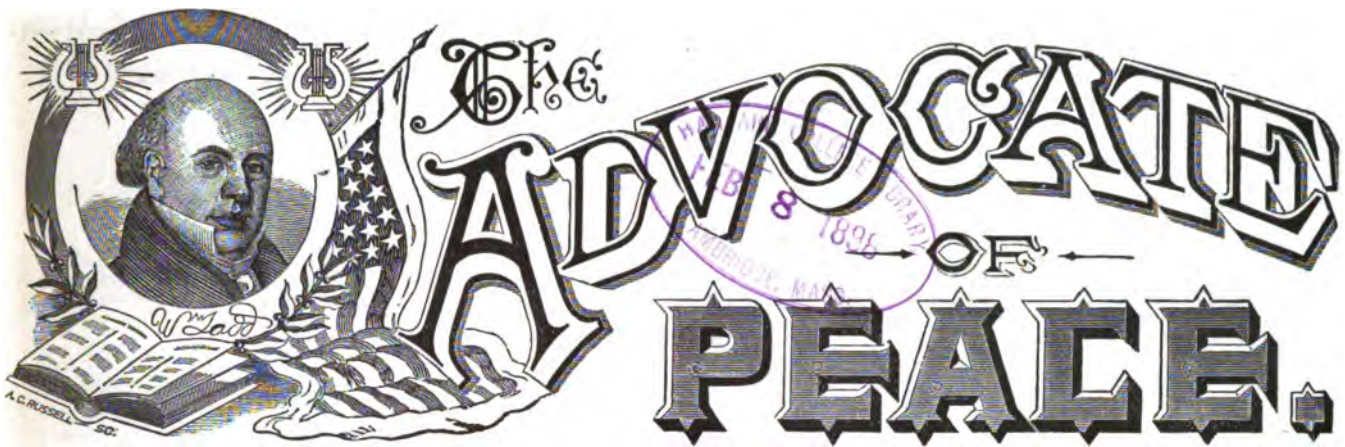
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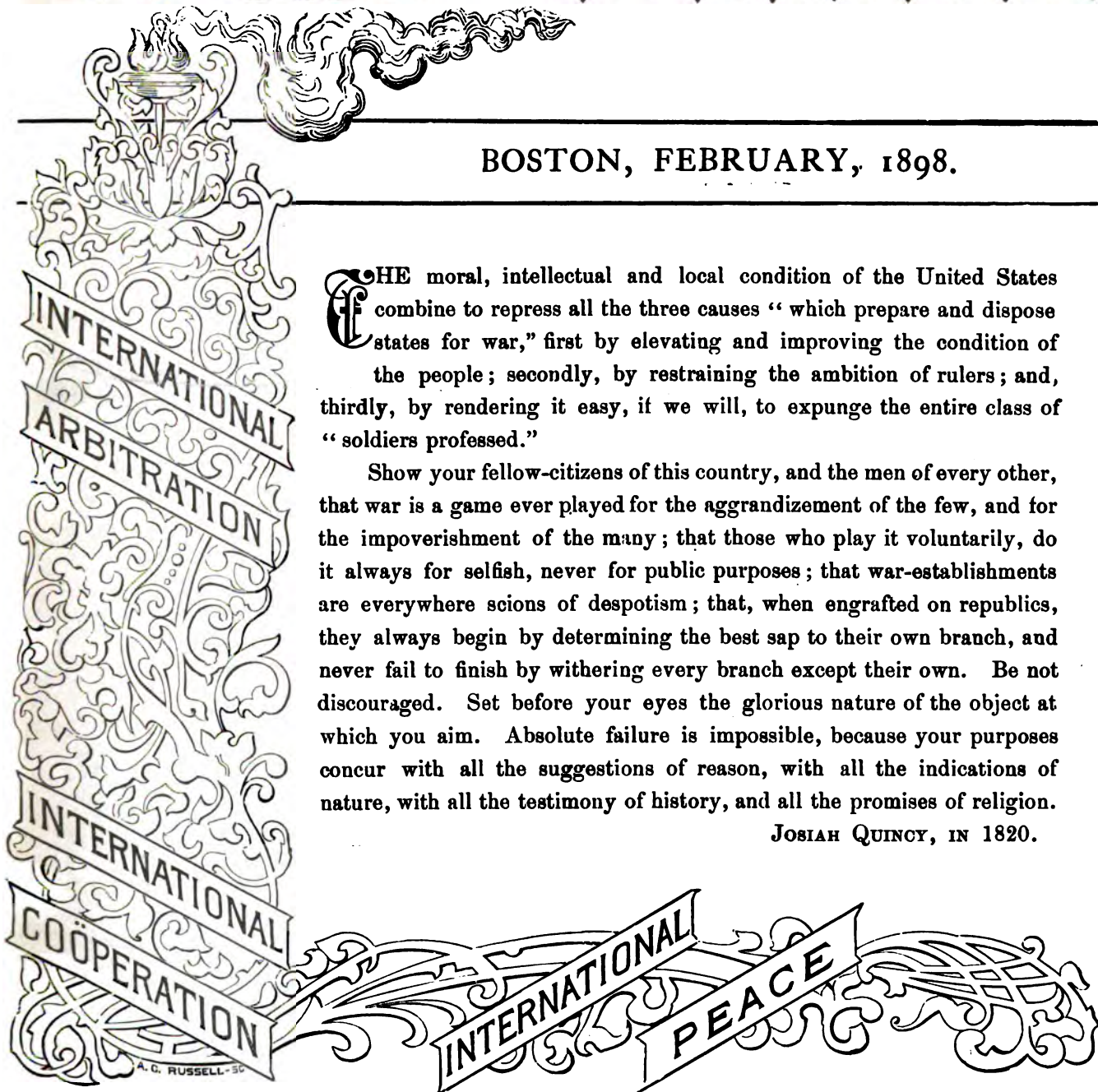


BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1898.

**T**HE moral, intellectual and local condition of the United States combine to repress all the three causes "which prepare and dispose states for war," first by elevating and improving the condition of the people; secondly, by restraining the ambition of rulers; and, thirdly, by rendering it easy, if we will, to expunge the entire class of "soldiers professed."

Show your fellow-citizens of this country, and the men of every other, that war is a game ever played for the aggrandizement of the few, and for the impoverishment of the many; that those who play it voluntarily, do it always for selfish, never for public purposes; that war-establishments are everywhere scions of despotism; that, when engrafted on republics, they always begin by determining the best sap to their own branch, and never fail to finish by withering every branch except their own. Be not discouraged. Set before your eyes the glorious nature of the object at which you aim. Absolute failure is impossible, because your purposes concur with all the suggestions of reason, with all the indications of nature, with all the testimony of history, and all the promises of religion.

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**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## The Future Policy of the Great Powers.

Events now taking place on the coast of China are interesting not only from the point of view of their bearing on the immediate future of that empire, but also from that of what is likely to be, in the not remote future, the relation of the great powers in general to one another and to the rest of the world. If we take into account the impulse of expansiveness, the greed, the desire for supremacy, the dislike and fear of one another, the craftiness, and the almost total lack of morality in their policies, which now control the movements of Germany, France, Russia, Great Britain and Japan in the East, it is simply impossible to forecast the outcome of the present effervescence. Several results are possible. Some one of the powers may outwit the others and get such a hold in China as ultimately to control a large part if not the whole of it. They may ultimately agree

among themselves to divide the empire among them. Their fear and hatred of one another may neutralize their aggressiveness and give China time to rally and to develop strength sufficient to prevent further inroads into her territory. Their dread of a conflict of arms may check their boldness and make them content with simply opening a few more treaty ports. A naval war may be precipitated at any moment. It would be easy enough to say what would happen, if any of these nations could act independently, of its own free will. As it is, one prophecy is as good as another.

But there is a larger question than the immediate one. To this larger question all lovers of pure human progress may well address themselves. The great colonizing impulse of the last two centuries, which, if not led by the spirit of conquest, has often been dominated by it, has not spent itself. All careful observers know that the recent outburst of it has been both widespread and unexpectedly vigorous. It has continued to move Great Britain. It has strengthened itself in France. It has tried to maintain itself in Italy. It has burst out like a volcanic eruption in Germany. It has pushed Russia steadily southeastward. It helped to turn the head of Greece. It has seized new Japan. It is beginning to affect the United States with a strange delirium. The fact that there is little more of the earth's surface open to conquest has seemed to madden the powers and urged them on to seize what they can get of that which remains.

The question is what this selfish, self-exalting, aggressive spirit, if it is allowed to continue, is hereafter to feed upon. There is not much more room for its operation against the natives in Africa. The territorial limits of the European powers in the Dark Continent are rapidly approaching definiteness. The New World is no longer open to colonization. The Russian empire and the British empire in India are now nearly touching.

All the important islands of the sea have been seized, and the remaining stony, barren, worthless ones are being grabbed as if they were nuggets of gold.

In view of these facts, and of the great armaments which the powers have at command and are constantly increasing, it is the greatest and most serious question of the day how this spirit of aggressiveness, which spares nothing that is within the reach of its might, can be checked and ultimately destroyed. If there is any demon at the casting out of whom all good men and women of all lands ought to assist, it is this one. Hitherto Africa, Australasia, the islands of the sea have served as an outlet for its evil workings. Civilization has been spared much of its pent-up violence, only because beyond the borders of civilization existed lands and races, on which it could lay its conscienceless hands without fear of arrest or rebuke. Having done its work in these regions, the story of which is long and dreadful, the evil spirit is now turning upon China as the next weakest portion of the earth. If it is not arrested here, either through the neutralizing effect of the mutual jealousy of the powers or the prevalence of a better spirit; if the powers should proceed to divide up China, each grabbing what it can safely seize, who shall say what would be the next step? Does anybody believe that the spirit of aggressiveness, gloating over its triumphs in the rending in pieces of the great Mongolian empire, would stop short at once content? Are the great powers in their career of aggression and expansion some day to turn their greedy faces towards the small civilized states of Europe and rob them of their independence? Are the colonial wars of the New World in the last century to have their parallel in the twentieth century in a great conflict of the colonizing powers in Africa? Finally, finding no other outlet for this aggressiveness, and no other way in which to relieve the tension produced by their accumulated armaments, are they ultimately to turn madly against one another in a last desperate struggle for enlargement and supremacy? Is this the way in which the long-expected European conflict is at last to come, involving possibly our own country and others of this hemisphere?

These are not merely idle questions. They naturally arise in connection with events now taking place in the far Orient and in Africa. There is only one

way to avoid some or all of these eventualities. The spirit, the movements out of which they might naturally spring, must be suppressed. It may seem a hopeless task to undertake. But nothing is hopeless which is right. Many influences are already at work making it more and more difficult for the powers to go on in a course which has already wrought infinite mischief. These influences must be heavily and quickly re-enforced, for the work of a century is now shortened to a day. Too many good men think it utterly useless to attempt to change a spirit so deeply rooted, armed with such tremendous forces and operating on such a stupendous scale. A hundred million voices ought to be lifted without delay, while the fate of China is trembling before the criminal greed of Europe. There are a hundred million, and what might they not accomplish if uttered in unison in every land! The nations must be taught that there is a wise and noble way of spending the vast energies which are now wasted in iniquitous aggressions on the rights of weaker peoples, and in piling up armaments against one another. There are immense fields of internal improvements which have scarcely been touched. There are great lines of co-operation in which the nations might join and send forward human progress by "leaps and bounds." The iniquities of the powers must be unsparingly condemned; the good which they leave undone must be constantly held up before them until the light finally shames all darkness out of their policies. Let every voice of every good man and woman in every land be lifted up in this behalf, though it may be for the time the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Such voices are always ultimately heard by a multitude, and in their final conquering force are more terrible than armies with banners.

### Coast Defences and the Millennium.

In the January *Forum* General Miles pleads, almost pathetically, for the rapid development of our coast defences, on two grounds. First, we have not reached the millennium. He says:

"There are two impressions entertained by many of our people that in my opinion are not well founded. . . . One is that we have reached the millennium, that the world has become sufficiently enlightened to abhor war, and to settle all its national and international affairs on intelligent and humane principles. What facts warrant such a pleasing sentiment, belief, or hope? The heralds of time that record the

passing years and months record also national strife and wars in some part of the world. There never was a time in the whole history of the world when so much ingenuity, wealth and skill were employed in the invention and construction of the appliances of war, etc."

The General is certainly mistaken as to the number of our people who believe that we have reached the millennium. We find them to be very few in the regions where we move. But are we not to leave off great evils and vicious systems until the millennium comes? We had supposed that the way to bring on the blessed "thousand years" was by abandoning all forms of iniquity. There are many of our people who believe that *this part* of the world has become sufficiently enlightened to abhor war, and to settle all its difficulties on humane principles, without the least danger from other parts of the earth. The question is not of the world but of our own country. We have settled fifty, that is all but three of our difficulties, with other nations on intelligent and humane principles, in the one-hundred and fifteen years since the close of the Revolution, even when our coast defences were not very formidable. Are we less able to do it to-day, or less likely to do so? On the contrary, we are becoming so intelligent in the business and so habituated to it, that we are practically sure to continue our present peaceful course, unless we shall allow ourselves to be blinded and led astray by those who think that there is nothing to be depended on but war and warlike defences.

The other reason assigned by General Miles for a large and rapid development of our coast defences is that wars frequently occur when least anticipated. The following paragraph from his article is interesting for the bit of history that it contains:

"The other impression—equally ill founded, it appears to me, in experience and history—is, that timely warning will always be given and ample opportunity allowed to prepare a nation for a condition of war. In fact, the unexpected more frequently occurs; and war comes, like the cloud-burst or the sweep of the tornado, when a nation or people is unprepared. In 1881—3, the question came up in England as to whether it had been customary for a nation to declare war before the opening of hostilities; and the subject was carefully considered by the British government. The facts assembled were printed under the title of "Hostilities without Declaration of War: a Historical Abstract of the Cases in which Hostilities have occurred between Civilized Nations prior to Declaration or Warning, from 1700 to 1870."

A brief history of wars was given; and it was found that in the one hundred and seventy years, between 1700 and 1870, in which one hundred and seven wars were recorded, there had been less than ten instances in which any formal declaration of war had been made before actual hostilities commenced."

Reference is then made to the wars since 1870 as illustrating the same procedure, and to recent occurrences where but a few days or hours were allowed for compliance with demands made by one government upon another.

All that General Miles says on this subject is historically accurate, but little of it has any application whatever to the United States. If experience and history are to be called in to teach us, one would think it reasonable that our own history and experience should be used first of all. But there is not a word of this in his reasoning. Much of what he brings forward belongs to a time already far past, as things now move. The wars that have come suddenly like cloud-bursts have occurred almost wholly between nations that were prepared for war and always cultivating the art and the spirit of war,—nations governed by principles and policies widely differing from our own. In the few cases in which we have gone to war with other nations, it was we who took the initiative, in at least one instance behaving a good deal like a tornado. *No nation has ever declared war against us*, either suddenly or otherwise, in the whole of our national history since the close of the Revolution, a period about two-thirds as long as the one hundred and seventy years from which General Miles draws a part of his argument. *We* declared war against Great Britain in 1812. *We* forced and then declared war against Mexico in 1846. We have had this long period of freedom from war descents upon us chiefly because we have faithfully followed the principles of justice and friendly neutrality towards other nations, not because we have been better prepared for war than others, for we have often not been prepared at all. With the growth of civilization, notwithstanding the enormous growth of European armaments, we are for many reasons less liable to attack to-day than ever before, if we keep our armaments at a minimum and continue to treat other peoples with fairness and brotherliness. If arguments are to be found for the increase of our coast defences, they must be brought from other sources than those mentioned by General Miles. The millennium may be yet a good way off, but

that is a paltry excuse for continuing in ways which every son of the millennium, when it comes, will declare to be ways of folly. It is certainly far from a mark of wisdom to spend millions upon millions upon works of defence which will be useless before they are finished, against the anticipated attacks of an enemy who will never exist unless we create him. The wisdom, the honor, the supremacy, the safety of the United States lie along another path.

### The Congressional Insurgents.

While the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill was under consideration in the House of Representatives on the 18th ult., an effort was made by De Armond of Missouri to attach to the bill an amendment providing for the recognition of Cuban belligerency. At once a regular insurrection against Spain broke out in the House, and carried into its ranks the whole Democratic contingent, and would have swept away many Republicans but for the strictness of party discipline. The feeling in Congress on the subject has been very intense, though suppressed, ever since the last Administration declined to pay any attention to the concurrent belligerency resolution passed by both Houses. When this pent-up feeling once began to find vent, it seemed that it would break down all barriers. It would have done so, had not the subject been brought up as a purely partizan move. As a party attack on the Administration, through its Cuban policy, the Republicans felt bound to resist it, though many of them were in entire sympathy with the idea of granting belligerent rights to the Cubans, and under other circumstances would have acted just as senselessly as their political opponents were then acting. Democrat after Democrat, for three successive days, offered amendments providing for the recognition, in some form, of belligerency. All these proposed amendments were ruled out under points of order, which were mostly about as arbitrary as the amendments themselves were forced and ungermane.

It is not often that the deplorable squabbles of party politics result in such a service to the country as in this instance. It is certainly a case where evil has been overruled for good, and we may thank God that he has made the wrath of men to praise him. The President would probably have paid no attention to the action of Congress, even if the Morgan belligerency resolution, which passed the Senate at

its last session, had been taken up and approved by the House, or the subject forced through in any other way. His policy is fixed, and will doubtless be adhered to, having as it does the approval of nearly all the better elements of the country. But it would have made his course more difficult and increased the chances of open rupture with Spain, if on the heels of the Havana riots the House had declared strongly for belligerency. The action of the majority of the House in refusing to admit the subject makes it certain that nothing can be done to force the President to change his policy, until he and the Republican leaders think it wise that this be done. This we do not believe they will do, at least not in the immediate future, the feeling of the country is so strongly in favor of the United States keeping hands off.

The speeches in the House in favor of granting belligerent rights to the Cubans, so far as they could be called speeches, were made up largely of jingoistic sentiment and of party frenzy. They showed little or no appreciation of national dignity, of international morality and responsibility, of the costly and disastrous complications into which the country might by a false step be so easily plunged, or of the true mission of our country among the nations. They proceeded on the theory that the Cubans are an altogether different sort of people from what they are known to be. They were full of passionate and indiscriminating declamation in behalf of liberty, as if all professions of liberty, however lawless, unformed and immoral it may be, were to be taken at their word; as if anything under the name of liberty were worthy of infinite sacrifice of treasure and blood. They showed absolutely no sense of the horrors, desolations and iniquities of a war into which they would recklessly plunge the nation, in order, forsooth, to stop the abominations of a so-called war which they declare to be a disgrace to civilization; as if one disgrace could be wiped out by a tenfold greater disgrace!

The country may well congratulate itself that it has again been delivered by "a fortuitous concurrence" of circumstances from the reckless purposes of these men, who without intending to be, are nevertheless real enemies of our civilization. We wish we could believe that the star of their hopes has finally set, but the ways of politics are such that we know not what a day may bring forth.

It is a pleasure to note that two or three of the speeches made in support of the President's policy were really of a high order. That of Mr. Hitt, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, was an able and judicious statement and defense of the Administration's position. So was that of Mr. Johnson of Indiana, who in his speeches oftener perhaps than any other man in the House gets beyond the range of mere politics and addresses himself to the questions in hand from the standpoint of principle, political morality and genuine patriotism.

As to Cuba itself, the recent riots have shown clearly how complex and difficult the whole problem is from every point of view. Nobody believes that peace and order could long be maintained under Spanish rule. How is autonomy, even if established, to do anything for the island, since not only the independents are firmly opposed to it but also the loyalists, who brought on the recent riots on purpose to defeat the efforts of the Sagasta ministry to make Cuba a self-governing colony? If the island were declared independent, one can well imagine the state of confusion and bloodshed which would continue because of the quarrels of the three parties into which the inhabitants are divided. Under these circumstances, what solution of the dreadful situation is there to offer? There is certainly none which can be imposed from without. The situation is such that, though dreadful beyond utterance, it must be allowed to solve itself from within. That is the only thing possible, it seems to us, and our country will show itself wise if it continues to hold itself aloof, except so far as it can aid by pacific means, and to await the developments which time shall bring. In this way its example will ultimately be worth much more to Spain, to Cuba and to the rest of the world than any violent interference could possibly be.

### The Immigration Problem.

On a superficial consideration of the subject, there seems to be much to be said in favor of the further restriction of immigration. A close analysis of it, both theoretically and historically, leads inevitably, it seems to us, to the conclusion that the manner in which the Lodge bill, already passed by the Senate, proposes to deal with the difficulty is both wrong in principle and sure to fail in practice.

The measure proposes to protect the purity of

American suffrage by keeping out undesirable foreigners. The present immigration laws are as sufficient to keep out such persons, as any that might be enacted, if they were faithfully administered, not in a slavish literal way, but according to their real spirit and purpose. These laws are very vexatious as they exist. There is not another country in the world, probably, which gives as many annoyances to those coming to its shores as ours now does. The laws are found to be so burdensome and difficult of execution in practice that oftentimes the only way to get on with them is to ignore them. Does any one suppose it would be different under the Lodge measure? Some way would be found of having otherwise desirable immigrants read twenty-five words of the Constitution, though they were incapable of actually doing so. The measure proposes to send whole families back, if the head of the family can not read. Suppose a family of five should arrive. The mother can read well. So can a son of nineteen and a daughter of sixteen. They are all bright and promising. The "old man" is upright and industrious. There are but few officers of the law who would not in such a case find some way of having him read twenty-five words before twenty-four hours.

Even if the law were strictly executed, the tendency would be to fix attention on the reading qualification and to neglect others. In this way undesirable immigrants who could read,—and there are many of them,—would be more likely to get in than they are now.

The measure is really a measure to restrict immigration, on the ground that we do not need any further additions to our population from abroad, that we are already crowded almost to the suffocation point. Do not the advocates of the measure know that the whole seventy millions of our population, if put into the single state of Texas, would not make so dense a population as that of Massachusetts, and that four hundred millions in the whole country would give us only half as many to the square mile as the Bay State, not a very fertile state, has? There are few people that have ever pictured to themselves the vastness of the undeveloped sections of our country, waiting for millions of people whom we can not yet put into them. There is plenty of room for all the honest and industrious families that, under unrestricted immigration, would come to our shores for the next fifty or one hundred years, and



we ought to welcome them whether or not they can "read *and* write" or "read *or* write." By the reading test, if it could be carried out, we should shut out a very large number of people, who would be useful to us in developing these regions; we should at the same time let in most of the scoundrels, who can both "read *or* write" and "read *and* write."

If a real statesman, who understood American principles, American interests and American duty to civilization, were in charge of the immigration matter in the Senate he would take an entirely different course from the one now being pursued, or drop the subject altogether. The immigration problem is very little one of entrance; it is almost wholly one of distribution. This problem of distribution has, strange to say, never been tackled at all, at least not in any large way. The immigration problem can never be solved, under any number or kind of restriction laws, until that of distribution is seriously treated by the general government in coöperation with the States—both the sea-board States and the thinly settled ones beyond the Mississippi. Large sums of money might very profitably be spent in this direction, and there is some constitutional way of doing it.

The pending measure misses the real difficulty as to the purity of the suffrage. The problem, here, is not one of entrance, it is one of naturalization. In naturalization the road to citizenship might well be made both longer and steeper than it is. But even here the dangers to the suffrage from the foreign-born are, in our judgment, exaggerated. The suffrage has never been, on the whole, purer than it is to-day. The chief dangers to it, too, come not from the immigrants themselves, but from the selfish, unscrupulous American demagogues who "rush" them into citizenship for the sake of having their votes to manipulate. So long as American politicians of this base type continue, the increased purity to the ballot arising from the capacity to read "twenty-five words" would be inappreciable. It is even probable that the "little learning" would make them easier to manage.

One of the most serious objections to further attempts to restrict immigration is the utter impossibility of carrying out such measures to any effective extent. In the present state of international association, with the ever increasing means of rapid, world-wide travel, it is certain that people will travel,

trade, work and live largely where they please. If they can not get into a country in one way, they will in another. Our experiences with the Chinese ought to convince us once for all of the utter futility of all efforts to check the natural flow of the currents of our present world-society. The Chinese exclusion laws are now confessed, by all who know the facts, to be a dead failure. Shut off from the natural ports, the Chinese have got into Canada and Mexico and crossed over the long border lines practically at their will. It is thought by those most conversant with the subject that the influx from China has even been stimulated and increased by the restriction.

We shall have the same experience with European immigrants, if the Lodge measure goes into effect. If it should prove efficient in keeping any large number out at the regular landing ports, as it most certainly will not, those in Europe desiring to make their home in the United States will find their way in through Canada and Mexico. The route is only a little longer, and the long border can not be guarded against them. Only absolute exclusion, which the nation would never think of attempting, would be efficient. Even this would not keep out those having a racial resemblance to our present inhabitants, among whom are found practically all races.

If the proposed measure becomes law and an attempt is made to carry it out, it will prove a ridiculous and humiliating failure. It will multiply annoyances and hardships to those desirable immigrants seeking a home and an improvement of their condition in our country. It will do nothing for the purity of our suffrage. It will create friction and produce increasing dislike for us abroad. It will lessen confidence in our profession of love of liberty and of the general weal of humanity. It will give the lie to the high principles of our national life and run square into the face of our best traditions on the subject.

The problem, or problems, thus sought to be solved, will have to be approached from an altogether different standpoint. They can be solved only by the faithful, persistent application of spiritual, moral and educational means here within our own dominion. Our wisdom and our success lie in this direction. The ends of the earth are upon us, and we can not get rid of them. The short cut of attempted exclusion will prove a humiliating, expen-



sive and endless road, and will bring no honor either to the nation or to those whose shortsighted patriotism finds vent in schemes which are essentially un-American.

### Editorial Notes.

On the fourteenth of January the President submitted to Congress the awards and report of the Commission appointed under the treaty of 1896 to determine the amount of damages to be paid to British subjects on account of the seizure of their sealing vessels in Behring Sea. In submitting the report the president recommended "prompt and favorable action by Congress to the end that these long pending questions may be finally and satisfactorily terminated." The amount of the claims allowed on account of twenty-two vessels was \$264,188.91. Interest on this amounted to \$149,790.86. Fourteen personal claims were allowed, amounting to \$49,475. Two further claims, originally thrown out but finally considered, amounting to \$9,696.99, were allowed. The whole amount allowed, therefore, was, with interest, \$473,151.26. This amount differs slightly from that given in the telegraphic reports, which was noted in our last issue. The treaty of 1896, under which the Commission was appointed, requires that an appropriation to pay these awards be made within six months.

The following statement from Ex-President Cleveland has been called out by remarks of Senator Morgan in the Senate representing that the ex-President was in favor of the annexation of Hawaii:

"I do not believe in discussing matters of this kind as a private citizen. I do not care, however, to be misrepresented. I will, therefore, say that ever since the question of Hawaiian annexation was presented I have been utterly and constantly opposed to it. The first thing I did after my inauguration in March, 1893, was to recall from the federal Senate an annexation treaty then pending before that body. I regarded, and still regard, the proposed annexation of these islands as not only opposed to our national policy, but as a perversion of our national mission.

"The mission of our nation is to build up and make a greater country out of what we already have, instead of annexing islands. I did not suppose that there was anyone in public life who misunderstood my position on this matter. It had been said that I was partial to the former Hawaiian monarchy, and desired to see it restored, in order that I might treat with it for the purpose of annexation. How could I have any such an idea if I regarded annexation as contrary to our national policy.

"The same answer can be made to the statement that my opposition to Hawaiian annexation was based merely upon dissatisfaction with the treaty pending before the Senate at the time of my second inauguration. I was opposed to annexation as such.

"In regard to the Hawaiian monarchy, aside from any question of annexation and without harboring any previ-

ous designs of restoring that monarchy, I investigated the relations of our representatives to its overthrow. This investigation satisfied me that our interference in the revolution of 1893 was disgraceful. I would gladly, therefore, for the sake of our national honor and our country's fair name, have repaired that wrong.

"In regard to the Cuban question: My position was fully made known to Congress in the various messages in which the subject was discussed. I was opposed to the recognition of the belligerency of the island, and my position was perfectly well known. Indeed, so unmistakable were my views on the subject that I was time and again threatened by frenzied men and women with dire calamities to be visited upon myself and children because of what they saw fit to assert as my enmity to the Cuban cause.

"My position on all these questions was made perfectly clear in the official documents of the time, and there can be no possible mistake. It is very difficult for me to understand Senator Morgan's evidently wrong impressions in regard to my position. Indeed, it is one of the strangest things of these strange times that my position in these matters should be called into question."

Count Esterhazy, the retired French army officer who has been court-martialed on a charge of having had dealings with a foreign power detrimental to France, has fared better than Captain Dreyfus, whose case has created so much excitement in France. Esterhazy was acquitted at the end of a two days' trial, the decision of the court being unanimously in his favor. Both these cases illustrate one of the worst phases of militarism, namely, a narrow, sensitive, suspicious selfishness, which, on occasion, bursts out into tyrannical aggressiveness against both military men and civilians. There is a wide-spread feeling in France that Captain Dreyfus is an unjustly condemned man, and the demand has been strong and continued for a re-opening of his case. But so far all efforts to get a re-hearing for him have proved fruitless. His courtmartial was in secret, and the French nation does not know to-day the real grounds of his condemnation. But the military authorities, or the national authorities under the terrible bondage of the military régime, have not dared to re-open the case or let the nation into the secret of the proceedings, lest it should be interpreted across the border as an act of weakness. The military régime knows no mercy, and justice itself is often trampled under foot by its iron-heeled discipline. Any citizen in the nation, however loyal and innocent, only has to have some suspicion of betraying military secrets raised against him by some public official or private adversary, and all his rights as a man and a citizen are at once imperilled, and, whether he be innocent or guilty, are liable to be lost forever through the swift decision of a secret trial. When race prejudice is mixed up with the matter, as in these cases in France, the evil is at its worst. Liberty practically has no meaning in a country where such a régime prevails.

It is a wonder that a great, liberty-loving people like the French have submitted to such a tyranny so long, a tyranny which continues and will continue to tighten its grasp on the throats of the people so long as it lasts. As with every other tyranny, so with the military, the older it becomes the more severe and relentless it grows. France will have to have another Fourteenth of July and destroy one more Bastille before she becomes a nation of really free people.

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Li Hung Chang holds the same view of the seizure of Kiao Chau by Germany as is held by all sensible people everywhere. He characterizes it as an act of war, in direct violation of existing treaties and of international law. The Chinese government, he says, offered, in immediate and full redress for the murder of the two missionaries, the punishment of the criminals, the dismissal of the local officials and large compensation for losses. He says that outlaws exist in China as in all other countries, and that neither treaties, law, nor religion can entirely suppress crime. There are places in every country where lawlessness abounds. To such a place the German missionaries determined to go, knowing that the inhabitants themselves were often victims of the bandits. He thinks it very unjust for China to be oppressed while she is struggling to recover from the effects of the late war, and to emerge from the restraints of her ancient civilization. China desires to preserve her territory intact, to improve it steadily, and to open it equally to all countries for the development of Commerce. This judgment of the distinguished Chinese viceroy about the Kiao Chau incident is worthy of a genuine Christian statesman. Germany's lease of Kiao Chau for a long period has covered up to some extent the crime committed in its occupation, but it has not changed in the least its character. The whole proceeding reminds us of our own wickedness in robbing Mexico of a vast section of her territory and then proceeding to lay our national conscience by paying her fifteen millions for the territory which we had taken by violence and meant to keep anyway.

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From the nature of the subject, it was due, we think, to the public that the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii should have been discussed in open Senate. It is a matter peculiarly affecting the future of the whole country, and every one of us had a right to know what reasons the Senators could give for making the far-off island republic a constituent part of the nation. Practically, however, the country will lose nothing, for two reasons. First, everything of importance said in the Senate immediately leaks out, and, secondly, the course of the debate has shown that there was not the least new consideration to be advanced. The Senators have been threshing over the old straw, until they themselves have apparently ceased to have any more than an academic interest in the mat-

ter. It is inconceivable how any man, who had already last year talked himself dry, could have kept himself awake while speaking four days on the subject. That feat has however been accomplished. We do not wonder that, as the last dispatches state, not enough Senators have been won to annexation to secure for the treaty the necessary two-thirds vote. It is now almost sure that the necessary majority can not be found, and that the treaty will not be allowed to come to a vote. The next step, if one is taken, will be a concurrent resolution, and such a step will not be a short or easy one for the friends of annexation. Public sentiment to-day is certainly not inclining at all their way.

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Much excitement was occasioned and all sorts of rumors set afloat by the rioting which broke out in Havana at the middle of last month. It appears that the rioting was induced by Loyalists because of their dislike of the autonomy scheme, which they are determined to defeat if possible. There were no assaults on the American consulate either during the first or subsequent riots. Frequent communications passed between Consul-General Lee and President McKinley, and Mr. Lee was authorized to order a warship whenever he thought American interests endangered. Trouble having arisen again and anti-United States circulars having been distributed among the Havana populace, President McKinley ordered the battleship Maine to proceed to Havana. Before issuing the order, he consulted with the Spanish minister at Washington and received his sanction. This course, which was in every way prudent and statesmanlike, though very displeasing to the congressional jingoists, prevented the sending of the Maine from being looked upon as an act unfriendly to Spain. The Spanish papers have shown some irritation over the action of the President, but the Spanish ministry have taken it in good part, as the riots in Havana were specially directed against the ministry's course in Cuba. British and German warships have also been sent to Havana, where things have evidently been in a state of considerable anarchy. Havana is strongly guarded, and the last reports are that General Blanco has gone from the city, and is trying in person to bring the insurgent leaders to accept autonomy. There is no likelihood that he will succeed. Small engagements continue to occur, and General Aranguren, the insurgent commander who ordered Colonel Ruiz court-martialed and shot, is reported to have been killed. Two Spanish warships are to be sent into United States waters to return the "friendly call" of the Maine at Havana. The officers of the Maine have visited the acting captain-general at Havana and been courteously received. It is reported that the Maine will not remain long in Cuban waters but will be replaced by a smaller

vessel, which will probably remain until the close of the war.

Mr. Ferdinand Brunetière, in his impressions of Eastern America, given in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, makes one reflection which many people, who are always seeing differences in people of different nationalities and priding themselves that they, and their fellow nationals in a less degree, are superior to all the rest of creation, would do well to take seriously to heart:

"I am so constituted in my eyes and my mind that wherever I have been I have found men more alike than it suited their vanity to admit. It is an unfortunate disposition, doubtless, for an observer, but who knows that it will not enable one to see more in the long run. How many travellers there are whose stories have impressed me with astonishment at their own ingenuity! They were always discovering differences, which were not differences at all to me. Have we not all, or almost all of us, — Europeans and Americans, Anglo-Saxons and Latins, yellow men and white, — within ourselves samples of all the vices? Granted, of course, that we have also our share of all the virtues, and let us say with the poet:

Humani generis mores tibi nôsse volanti  
Sufficit una domus."

How many people, conceited of self and swollen with national vanity, would find it a profitable spiritual exercise to spend some time in reconstituting their eyes and their minds!

Two legal experts, sent by the British government, have discovered in the vaults of the law courts at Georgetown, British Guiana, a series of volumes of memoranda drawn up by the Commandeur of the Settlement, containing a running account of the Dutch Settlement from the middle till towards the close of the seventeenth century. The memoranda are all in Dutch, the writing is easily read, though the paper is torn in many places. A translation of the volumes is being made into English. This new evidence, it is thought, will throw so much light on the boundary question as to make the work of the arbitrators much easier. It will take several months to put the evidence in shape to use. The court will probably sit in Paris. The Czar has given his sanction to the appointment of Professor Maartens as umpire of the court.

Mr. E. P. Alexander, the arbitrator appointed by President Cleveland to settle the boundary differences between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, has rendered a second award in favor of Costa Rica. This decision determines the present boundary line in the lower part of the course of the San Juan River where it runs through a flat and sandy delta. The river, which marks the boundary, is here subject to changes of its bed. The Nicaraguan Commission wanted a fixed boundary marked out, which changes in the river would not affect. The Costa Rican Commission

argued for the river as the boundary, and Mr. Alexander decided in their favor and said what channel should be considered the river. Under this decision, which Mr. Alexander claimed to follow international law in making, boundary differences may arise again in the future as the river may hereafter change its course.

*La Paix par le Droit* for December last contains an account of the eighteenth annual meeting of the Institute of International Law, which occurred at Copenhagen from the twenty-sixth of August to the fourth of September last. The meetings were held in the University Palace and were opened by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Prince Royal and his two sons being present. The President chosen was Mr. Goos, former Minister of Public Instruction. The subjects discussed were "States, Cities, etc., as Moral Personalities," "Emigration, and Immigration," "Harbor Regulations," "The Right to Labor," etc. The discussions seem to have been unusually lively and not very coherent, if the account given by M. de Montluc in the above mentioned journal is correct. Four sessions were given to the subject of "Harbor Regulations." The Institute will meet next year, for its twenty-fifth anniversary, at The Hague.

The Lombard Peace Union, Milan, Italy, has just published its ninth annual illustrated peace almanac. The editor is E. T. Moneta, president of the Union. Nine artists have furnished designs for the almanac, illustrating the horrors and absurdities of war, the blessings of peace and the work of the peace associations. More than a score of contributors have furnished articles. Among them we notice the names of Frederic Passy of France, the distinguished Russian sociologist Novicow, Miss P. H. Peckover of England, etc. The title of the almanac is "*Giu le Armi*" (down with arms). Most of the articles are short pointed ones, of a nature to impress vividly the minds of the readers among whom the almanac is circulated.

An important announcement has just been made through the State Department, which, if true, gives more hope of the early coming of peace in Cuba. Minister Woodford has induced the Madrid authorities to enter into negotiations for two commercial treaties, one with Spain and the other relating wholly to Cuba. The Madrid authorities have even consented to direct negotiations between a Commissioner from the new Cuban autonomist Cabinet and the United States authorities. The Commissioner from Cuba is to come to Washington to carry on the negotiations for the Cuban treaty. The treaty with Spain will be arranged at Madrid by General Woodford. It is believed that this new commercial

arrangement, when completed, will induce many of the insurgents to accept autonomy, and that thus peace will be restored to the island in the near future. Captain-General Blanco says that Cuba should look forward with confidence to the near approach of peace, which he believes will come during the present month. Commerce is mightier than arms.

Great Britain's course in the East is being watched with the greatest interest. In a recent speech at Swansea Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made a statement to the effect that Chinese ports should not be shut to Great Britain. He said that his government did not regard China as a place for conquest or colonization by any European or other power, but as a hopeful field for the development of the Commerce not only of Great Britain, but of the world. He believed that the government would have the sympathy and support not only of all parties in Parliament but of the best public opinion everywhere. The Chancellor's declaration has been approved not only by leaders of the Liberals but also by newspapers of every shade of opinion. In this country much sympathy has been expressed with the British government in the policy thus announced. Japan is siding with Great Britain in the demand for equality of commercial opportunity. In consideration of a loan of sixty or eighty millions of dollars for which China is negotiating Great Britain asks that China shall not alienate any part of the Yangtze valley, that Great Britain shall have the right to extend her railway from Burma through Yunnan and that China shall open three new treaty ports, one in the north, one in the center, and one in the south. To the opening of the first of these ports, Talienwan, Russia is opposed; to that of the third one, France. But Great Britain is likely to have her way, in large measure at any rate, and it is reasonably certain that no blood will be shed. The risks are too great for any of the powers to venture to go to war to prevent the peaceful opening of these ports to the commerce of the world.

### Brevities.

On the 25th of August, 1790, Mirabeau said: "The moment is perhaps not far from us when liberty, reigning without a rival over the two worlds, shall realize the wish of philosophy, release the human race from the crime of war and proclaim universal peace."

... Before the recent meeting of the American Humane Society Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald opened his address by saying: "While war continues to be possible between nations calling themselves Christian, all other brutalities are possible."

... At the Peace Congress held in London in 1851 the president, Sir David Brewster, wore on his breast an olive

branch which had been sent him from France for the occasion.

... More clergymen of the Church of England took part in the observance of Peace Sunday in Great Britain this year than ever before.

... Dr. C. A. Berry, since his return to England, has publicly made the statement that during his five weeks' journeyings in the United States he did not meet one man who was opposed to arbitration, though he found in some quarters an objection to a binding treaty.

... The Tabernacle Church at Sheffield, England, has passed a resolution protesting against "the cruel and revengeful policy pursued by our (British) military authorities in India, in burning numerous villages, scattering defenceless women and children, rendering them homeless and destitute—barbarous proceedings which bring discredit and dishonor upon the British name."

... The Russian naval estimates for 1898, including ship-building and harbor improvement, amount to twenty-three millions of dollars.

... The second number of the *Christian Register*, Boston, under the new management, contains an article on "War or Peace" by Mr. W. Henry Winslow.

... The first number of the new journal, *La Vita Internazionale*, alluded to in our last issue, has reached us from Milan, Italy, where it is published. It has thirty-two pages and a cover. Besides others, it contains articles on "The Two Italies (North and South)," "The Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance," "Fifty Years Afterwards, 1848-1898," "The Crisis of the Family," "An Apology for War." There are "Politico-Social Notes," notes on "The Peace Movement," etc. The journal is published semi-monthly at \$2.00 a year, for Italy, \$3.00 for other countries.

... Björnstjerne Björnson, the great Norwegian author, is endeavoring to get Norway, Sweden and Denmark to conclude an agreement to submit every controversy to a court of arbitration.

... It has been estimated that the armies of Europe, on a war footing would make a procession reaching round the globe, and that it would take them about a year; marching night and day, to pass a given point.

... *Concord* the organ of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, begins the new year increased in size, improved greatly in appearance, with a new design for its front page. It has a new editor, G. H. Ferris, and the January number contains contributions by Lord Farrar, Frederic Harrison, Justin McCarthy, William Clarke, Hodgson Pratt and others.

... *Die Waffen Nieder* says that M. von Egidy, who made such an impression with his great speech at the time of the Hamburg Peace Congress, has recently been speaking in South Germany on "Die Kriegslose Zeit" (The Warless Time), and, according to the press, has everywhere made a profound impression.

... It is estimated that the British navy has cost five hundred millions of dollars, and that the navies of France, Germany and Italy have each cost more than half that sum.

. . . Señor Correa, *chargé d'affaires* of the Greater Republic of Central America at Washington, has received advices indicating that the complete consolidation of Nicaragua, Salvador and Honduras into one sovereign republic is progressing steadily. The constitution has been completed and will be passed upon by a constitutional assembly, of twenty delegates from each of the countries, to be held this spring.

. . . At the Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, on the evening of January second Dr. Edward Everett Hale delivered an address on "The Reign of Peace." His point of departure was the Supreme Court of the United States, and the address was a plea for a permanent international tribunal, which he thinks we ought, before the close of this century, to take the lead in establishing.

. . . President Dole of the Republic of Hawaii has arrived in this country, and is received as the guest of the nation. He says he has not come to try to influence in any way the decision of the question of annexation. He knows, however, the influence which his simple presence will have on the "unconscious cerebration" going on in the heads of Senators.

. . . United States Minister Angell at Constantinople has informed the State Department that the Turkish government has not yet yielded to his demand for the payment of an indemnity for the destruction of American mission property during the Armenian outbreak. The Porte takes the position that a government is not responsible for the destruction of private property during a riot, when the government has made every effort to guard it. The prospect of a speedy settlement is not promising.

. . . Daniel Hill, secretary of the Peace Association of the Friends in America, has commenced the publication at Richmond, Indiana, of a small, four-page paper in the interests of the peace cause. It is entitled *The Messenger*, and the price is twenty cents per year, or ten copies for one dollar. Secretary Hill's purpose is to make the little sheet a regular little peace gattling gun.

. . . Ambassador White has sent the State Department an emphatic denial of the rumor that he and Mrs. White had been snubbed at a reception given by Emperor William. He says that the Emperor and all others have been most kind to them.

. . . Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society, has been elected a Corresponding Member of the Central Committee of the International Association of Journalists, organized at Paris for the promotion of international peace.

. . . The General Peace League of Holland has just issued its twenty-fifth year book. It covers ninety-five pages, and contains a list of the peace societies in Europe and America, a report of the last annual meeting of the League, a review of the year 1897, an account of the Hamburg Peace Congress, and other interesting matter of local or general interest.

. . . The recent British expedition on the northwest frontier of India cost twenty million dollars per month. That was five hundred dollars per month for each of the forty thousand men of the army. It is so much more taxes to be paid by the poor Hindoos!

. . . Hon. Lyman J. Gage has written a letter to Mr. D. R. Goudie of Chicago, editor and publisher of *The Pen or Sword*, in which he expresses the conviction that the cause of arbitration and peace "ought to receive the support of all those who, engaged in trade and commerce, have come to realize the value of settled conditions, under which alone the peaceful arts of industry thrive, wealth accumulates, and man advances in his intellectual and moral development."

. . . Rev. George H. Hepworth, in one of his recent letters, reports a scholarly and well-to-do Armenian as saying: "If Europe would let us alone we might still have a future, but as it is we seem to be a doomed people. Europe has interfered in our favor and ruined us. She has roused the worst passions of the Turk against us, has excited his suspicions, and left us in the lurch to die or live as God may will."

. . . Our one-cent stamp is to be changed in color to green, and the five-cent stamp to a dark blue. These changes are made in accordance with a resolution passed at the meeting of the Universal Postal Congress at Washington last spring. This resolution provided that the one-cent, two-cent and five-cent stamps, or their equivalents, should be made uniform in color throughout the world. The two-cent stamp already fills the bill. The postage stamp is the first complete international institution. *Pax semper et ubique* ought to be its device.

. . . An international congress of press women will convene in Washington, D. C., February 18 and 19, under the auspices of the Woman's National Press Association. The chairman of the Congress committee is Hannah B. Sperry, 321 Delaware Ave., Northeast, Washington, D. C. The headquarters of the Congress will be at Willard's Hotel.

. . . President McKinley has decided to send a special agent to Cuba to distribute the supplies sent by the Central relief committee of New York. Consul-General Lee is unable to handle the large quantities of clothing, provisions, furniture and cooking utensils sent.

. . . The great engineers' strike in England, which began on the 13th of July last, and has been one of the longest and most extensive in the annals of English labor troubles, is ended. The terms made by the employers have been accepted. Work was simultaneously resumed in all the federated shops on the 31st ult.

. . . The British troops operating against the Afridis in Northwest India have just met with a serious disaster in a gorge near Shin-Kamar. The second battalion of the Yorkshire light infantry lost many officers and men. It is thought that this will so encourage the Afridis as to make a new invasion of the Tirah country necessary in the spring. This disaster came to the British while trying to cut off the retreat of a number of Afridis who had been driving their cattle to graze.

. . . It is reported that a Russian volunteer fleet is about to sail, to convey in the quickest possible time ten thousand Russian troops to the far East.

. . . An American man-of-war is to be sent to Samoa. Ex-Consul-General Churchill, just returned, has told the

President that the natives have no respect for the American government, which has not kept a war-ship at Apia. The British and German governments both keep war-ships in Samoan waters.

## Commerce and the Cornstalk as Peacemakers.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

The greatest achievement in manufacturing is the final acceptance of the service of the bacteria which dwell in nodules attached to leguminous plants, peas, beans and the like, between the stalk and the root. Living there they dissociate the nitrogen of the atmosphere, and, dying, convert it through the plant to the nutrition of the soil, the beast and the man, assuring the complete renovation of the slave-stricken soil of the southland.

The historic event of the year is the recognition of the transfer of the dominion of iron and steel from Europe to the United States, thus conveying to the people of this nation the paramount power in the development of commerce, which has given supremacy to great Britain for more than a century.

The most notably discovery of the year works in two directions. The word to conjure with is "cornstalk." The claims are made, and apparently sustained, for the conversion of dry cornstalks into two useful substances, cornstalk meal freed from cellulose or pith, and dry pith or cellulose freed from cornstalk meal. The first may add to the cattle food of this country a digestible, nutritious food equal to the best of hay and more than equal in quantity to the present hay crop of the United States. Nearly the whole of this product of cornstalks has been previously wasted.

If the claims which are made about the use of cellulose in naval construction are sustained, it is possible, even probable, that all the existing large battleships of the navies of the world are worthless for offense or defense. It is possible, even probable, that the next development will be a steel ram enveloped in cornstalk cellulose, unsinkable and impregnable, before which every existing type of battleship or cruiser must go down, ending naval war and the necessity of coast defence. Nothing more visionary or apparently absurd can be put before your readers, yet such is the promise of the cornstalk.

I submit these facts as the best Christmas greeting that can be presented. They contain the promise of peace, goodwill and plenty. They lead to the reunion of the English-speaking people who have become more and more interdependent, serving each other's needs in the pursuit of commerce, which lives and moves and has its being in the mutual benefit of men and nations.

The science of commerce rests on mutual benefit and requires for its conduct probity, integrity, character and capacity. Its end is constructive; its motto, progress and human welfare.

The science of war may call for the same qualities in the individual, but the conduct of war rests upon lying, cheating and misleading the enemy, spying, ambushing and slaughtering the incredulous, getting advantage by these methods so as to strike an enemy in the back or on the flank in place of meeting face to face.

As surely as the science of war is destruction and

rapine, the science of commerce, construction and progress, so surely will commerce prevail, while war shall cease, either because it has become so destructive on land that none can meet its demands, or so innocuous upon the sea, under the dominion of the cornstalk, as to make it a subject of national derision—*The Boston Globe*.

## Peace Among The Nations.

BY REV. SCOTT F. HERSHEY, PH.D.

Christmas Sermon at the First Presbyterian Church, Boston.

*"For unto us a child is born, and his name shall be called the Prince of Peace."* Isa. ix. 6:

He who came from heaven as the Prince of Peace, came as a prince to implant the principles of peace, which are truth and uprightness, integrity and confidence, righteousness and goodwill, justice and love. He came to teach these principles, not as ethical theories, but as practical working rules in the common philosophy of the life of man, of the life of the community, and of the life of the nation. This kingdom of peace, beginning in personal life, widens to affect all the vital interests of the community, and to righteously direct the higher course of the nation; and even then it must remain a kingdom under limitations never designed of God, unless it passes into the vast field where operate the Christian nations, and there preserve the integrity alike of justice and love; that the commercial, educational and religious progress of the race may go on, undisturbed by the hand of strife.

This Prince of Peace came, as told in prophecy, to dwell among men, to open up in the widening horizon of their moral life a vision of humanity as a unit, a brotherhood, and to open out towards that coming unity of the race, held in the bonds of peace, he laid, as highways for men and nations to travel, the paths of good-will and love.

Christ came to call men to repentance; no less, he came to call nations to repentance. He came as a teacher to men, and invites them to learn of him the ways of moral and spiritual prosperity; he came, also, to teach nations, and he invites them to learn of him the ways of national rectitude and international happiness. He found men offending God and sinning against truth and righteousness, and he told them of their inevitable doom. He has the same gospel for nations. Conformity to righteousness invigorates national life and makes it stalwart in all those heroic virtues which extend and elevate national character; while the conspiracy of selfish ambition, or of malice and hatred, will eventually and unalterably sweep nations on to the doom which fell upon Babylon and Rome, which is unmistakably closing about Spain.

The American Republic, the most remarkable product ever brought forth by the union of government and law with liberty and equality, may fairly be called a Christian nation. It was colonized by a devout Christian people from many lands. The voice of prayer has never been dismissed from the councils of the nation. The national conscience is sensitive to the idea of the sovereignty of the Ruler of the Universe, who is Lord over all, and the national heart, which sometimes becomes somewhat asphyxiated by depraving political selfishness, is very responsive to the national faith that the providence of



God works through the affairs of the nation. The Christian thought of the nation, when united wields an influence which directs the policy of the nation in home affairs and foreign relations.

Our Republic, because of its geographical location on the globe, its advanced experiments in representative government, its enduring institutions, its rapid and vast progress, and its benevolent and missionary operations abroad, holds a commanding position in the attention and esteem of the leading nations. We, ourselves, should continue to cherish this position, and pay respect to the honorable relation which we sustain to the Christian world.

Aye, more; commanding as is this position in the great community of Christian nations, so imperative is our duty to maintain it and extend it, by cultivating towards these nations a course of action strictly just, honorably right, and broadly philanthropic. America, itself so highly favored in the philanthropy of providence, can afford to make the effort to lead in showing goodwill to all nations.

Great Britain is the only nation whose position and influence, and consequently whose responsibility in conserving the interests of peace and just relations between nations, is commensurate with our own. The extent of her commercial operations and the great power of her diplomacy insure the way, while the dignity and persistence of her best Christian sentiment qualify her to take a lead in the vast work of establishing, upon unassailable grounds, the peace of the Christian world, a task to which the thought and energies of Christianity in the 20th century must be summoned.

A profound sense of duty, which is the greatest pressure which can bear upon the conscience of a Christian nation, we trust, will ere long both unify and energize American Christian sentiment to address itself with earnestness to cultivate among our own people and in our relations with other peoples the application of those just and righteous principles of national conduct which are sure to reduce the cause of international friction and the malice and hatred which so often aggravate such friction; and to proceed at the same time to secure such treaties of arbitration as will speedily lead to the establishment of a permanent tribunal to preserve international peace and encourage a higher walk of rectitude and honor among the Christian nations.

Two considerations of our national relation pre-eminently impose the duty upon American Christianity. I address myself to these considerations with the more interest because I have not seen them discussed together in this bearing upon our peace movement. The first pertains to America's diplomatic relations; the second to her peculiar relation to Great Britain.

America's international relations must of necessity become more complicated in the twentieth century than they have been in the nineteenth. In the coming century the political, commercial and industrial conditions of the world will act very largely independently of geography. The nations have come close up to us. In twenty-five years Tacoma will have a larger Asiatic trade than New York's present European trade. The diplomacy of the next century is to center about the Pacific rather than the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. While the Russian Bear throws one paw about the Black Sea and utters his sententious growl in the palace of the Sultan, he reaches with the other clear across Siberia to disturb the waters of the North Pacific. A master stroke in American statesmanship, and one which will yet make for the peace of the nations, was Mr.

Seward's purchase of Alaska. Japan is already feeling her way into international movements. China is in a fair way to become an international chess-board, which will produce an acute stage in American diplomacy. But six months ago Hon. John W. Foster, referring to the Russian advance on the North Asiatic coast, said: "We must reckon with another important element in the political and commercial concerns of the Pacific." Nineteen years ago General Grant, writing from Peking, predicted that "in less than one-half a century Europe will be complaining of the too rapid advance of China." Many years ago Mr. Seward, the most far-seeing of our statesmen of the diplomatic class, uttered this prophecy: "The Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter." The pending case of Hawaii is but an example of the American problems which are likely to rise up in the Pacific.

To steer the national course in safety and with honor to ourselves and to the name of Christ, who is our Prince, the nation will require wisdom and integrity of a high order. That we should make ready to meet these coming contingencies of international relations is but the exercise of common caution; and the best provision to meet these questions is to entrench, in the sentiment of the people, a policy for the settlement of international differences by judicial measures. They can not be met by preparations for war.

A praiseworthy ambition for America, and one which would stimulate the better elements of our national life, would be to enter into rivalry with Great Britain to become the foremost leader of the Christian nations through the twentieth century. A study of the history and philosophy of national greatness and virtue prompts me to express the opinion that the nation which is most possessed with the wisdom and most infused with the Spirit of God, and best exemplifies in its moral conduct before all the world the life and light of the Prince of Peace, is most sure to take a commanding, permanent and wholesome leadership in the move for the unification of the Christian nations, for the good of the whole world.

The second consideration to which I allude bearing upon our relations with other Christian powers, is that of a tie with Great Britain so striking that it may be regarded as providential. The people of the American republic and of the British empire are no longer so nearly related in blood as they are identical in language.

Great fleets and armies are artificial institutions, wholly out of the realm of natural law, and not nearly so instructive to the student of providential movements as are, for instance, the migrations of races and the movements of languages. One of the most noticeable currents in the deep water movements of the nineteenth century is that of the geography of the English language. The natural significance of this, in its bearing on the future peace of the world, ought not to be disregarded.

The English language is now spoken in Great Britain and all her dependencies in Europe, while it is a regular branch of higher instruction in all the European universities, and is a growing tongue in the great commercial cities of the continent. In Egypt it has followed the belt of travel along the Nile, and in Asia the highways of trade until it spreads as a leaven over the vast empire of India. It spreads rapidly over Africa, and is being already used as the native tongue in Sierra Leone and Liberia. It is established in the Islands of the South Sea and will speedily replace the native dialects in Australia,

New South Wales, the New Hebrides, and the whole Polynesian group, and further north the Hawaiian group of islands.

English is the court language in Japan, and American publishers are sending a hundred thousand English school books annually to the schools of Japan. In the western continent it is the language in use throughout the British possessions, in the British West Indies and the Bermudas, and in our own mighty republic, in which the aboriginal dialects, and the Spanish, French, Dutch, Scandinavian and even German, are going down before the irresistible English tongue. "There was never a case," says a noted linguist, "in which so nearly the same language was spoken throughout the whole mass of so vast a population as is the English now in America."

The English is equally the language of the sea. More than any other tongue it is spoken on the ships that sail the Atlantic, Pacific, Mediterranean, the far way Asiatic seas, and even on the Suez Canal and in the fjords of Norway.

It has become a diplomatic language. Formerly the Latin, and then the French, was exclusively used in all conferences and treaties. But in the Berlin conference of 1889 between Great Britain, Germany and the United States for the first time the English was used in conference and treaty. This is a point of departure of considerable moment. The race of colonization, commerce and persistence in civilization will inevitably establish its own language as the universal tongue for international intercourse. It may fairly be assumed, without expectation of contradiction, that the English language will be the most universal tongue with the Christian nations by the middle of the twentieth century.

This fact has a most stupendous bearing upon the cause of peace. Unity of sentiment becomes doubly strong in the unity of language. The Hebrew was a language of cohesiveness, but not much practical flexibility. It was a language of religion, turning Godward; almost all its roots signifying divine forms of life or truth. The Greek was the tongue of the scholar, philosopher, artist and the poet, and is to be listed among the providential languages, but it lacked elements of popularity. The Latin became resonant in literature, and mostly through its adoption by the papal court, brought thrones and parliaments into subjection to it, but it was a language easily corrupted, and never fell to the favor of the great commercial nations. The French language had a smoothness and polish which made it seemly for the drawing room and court, but prevented that wider range of adaptability which must mark a universal tongue. The German, Dutch and Scandinavian languages, unfortunately for their interests, were developed by peoples of localized opportunities.

So it has remained for the English to fill the mission of a world language, such as must be used to convey the gospel of peace over the earth, and to become the vehicle for the conveyance, to all parts of the world, of those high and inspiring principles of Christian civilization which most certainly conserve the interests and happiness of humanity.

Our transcendent advantage of geographical location is fortified by the most solemn adjuncts ever qualifying a Christian nation for service, under the appointment of God, in the higher things of civilization. History and providence, geography and language, and above some of

these that peculiar sense of generosity and toleration which is one of the best fruits of our system of liberty and free institutions, give us exceptional qualifications and opportunity to become an advance guard among the Christian powers.

Thoughtful Christian men, both in the pulpit and the pew, should consider if we could afford as a Christian nation, under the measure of responsibility which rests upon us, longer to postpone, taking a very high ground against the evil of war and in favor of the blessedness of peace. It is now forty-eight years since Mr. Underwood, if I mistake not a senator from Kentucky, introduced in the United States Senate a memorial from Kentucky, "setting forth the evils of war and asking for a congress of nations which shall arbitrate disputed matters between different powers." Almost half a century ago, and the sentiment against war has grown so slowly that this same department of the government has but recently rejected a great treaty between Great Britain and the United States, which had the approval of every conservative and patriotic class of people in our country. No act so unseemly, un-Christian, and so offensive to the great bulk of our people has been committed by the Senate for many years.

If the controlling public sentiment stands for an agreement to submit all differences to the arbitrament of conscience and reason rather than to the sabre and gunpowder, no parliament or senate has the right to say nay.

That eminent peace man of England, John Bright, in exploring the war spirit manifest in a certain class of English hot-heads, says: "I ask, if there had been somebody sixty years ago to take this principle of non-intervention up, and to adopt it, and to carry it out in our government, should we not have escaped that long and odious war, with its expenditure of fifteen hundred millions of money—should we not have been free from the barbarism and degradation which now run riot over our population—and should we not have stood, not by force of arms, but by force of character and true greatness, infinitely more the arbiter of Europe, than we ever can be by the greatest fleets or the most powerful and enormous armies?"

We may profit by the reflection of this English statesman. America cannot prepare for her twentieth century greatness in the world by the building of fleets, the mobilization of armies and the fortification of coast cities. These things a great Christian nation, conscious of the uprightness of her motives and the rectitude of her course, no more needs than an upright Christian man, conducting his course in Christian manliness, needs to take lessons in pugilism or carry a revolver about his person.

The Christ of God will not dispense the richest blessings of his kingdom until the nations of his name live together in peace. President Cleveland, in submitting the late treaty he had made with Victoria to the Senate, said, "The success of the experiment of substituting civilized methods for brute force as the means of settling international questions of right ought not to be doubtful." Victoria, in reporting the same treaty to her Parliament, said, "It is with much gratification that I have concluded a treaty for general arbitration with the President of the United States, by which I trust that all differences that may arise between us will be peacefully adjusted. I hope that this arrangement may have further value in commending to other powers the consideration of the principle by which the danger of war may be notably abated."



My fervent prayer is that the anti-peace men, in the Senate and out of it, may soon become an extinct species in American citizenship. What we as Christian citizens should wish for our nation is that she should take up with a strong hand the cause of right, with a firm spirit pursue the course of honor, and with abiding purpose strive to obtain unto righteousness of national character, and set the star of her empire in the centre of her vision of an ultimate civilization called of God to seek peace, love and goodwill for all the race. In these last Christmas-tides of this century, as we look to God and pray "Thy kingdom come," we must not do it in mockery, but accompany our petition with a sincere effort to bring into the world His Kingdom which is of peace, no less than of love and grace.

### The European Concert and Peace.

After enumerating a number of the events showing the general unrest of the nations and their disposition to act selfishly and alone, the London *Spectator* gives its judgment that the European Concert is powerless as an instrument of peace. Unfortunately the *Spectator* which is otherwise an able journal, has no great moral word to offer, to help the world find the way to peace. The excitement of war, and rumors of war, and of the check-mate movements of great, selfish armed powers, is too charming to the imagination of many great journals to allow conscience to sit often in the editorial chair. However, the *Spectator* pronounces the European Concert a failure. Here is its judgment:

"From these facts which are all patent and undeniable, what deductions? There are, we think, two, each of which is of some pressing importance. In the first place, the Concert neither is, nor can be, as Lord Salisbury hopes, 'the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.' That it is not is evident without discussion: each power, whenever irritated or excited by greed, obviously and avowedly seeks its own ends even at the risk of war; and we fail, we confess, to perceive, after much thought, how it can be. The only method would be to insist that any power, before it resorted either to violence or treats of violence, must lay its case before the great Tribunal; but would any one of the powers agree to that in any emergent or very serious case? Would Great Britain, for instance, agree that Europe should settle whether she should have any more foreign territory, or France submit to be told that she wanted too much in west Africa, or Russia agree to surrender her claims to the Turkish reversion, or even Austria bear to refrain from avenging her diplomatic honor, which appears to have been really insulted, at the bidding of any committee whatsoever? As to Germany submitting to Europe her claim to a naval station in China, she would suspect from the first that it would be rejected, all other powers being content, and would therefore never agree to plead. As for America, the statesmen of Washington would simply reject such a pretension, seeing clearly that if it were allowed Europe must discuss the validity of the Monroe doctrine, and would, in all human probability, decide that it had in international law no place. And if any power were so recalcitrant, what is the Concert to do? Is it to light up the flame of war in order that Germany in China, or France in West Africa, or the United States in the Pacific, may be compelled to abstain from an acquisition which to half the world is of

no importance whatever? The suggestion is not reasonable, and the Concert therefore must as an instrument for compelling the continuance of peace be pronounced almost powerless. It may become powerful when the world is satisfactorily distributed, and it may be possible to decree that there shall be no territorial alteration; but until that happy stage in human progress has been reached it must, except as regards eastern Europe, be in the position of a court before which no one is compelled to plead, and which, if it does issue a decree, has no power with which, if any one resists, to compel obedience. It is, therefore, necessary that every power should be armed to the teeth, because it may be compelled to act alone; and in that necessity is, as it seems to us, the final condemnation of the Concert. It not only cannot ensure peace, but it cannot relieve that strain under which all the civilized nations are suffering more loss than they have ever suffered except from war. If the Concert really meant an approach of the nations towards mutual confidence it would render partial disarmament safe; but it does not mean this. On the contrary, during the whole time that it has existed every nation has been furnishing its arms, and spending millions more than usual in order to be ready against a catastrophe which can only occur if the jealousies of the nations, always smouldering, should be suddenly fanned to fever-heat. The Concert has given them no new sense of security, and no confidence that, as justice is sure to be done in the end, it is needless to be always prepared to defend yourself with your own weapons.

But then supposing all dreamy hopes are false, the Concert has at least preserved the European peace. Has it? That peace has, happily, been preserved; but whether the historian of the future will attribute the preservation to the Concert, or to the new alliances, or to the still newer dread which has sprung up among the kings and statesmen of the frightful consequences which a modern war might entail, remains a question to be settled. To our mind the second seems the stronger reason, not only because it involves the third, but because the alliances have destroyed a certain sense of hope which formerly inspired the great governments. They were always looking for, and usually finding, allies, who in the nick of time either reversed the conclusions of battle, or protected the defeated from suffering too much. Now that Europe is distributed into two camps there are no allies to be hoped for, except, indeed, Great Britain, which, as the whole continent believes, will stand aside in magnificent selfishness taking no part, but when the combatants are exhausted, seizing all the possessions far away which she thinks would increase her profits or her prestige. The world expects the war, if it occurs, to be a war *à outrance*, and therefore avoids it, and expects it to be avoided. Duels are very rare when the duellists must fight across a handkerchief."

### Right and Reason in the Peace Movement.

We take from a German paper the following summary of a lecture recently given at Heilbronn, Germany, by Pastor Otto Umfrid, of Stuttgart, one of the most vigorous, wise and untiring advocates of peace on the European continent.

The friends of peace find here and there that an

entirely false conception of them is held. They are often considered as fellows without a country, as senseless enthusiasts, etc. These prejudices, which often rise up like mountains, arise from the fact that people pass judgment upon us before they hear us. If we were as stupid as we are pictured to be, and should, for example, demand that Germany proceed singlehanded to disarm, people would be justified in casting us aside as they do pieces of old iron. But we are not so stupid. We do not look upon men as angels, nor do we think it necessary that they should become angels before the idea of peace can be realized. Conflict will not disappear from the world; but it is our opinion that conflict need not always be carried on in a brutal and bloody way, but can be carried through in an entirely different manner.

We do not overlook the dangers which manifest themselves in the historic development of nations. We are not as unpatriotic as we are slanderously reported to be. Our German empire is rooted in the affections of our hearts. Purely from patriotism do we wish it kept from war, the greatest national misfortune which can happen. But there are two kinds of patriotism. There is a hurrah-patriotism, which indulges in chauvinism, in the delusion that extent of territory constitutes national greatness, in the one-sided policy of self-interest, in the abominable self-exaltation of a people, in the childish deification of national heroes. With this we have nothing to do. We do not join in singing, "Deutschland über alles" (Germany above everything.) That is idolatry. It is unjust to set a part above the whole. The purpose of history is not the nation, but the weal of humanity, which can be reached only through the coöperation of the separate nations. It may *appear* patriotic to try to promote the national greatness irrespectively of other peoples. It is much more patriotic to seek the welfare of one's own nation in connection with that of other nations. It may *appear* patriotic to spend millions for cannon and muskets; in reality it is much more patriotic to satisfy the hunger of a people for improvement, to alleviate misery, to render a people contented and happy. In this way one can better serve his native country than by promoting powerful armaments.

We are not so confused in our ideas and utopian as to believe that peace can be established at a single stroke in all its fulness over the entire earth. We know perfectly that we are still very far away from this condition. In our movement the first and central question is, "Is war avoidable, or is it unavoidable?" We assert that it is avoidable, because we believe in the progress of humanity, in the perfectibility of the human race. The ground for this belief is found in the previous development of mankind, and in the history of peoples. There was a time when the German tribes stood over against one another armed to the teeth. These same tribes have since united into a great empire. We shall also live to see a time when the great nations, too, will unite in a confederation of peoples. We will not say United States of Europe, but Confederate States of Europe.

In this matter, we believe in the victory of right and of reason. The simple rational consideration that one is less than ten, and that a small slice of land is of less worth than the existence of the whole land, will bring peoples to union. When a high court over peoples shall be established, then will many acts of injustice be avoided.

We friends of peace are likewise not as unhistoric as we are reproached with being. Of course we do not regard as great, persons who are pointed out, in the ordinary teaching of history, as great. We do not believe that conquerors like Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Frederick the Great, have been the greatest men of the world's history. We look for the great in another direction. Christ, Paul, Augustine, Luther, Buddha, Zoroaster, etc., philosophers like Kant have done a thousand times more for humanity. The unknown man who invented the wheelbarrow has done more for humanity than he who has thrown parts of the world into confusion.

We hold war as entirely irrational because it is the most inappropriate means possible of deciding that which it is set to decide. By war it is not decided who is right, but who is the stronger, who is the better armed, who has the most rifles and cannon. And war is irrational because it always bears within itself the germ of a new war. We are not proposing to do away with all army and means of defense. Some sort of a police force will always be necessary. But if an international agreement can be brought about, we shall no longer need the rapid increase of armaments which we have heretofore had. The constant increase of armaments does nobody any good except the makers of cannon. The cost of the present armies is something monstrous. The debts of the Empire have thereby rapidly increased. How much misery could be put out of the world by means of this money! How many of our worthy subordinate railway and post-office employees could be better cared for! In case of the destruction caused by hailstorms how the poor people might again be set upon their feet! And how many of the purposes of civilization might be advanced!

Neither reason nor right is on the side of war. War is a wrong, a crime. We protest against war also in the name of Christianity and of humanity. Over the doorway of the New Testament stand the words, "Peace on Earth," "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you." Even in the Old Testament stand sayings of wonderful wisdom. Are these simply empty words, and shall they remain so? Episodes of the recent wars (given by the speaker) show that war sets at nought everything human. Out of the history of art, out of the code of morality one may draw the right to protest against war. And not only against war, but also against the incitements to war which certain newspaper writers are guilty of.

This condition of things can be changed by the erection, over the nations, of a tribunal which shall be composed of representatives of the separate sovereigns.

The sovereign rights of the nations must of course not be interfered with. A policy of conquest must no longer be followed. Frederick the Great himself once declared that between a conqueror and a street robber there is only this difference, that the conqueror receives a crown of laurel while the street robber gets a halter, which the conqueror twice as much deserved. That even a union of the peoples of Europe into a single empire is conceivable, is shown by the example of the German emperor, setting the union of the peoples of Europe against the Asiatic danger.

The Russian emperor too has given expression to his desire for peace. A French counsellor of state just

recently, at the opening of a court of appeal, spoke in terms of praise of arbitration and declared that the idea of peace is to be the leading idea of the future. On the side of the peace associations stand the greatest poets and philosophers, jurists and even statesmen; and the women, too, for the sake of their sons. It is nonsense to say that a good, rousing war is necessary in order to free a people from its scrofulous elements. During a war the scrofulous folk remain sitting behind the stove, while the fresh, healthy blood is poured out on the battlefield.

The speaker closed his discourse with a picture drawn by a poet after the death of the Emperor William I. The Emperor is riding over the bridge to Walhalla to go to his forefathers. On the bridge stand warriors with waving flags. At the end of the bridge the Emperor stops, takes from his breast a red rose and throws it into the throat of the last cannon, saying: "Be still, thou hast thundered enough; henceforth let there be peace on the earth."

## The Little Old Lady in Black Dress.

BY M. V.

Translated from the *Revue Libérale Internationale*.

She was accustomed to move quietly along the roads, jogging along always at the same short mechanical pace, which one imagined must continue forever.

At the house of Uncle Arsène I saw her often on Sundays when she was invited to those "breakfasts" which lasted till the first sounds of the vesper bells.

She was a puzzle to us,—my cousins and me,—with her decrepit figure, her eyes continually wandering, her hands, gloved with silk mittens, which with a constant movement kept picking up the bread crumbs which remained on the table cloth.

We sixteen-year-old young girls did not bother ourselves further about her. We did not know, and did not seek to find out, what griefs of former times had shut up the soul of the little old lady in black dress.

Sometimes, during the winter, when though few in number we met in the large salon, and before the cheery fires amused ourselves talking of people and things, Uncle Arsène would say to us:

"Ah, if you had only seen her thirty years ago, so proud of her finely-tinted nose, her brownish curls, with her muslin skirts, her white stockings and enticing pagoda sleeves, frizzed, perfumed! A charming, tripping little dove, such as one would rarely find!"

We were incredulous. In our astonishment, we tried in vain to make the unattractive form of the little old lady in black dress, whom we knew, look like the fine, exquisitely drawn picture of her as she was in former times.

Giving expressions to his inmost thought, Uncle Arsène concluded:

"Yes, time and grief make sad work of it." As we asked him no questions, he said nothing further to us, not wishing to trouble our youth, so unconcerned about future years, by recounting to us what crushing affliction the little old lady in black dress had suffered.

He acted wisely, because, supposing the future like the present, we did not borrow any trouble on its account; because, also, perhaps it might be under the

pressure of some such painful reveries that our own unfurrowed brows might some day become wrinkled.

We were, however, to discover the grief of former days, the distressing shock which had made of the dainty girl in muslin skirts a little old lady in black dress, a poor disorganized marionette moved about by chance, committing incessantly inoffensive inapproprieties, whom people received, partly through habit, because she was very worthy, very good, taking up little room, always afraid of being a burden and ready, in all sincerity, to do any service provided it did not derange in the least the settled traditions of her likings and her infantile whims.

On that day, I know not why, we had consented to abandon our tennis rackets and the sanded croquet ground, in order to accompany Uncle Arsène to a little brick yard, at which no bricks had been made for a long time, but which, distant only a few minutes walk in the heated plain, was often the object of a short walk because of a few trees which the tillers of the soil had been kind enough to leave there. These trees, situated in this extremely rich and productive plain, cast a light, thin shade, which was doubly charming because found in this unexpected place.

The little old lady in black dress followed us, slowly. The road wound along and unrolled itself like a ribbon. Straightening herself up she saw at the extremity of it the village station, and from time to time trains going at great speed towards Paris.

Paris was one of her innocent whims. She had a dread and yet an instinctive love of the city. She no longer dared to venture into it—little old lady in black so calm, so lonely in her big deserted house—but she retained a bright vision of it, made up, without doubt, of the cherished memory of muslin skirts, and of the little lights, the mysterious brilliancy which, here and there, on the nights of the Fourteenth of July, from her bed, she saw gleaming in the distance, in the sombre heaven.

In order to reach the brick yard it was necessary to pass in front of the neighborhood cemetery. This, surrounded with a tile walk, stretched gently away, beautiful and charming, seeming rather to be the melancholy garden of all souls seeking a refuge from trouble, of all hearts weary of suffering; the retreat for ineffable repose of all those whom Life had been unwilling longer to torment. As the weather-beaten tombs did not awaken any idea of sadness or of destruction, as the chapels had the appearance of diminutive white villas, as a pious hand had planted along the narrow walks, flowers which were opening out like smiles, we felt inclined to enter.

The little old lady in black dress stopped short, then, without bidding us good-bye, went away abruptly, quickening her short mechanical step a little, without turning a single time to look back.

Uncle Arsène threw back his head as if put to confusion.

"By entering here," he said, "we have awakened in her painful memories."

This time, somewhat distressed, we put questions to him, with choking throats. We had a sense of something infinitely painful, which had not yet lost the mark of the tears of the little old lady who was going away.

"Well," said Uncle, "You are old enough; come, and you shall know the story."

We followed Uncle Arsène, making as little noise as

possible on the fine gravel of the walks, in order not to trouble, in their ornamented tombs, under their pretty little gardens, so many excellent people whom we had known and who were sleeping there their last sleep.

At a certain spot, before a chapel—a little white villa which was already getting old and turning gray—he stooped down.

"See the name," he said, "it is a son—hers—a boy of eighteen years, whom they brought home to her—one evening—in 1870—his temple shot through—killed outright by two Prussian balls.

"At first she passed her days here, calling her boy, the 'baby of her love,' as she said, because she had borne him when she was quite young, the first year of her marriage.

"Her friends, her husband, took her away for some time, to a distance; these visits were rendering her distracted.

"On her return, she seemed changed and queer; she did not appear to remember anything. One by one her friends passed away, and she did not seem to be affected by it. She never went to a funeral, never entered a cemetery.

"Out of respect for her suffering, we have allowed the chapel to remain as she arranged it the last time she visited it."

In the interior of the little white villa, already turning gray, among the bunches of dry and mouldy flowers, on a faded white satin cushion, lay a little baby-sock on which were bows of blue ribbon, near a poor torn cap the red cloth of which was stained with a sort of mud which must have been of blood.

It was the sock of the expected "little one" which she had trimmed one evening, reclining on her long chair, all pale and languishing because her hour was soon to come.

The cap had been found at Marchenoir. A surviving comrade had picked it up for mama—as a souvenir.

This sock and this cap, there in the interior of the chapel summed up the whole desolation, the whole mental aberration of the little old lady in black dress.

And it was to war, to war which without distinction slays men and children, that she owed her immense misery.

War! that inconceivable monstrosity! Nevertheless—and that seemed to us utterly incredible—the sovereigns, the chiefs of state who for a little paltry glory, through criminal self-esteem, expose thousands of lives to destruction, do not hear, in their nights devoid of slumber, as a torturing, eternal reproach, the mechanical step of all the little old ladies in black dress, in Germany and France, who, forever broken down, go jogging along the roads!

## An Appeal to Women of All Countries.

"The Women's League for International Disarmament," established at Paris in August last, has issued the following Appeal to the Women of all Countries:

"We appeal to the women of all nations to promote the idea of international disarmament. This is treated by some as utopian, but it is demanded of the public authorities as an absolute necessity. The need is felt every day in Europe of being relieved of the burden of

armed peace. The material interests of all the States demand a prompt solution.

The eminent, intelligent advocates of peace, and the peace congresses desire the coöperation of women in this war against war. Mothers, sisters, *fiancées*, have a legitimate right to band together for the defence of the youth who belong to them, and who constitute the future.

We unite, in this work, with the men who are most eminent in politics and in the sciences, in order to bring about, in the whole world, the reign of peace and of justice in the future. If all courageous souls, without regard to national boundary lines, shall support us with energy and perseverance, we shall win the most brilliant victory of which any generous soul has ever dreamed.

In the name of humanity we ask for international disarmament, in order to prevent the sufferings of the victims of war, the tears of mothers and widows.

When it is remembered that the armed peace of Europe has consumed since 1872 the incredible sum of sixty billions (francs), some estimate may be formed of the amount of crushing misery which might have been relieved by the use of such an enormous sum.

Let us labor then by every possible means to promulgate the idea of international disarmament, which would mark the end of fratricidal wars and of the wholesale slaughter of human beings.

We ask for the creation in each country of Committees of Women. The Central Committee of the work will be located at Paris. The National Committees which shall be formed will be entirely independent in whatever concerns their interior management, though they accept the direction of the Central Committee at Paris, and the Constitution of the League.

In the year 1900, at the opening of a new century, we hope to be able to have all these auxiliary committees unite in a grand demonstration, and form henceforth a universal international federation.

In order to bring this about, there is need of a very active propaganda by means of speeches, lectures, petitions, stories, tableaux, representations; when public opinion is gained for the good cause, the days of militarism will be numbered. The first germs of universal peace must come from an international agreement.

For the success of this propaganda, in which the whole human family is interested to the very highest degree, it is necessary that the women of all countries unite their hearts, their souls, their thoughts, with the single purpose of putting an end to wars, which everywhere cause so much misfortune and desolation.

We make our appeal to all the women of all the nations. We urgently ask them to labor with us for the emancipation of humanity by its deliverance from the scourge of war. We invite them to exchange ideas with us, in order that the principles of universal peace, which is our supreme ideal, may be sown everywhere. This work of reconciliation is a magnificent one which ought to cause the hearts of all women to beat with generous emotion."

The President of the League is the Princess Wiszniowska, 7 bis, rue du Débarcadère, Paris, who will be glad to answer any correspondence.

Far better, even in the judgment of this world, to have been a doorkeeper in the house of peace than the proudest dweller in the tents of war.—*Charles Sumner*.

**Proclamation of Admiral von Diederich on seizing Kiao Chau.**

The following proclamation of the German Admiral, when he seized Kiao Chau, is as extraordinary in its way as was the speech of Emperor William's brother, when, on taking command of the German squadron in eastern waters, he declared that he should know no gospel but that of His Majesty's hallowed person. It is a curious kind of friendship which the Admiral professes that Germany holds towards China.

**PROCLAMATION.**

"Tremble and Obey! Important! Important! A Special Proclamation Issued by Direction of the German Empire, 10th moon, 19th day, 1897."

"I, high commissioner, in obedience to the commands of his imperial German Majesty, have landed a force of marines and have taken and occupied Kiao Chau bay, with the cluster of islands to the left, within the boundaries as set forth below: On the west in a straight line from the coast, through Tungshan, to a point six miles from the bay on the west at high tide; thence in a northerly direction to the Tapu-Erh, where a customs house is situated; then to the confluence of the two rivers Kyao and Takoo, and proceeding eastward to the seacoast and on the centre of Laoshan bay; the easterly boundary to run from the said centre southward to the Chiat and Chalien islands.

The above described territory is to be held by Germany, for occupation, owing to the murder of German missionaries in the province of Shang Tung, and it is but reasonable that China should be called upon to make due reparation. The said territory is therefore taken as a guarantee that such satisfaction will be given as my government may desire. This proclamation is accordingly issued for general information, and merchants and others of the various towns in Ching Tao are expected to understand that they are to pursue their usual avocations, and not give a willing ear to the inflammatory rumors of evils.

I have also to observe that relations of amity and friendship have always existed between my empire and China, and in the interruption of peace, some days since, Germany made every effort in coming to the

rescue, exhibiting thereby a spirit of neighborly friendliness. The landing of the force at present must not be construed as an act of hostility to China, and you need not harbor any misgivings or suspicions on this point; moreover, it will be the duty of the officials of my government to protect all law-abiding people, to the end that tranquility and peace may be attained, and, on the other hand, severe punishment, in accordance with Chinese law, will be inflicted on all evildoers creating a disturbance. Should there be any fierce ruffians daring to injure German subjects or interests, it will rest with Germany to take measures for their protection, and let there be no resistance. A wilful violation of this will not only prove of no advantage, but calamity may overtake the evildoer.

The officers of the Chinese govern-

ment will, however, still continue to exercise their official functions in all good faith within the territory occupied by German forces, but hereafter, should there be appeals and cases which cannot be personally disposed of, they should be presented to the governor and the brigadier-general at the military yamen for their attention and adjustment.

As regards the buying and selling of land, it will not be permitted unless the sanction of the government be first obtained."

Secretary of the Navy Long said, in a recent interview in reference to United States interference in the East: "As far as the complication in those foreign countries is concerned, we ought to follow the advice of George Washington.

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## The American Monthly Review of Reviews.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

The expanded title that now appears on the cover of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS implies not the slightest degree of change in the plans, methods, aims, scope, editorship, management, or control of the magazine. It will continue to be a REVIEW OF REVIEWS; and our regular readers are aware that it has long been a distinctively AMERICAN MONTHLY, without being devoted exclusively to American topics. It will continue to be international in its range of observation.

The following paragraph from *The Outlook* gives the gist of what has recently appeared from hundreds of editors *a propos* of the change in title from simple "REVIEW OF REVIEWS":

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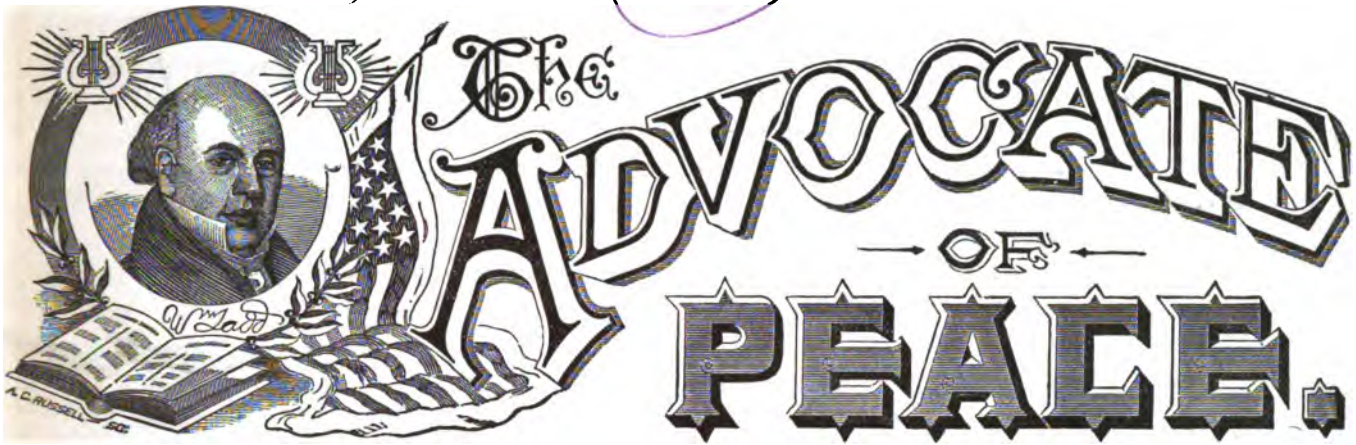
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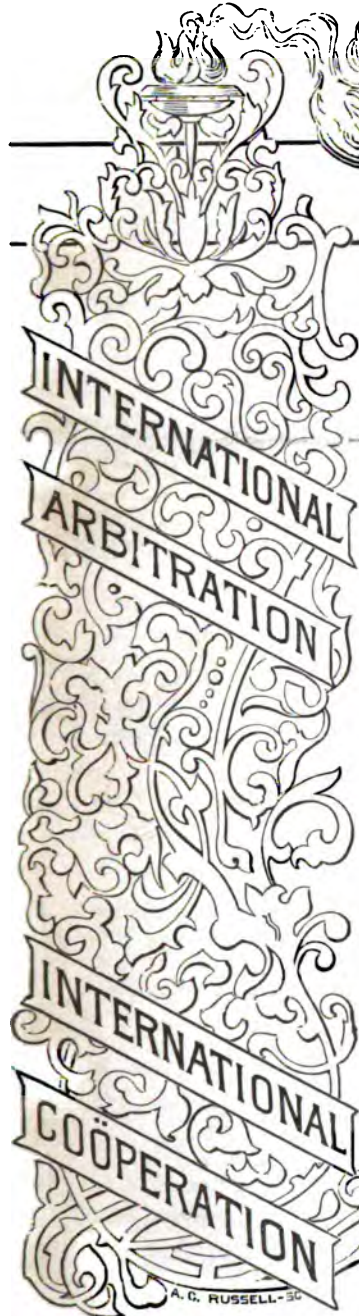
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18 Astor Place, New York City.

The Cuban Relief Committee has announced that Clara Barton has consented to go to Cuba to direct the American relief movement. She goes with the full approval of the Spanish government.





BOSTON, MARCH, 1898.



THE Christian religion hath made no particular provisions for the conduct of war under a proper title ; because it hath so commanded all the actions of men, hath so ordered the religion, so taken care that men shall be just and do no wrong, hath given laws so perfect, rules so excellent, threatenings so severe, promises so glorious, that there can be nothing wanting towards the peace and felicity of mankind, but the wills of men. If men be subjects of Christ's law, they can never go to war with each other. As contrary as cruelty is to mercy, tyranny to charity, so is war and bloodshed to the meekness and gentleness of the Christian religion. I had often thought of the prophecy, that in the gospel our swords shall be turned into plowshares and our spears into pruning-hooks. I knew that no tittle spoken by God's spirit could return unperformed and ineffectual ; and I was certain that such was the excellency of Christ's doctrine, that if men would obey it, Christians should never war one against another.

JEREMY TAYLOR.



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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## In our Own Hands.

The peace of our country is entirely in our own hands. No one has shown this in a more masterly way than Dr. Von Holst, head professor of history in the University of Chicago, whose recent address on the annexation of Hawaii before the Commercial Club of Chicago we give nearly in full in this issue.

The great importance of the subject is sufficient reason for our giving up so large a portion of this number to this able address. The point of view from which the annexation of Hawaii has been treated in this journal has been that of its future bearing on the peace of our country in its relations to other nations. It has seemed to us, as it seems to Professor Von Holst, that the annexation of these islands at the present time would be the first fatal step in entering upon a policy which would sooner or later inevitably bring us into perilous entanglement in the vexatious, ruinous and irrational policies of the military powers. From this point of view no more momentous question has ever been before the people and

the Congress of the United States. The principles of our national life and the splendid traditions which have grown up in connection with them and given us a position of unique advantage and influence in determining the future course of the world's history are in the balance in connection with this question as they have not been before.

We commend Dr. Von Holst's lucid and impartial treatment of the subject to the careful attention of our readers. He has brought to its consideration a great wealth of historic learning and of personal observation among the nations of Europe. His European origin coupled with long residence in this his adopted country gives him a clearness of insight which few native Americans can have into the incomparable superiority of what has hitherto been our American international spirit and policy over the European internationalism inherited from the past.

If the peace of our country is entirely in our own hands, as he so convincingly shows, what an appalling national sin it will be if we deliberately or even inconsiderately turn it over into the hands of others; or imperil it through selfish and ambitious schemes of national enlargement!

## In Times of Excitement.

The friends of international peace may do much effective service by maintaining a calm and self-possessed attitude in times of sudden excitement, brought on by unexpected events whose cause is in doubt. At such times all sorts of rumors get afloat. Some of these are started by sensational newspapers. Some of them arise incidentally out of mere surmises. They are caught up eagerly and spread from mouth to mouth. People generally incline to believe them however wild and absurd. The excitement is contagious. People are swept away into making groundless charges and insinuations, and silly, unworthy threatenings.

Even when these storms of excitement pass by without driving a nation into war, as they have often done in the course of history, they often do immense mischief which cannot be wholly remedied for a long time, if ever. They deepen the instincts of animosity towards the people against whom they arise, and leave these instincts ever after more sensitive and excitable. They pervert the national imagination. They blind and distort the reasoning faculties. These evil effects store themselves away in the national character, and make the inner heart of a people, however great, intelligent and practically sensible that people may naturally be, more difficult to keep in the paths of right and reasonableness.

During these times of excitement, therefore, the friends of peace may do an immense service in a quiet way. Refusing to give ear to floating rumors, they should keep themselves in a calm, self-possessed attitude, which will have a direct restraining effect on others. Furthermore, it is their duty to talk these rumors down with whomsoever they meet, to discredit without hesitation every one of them that gives evidence of being a "fake," to insist that none even of those which might be true shall be believed so long as it is unsubstantiated. This course does not imply that one should be without feeling. It is compatible with the deepest, most serious and watchful interest in the events which are transpiring; it is in fact the only course which a really serious and intelligent individual can consistently follow.

The recent excitement caused by the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor gave opportunity to observe the working, on a large scale, of the scare-head spirit, and also of the sensible, conservative spirit of which we are speaking. From the beginning the indications were strong that the catastrophe was caused by an explosion within the ship, and the government authorities so announced. But a certain number of our people from Key West to Cape Flattery were determined to believe that the destruction of the stout battleship had been caused by treacherous Spaniards. The newspapers and the press agencies knew the appetite and undertook to feed it. Within two days the following were put forward as proof: A bomb had been treacherously conveyed into the ship with the coal taken on board at Havana. The evidence of this was positive. Captain Sigsbee had been warned by letter when going to a bull-fight, that his ship would be blown up. A

boy of the crew had, two weeks before the accident, written to his mother in Michigan that the vessel was threatened. A man just arrived at Key West from Havana had throw up his hands and expressed regret that he had not cabled to Washington some awful menaces which he had heard in the Cuban Capital. The divers had found an eight-inch percussion hole in the bottom of the *Maine*—proof positive that she had been torpedoed. A mysterious little black vessel had circled about the *Maine*, just before the explosion, had been hailed but had refused to answer. Various suspicious objects had been seen floating about the harbor near the cruiser. Later, the divers had discovered that the magazine of the ship had not blown up. One New Bedford *Nebuchadnezzar* was reported to have seen in a dream at precisely 9.30 P. M. that evening a sly black fellow sneaking about in the man-of-war. These and we know not how many other serious and serio-comic assumptions were boldly displayed on the bulletin boards, yelled by stentorian newsboys, stuffed into the columns of the newspapers, eagerly read and circulated by a Spanish-hating, excitement-loving public, and by many ordinarily sensible people believed or more than half believed.

All this scare-mongering was distressingly humiliating to one who cares for the honor and character of his country. Fortunately, it was counteracted by another spirit. Many people in all parts of the country frowned down and talked down these ridiculous rumors, and reproached the newspapers for belittling their pages with them. A number of the newspapers themselves, while publishing them, steadily refused to give a moment's credence to them. At Washington, on which all thoughts centered, President McKinley and Secretary of the Navy Long, with a quietness, self-restraint and deliberateness passing all praise, discredited every sensational report, gave no credence to anything but official despatches from Captain Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee both of whom acted in the most discreet and sensible way, declined to give to the newspaper men any hint of a suspicion of treachery on the part of the Spaniards, openly and persistently, from the start, with such indications as they had before them, asserted their belief that the catastrophe was due to accident and that Spaniards had nothing to do with it.

It was a perilous moment. One authentic word from Washington asserting belief that Spain was to



blame would have driven the nation, and Spain, mad, and the flame of war would probably have been already blazing before any investigation of the disaster could have been made. The spirit of these two Christian men, in the supreme post and at the supreme moment of responsibility, quickly took possession of the whole nation and drove back the waves of suspicion and excitement, and gave time for thought and examination. Whatever may be the result of the investigation, the chances are now a thousand to one that all peril of war is past. If Spain is found in anyway to be responsible, she will hasten to make reparation and there the matter will end. All good, peace-loving citizens (and the two words are synonymous) have reason for the profoundest gratitude to God that his providence has placed such men in the seats of authority "for such a time as this." The trite saying, "They were just the men for the place," which has been much repeated in this connection, is but a poor expression for the immense blessing they have been to the whole land. The great lesson should be well taken to heart by us all. It is not often that men find themselves in position to render such conspicuous service in time of perilous excitement. But what these men did in their large way, every lover of peace may do just as effectively in his own sphere, and it is faithfulness and efficiency in these individual spheres which ultimately save and guide the world.

### International Criticism.

The Paris correspondent of the *New York Sun* has been writing to his paper of what he thinks he discovers to be the growing hatred of the French for everything American. He says:

"Perhaps one thing more than any other which will surprise the American who stays long enough in France to get an idea of conditions beneath the surface will be the discovery of the sentiments entertained for his nation by a certain class of the French. He has, it may be assumed, been taught to regard France as the traditional friend of America. The question then arises within him as to whether the French press, when it gives voice to the opinions he reads in it, really reflects popular feeling. When, for instance, he sees French papers of every class give open, or but half-veiled, support to Spain in the Cuban question, defining possible American interference as preposterous and impertinent; when he sees them advise Spain to declare war upon us, assuring her of the sympathy and support of all Europe, and

maintaining that the task of thrashing us would be but half a task; when he sees them seriously counselling a league of European powers to combat, now the Monroe doctrine, now the Dingley tariff, again just "American presumption"; when he sees in nearly every issue of half the French journals, whether they be of Paris, of Lyons, of Bordeaux, of Marseilles, or of a country village, sneers at American honor, American honesty, American intelligence, American civilization, American society, then he begins to wonder where this traditional friendship of France for America keeps itself. He may spend weeks or months searching the columns of the press for a single favorable or appreciative word of America, and he seeks in vain; if there is anything at all to be said by the French editor, it is always something evil—something of ridicule, of spite, or of disdain.

Americans who have lived long in France say that this attitude is not confined to the press, because the press has taught the people; but that it is all the growth of the last ten years. They hold that the change in France since the Franco-Prussian war is not more radical than the change in French character. The French people have been soured by adversity and taxation; once they hated only the English; then came the Germans to occupy a place on the wrong side of them, then the Italians, then the Austrians, then the Belgians, and last the Americans. In all these dislikes commercial grievances played no small part, and politics did the rest. The Dingley bill, these people say, has only brought to a culmination all that has been brewing for the last decade.

Three Frenchmen—a merchant, an editor, and a diplomatist—were asked to answer the questions: Do the French, as a nation, dislike Americans? The merchant was cautious. He thought that perhaps a good many Parisians did, but he could not say why. The editor was more frank. He said yes, nobody liked Americans; they were boastful, dishonest, untruthful, ostentatious. He had never met any Americans, however. The diplomatist denied that there was any feeling in France against America or Americans except possibly some commercial resentment on the part of exporters. All the Americans he had known were charming, he declared. An American resident in Paris many years, a member of the American Chamber of Commerce and the husband of a French woman, said, on the contrary, that the anti-American feeling in France was very strong, and that it was increasing, particularly in Paris. He did not think, however, that it was yet so strong as the hatred of the English, the Germans and the Italians. In general, he said, the French hate everybody who does not think that France is the greatest nation on the face of the earth. Before the late alliance they called the Russians barbarians and assassins; now they term them angels of light. These things are to be expected of the mercurial temperament which

founds its whole conduct of life on impulse and 'sentiment.'"

Much of what this correspondent says as to French talk about the United States is doubtless true. But we must remember that he is a "correspondent," and "correspondents" are fond of "the striking." But his impression that this French talk means settled hatred, or even real dislike of Americans, is far from the truth.

Nations are like individuals. They love themselves much more than they love others. They indulge in a constant stream of criticism one of another. They see one another's weaknesses, foibles, defects of character, wrong-doings, and, just as people do in private life, they hold them up to condemnation and ridicule. What is good and lovely is passed over in silence. We Americans are just as guilty of this practice as other peoples. We criticise every nation under heaven, the French coming in for their full share. We laud our own virtues, and keep still about our vices and weaknesses. We "hate," in the same way that the French do, every people that does not flatter us by calling us the greatest nation which the Almighty ever set up.

But this does not mean that we really hate all other peoples. No more does it mean that the French have lost their old liking, and settled down into genuine hatred of us. The contrary is true. If this "correspondent" had been looking for the spirit of attachment, he would have found many evidences of it, perhaps not so much in words, but in indications which speak louder and truer than words. The pity of it is that what these scolding French newspapers and individuals say about us is so near the truth. We *are* selfish, boastful, ostentatious, and not a little guilty of dishonesty and untruthfulness—at least a large number of those racing travellers whom the French see most of, are so. The rest of us must suffer for their iniquities. Of late years a portion of our people have grown more and more exclusive and haughty, and disposed to feel that we have no need of the rest of the world; that we are the saints and that God looks with favor on no others. If French dislike of us had developed in these last years, would it not be quite justified?

We are not blind to the mischievousness of international criticism, as ordinarily indulged in, even when it is superficial and does not imply real hatred. It comes from an evil root. It prepares the ground

for a worse growth of ill feeling on serious occasions. The most of it is wrong, and unworthy of people calling themselves civilized. This is true of all criticisms of another people which springs from national exclusiveness and chauvinism. Every true friend of man, nay, every true friend of his country, will scrupulously avoid it, and will frown it down in others. No criticism of another people can, from any true point of view, be indulged in, except that which springs from the reprobation of evil as evil. The same spirit leads one to rebuke selfishness and folly at home first—and then abroad. It makes one as ready to see and speak of excellencies in other peoples as in one's own.

Nothing is more needed to-day among all peoples than this unselfish, highminded disposition to treat other peoples with fairness and appreciation. It would put an end forever to tons upon tons of newspaper raillery and to an endless amount of cheap and mischievous international small-talk.

### French Sentiment on Alsace-Lorraine.

The *Mercure de France*, in its December number, published one hundred and thirty-six answers to four questions which it had sent out the previous month with regard to the feeling in France about Alsace-Lorraine. These questions were:

1. Have our minds become more reconciled to the treaty of Frankfort?
2. Do the people *think* less about Alsace-Lorraine, although, contrary to the advice of Gambetta, they constantly talk so much about it?
3. Can a time be foreseen when the war of 1870-71 will be looked upon simply as a historic event?
4. If a war between the two countries should break out, would it be accepted with favor in France?

Those replying to these questions were asked to give their personal opinion, their judgment as to the opinion of the young men, and what they thought to be the average sentiment of the country.

Those papers and individuals who have examined and commented on these replies have not been able to make much out of them, in the way of arriving at any correct estimate of general French sentiment on the subject. The replies give no expression whatever from many classes of French Society, as for instance, from working-men, agriculturists, merchants, public officials and soldiers. Those who sent in

answers were mostly professional writers, publicists, etc. A number of these declined to give any judgment as to the opinion of the masses, and those who did essay to speak for them gave in many cases exactly opposite views.

The very fact, however, that a journal like the *Mercure de France* should feel itself at liberty to start such an investigation is strong indication that French sentiment on the subject has undergone a great change. Fifteen years ago no journal would have attempted such a thing. But one answer would have been expected. Furthermore the great variety of the replies is proof that the solid feeling of hatred and desire for vengeance which prevailed so long after the war, has to a considerable extent broken up. This is certainly encouraging. Though there may not be much evidence of a positively new and better spirit, expressing itself in some united way, the breaking up of the old feeling, the confusion of sentiment now apparent, is clearly a preparation, if only negative, for something better to come. In bringing about this unsettled state of feeling, three causes at least, have co-operated, the healing influence of time, the larger and more intimate international life now prevailing, and the positive movement for international peace which has taken deep hold on many minds in France, not only among the cultivated classes, but also among the laboring people both in town and country.

A small number of letters received by the *Mercure* show signs of the deep exasperation of former years, but only two insist on revenge, as that term is ordinarily understood. It is not irrational to suppose that the absence of an expressed wish for revenge is something more than negative. It probably means that among a very large portion of French society of all grades the old spirit has largely disappeared, at least to such an extent that it would take unusual provocation to call it back into vigorous activity. Dislike for Germany, the wish to have back the provinces, the feeling of an injustice received, still doubtless exist almost universally, but the distinct wish to take vengeance by going to war at the earliest possible date has much faded out.

The new generation is represented as not feeling directly the wound nor sharing the resentment of their fathers. They hold that French honor was not the least impaired by the crushing defeat of 1870-71, and that a people which has fought through ten

centuries does not need to give further proof of its valor.

Some of the replies show how tenaciously the old false notions about war and its glory cling to men's minds. One of the writers declares that there are "bloody disgraces which can be removed only by blood." Another "would accept with pride the noble mission of chastizing the invader." Another grows grandiloquent in his defense of war: "War is the instigator of energy, even of spiritual and æsthetic energy, the conservator of hatred. And hatred is vital. Hatred is the condition of exceptional goodness. China has been sleeping for centuries in pacific cruelty. The latent butcher in every man shows himself even though there are no battles. War and the duel must be carefully preserved." In this Frenchman the butcher is evidently not very latent, not even in "the piping times of peace."

On the precise question of Alsace-Lorraine the differences of opinion are even more marked. One thinks that only Lorraine deserves the sympathy and regret of France. Another declares that the two provinces seem to be getting on very well under the government of their new country. Still another, that the feeling of attachment to the provinces is as great as ever, but it is now less conscious and more instinctive. A considerable number of the writers say that the whole matter should be turned over to the inhabitants of the provinces themselves to decide. This is the opinion held almost universally among the peace workers of France, a considerable number of whom sent in replies to the *Mercure's* questions.

In this connection it is pertinent to remark that the confusion now stirred up in France by the Dreyfus-Esterhazy-Zola affair presents French sentiment in much the same light as the *Mercure's* exposé. The Chauvinistic howlers are not the whole of France. The trial of Zola, the previous trial of Esterhazy, the discussion throughout the country following the trial of Dreyfus, all exhibit French sentiment in a very chaotic sort of condition. It is no longer the solid hating, vengeful feeling that it was a decade and a half ago. Nor do we believe that it will ever become so again. There are great present perils, threatening to turn the country back into the thick darkness. But France does not hate the light. Too many of her foremost men and women have resolutely set their faces toward the better future, to

allow the old spirit to revive, to rule again, and to plunge the country into new destruction and new humiliations. Out of the present chaos of opinion order will come by and by, and it will not be the order which is created by hate and the sword. The day may be nearer than many think, for France moves quickly when she does move.

### Frances E. Willard.

The best comment on the great life of the distinguished woman who recently passed from us is the work which she did, which now "follows her," and which can never be forgotten. This work was of that unique, original sort which it is given to only a few people in a century to perform. The W.C.T.U. had many antecedents which prepared the way for it and inaugurated it, but without the deep-seeing, far-seeing mind, the all-pervading moral purpose, the courageous will, the executive ability and the splendid persuasive eloquence of Miss Willard, the organization, though not started by her, might, in its national and world-wide scope, never have reached a permanent existence. The story of this splendid organization of Christian women, of its inception, growth and development, of its expansion under Miss Willard until it embraced nearly every phase of reform of special interest to women, cannot be retold here. It is fresh in the memory of all, and does not need retelling.

In 1887 at Nashville, the W. C. T. U. organized its peace department, which, under the efficient direction of Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, has gradually worked its way into more than two-thirds of the States of the Union and into many other nations also. From the time of the organization of this department, Miss Willard grew more and more interested in the international peace movement. In 1894 she was, at its annual meeting, elected one of the vice-presidents of the American Peace Society, a position which she accepted with expressions of appreciation of the privilege of being connected officially with so important a work. She was deeply interested in the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty and in common with all its multitudes of friends was greatly humiliated at its defeat in the Senate. In her annual report last autumn to the National Convention of the W. C. T. U., she thus spoke of the subject:

"The greatest sorrow of the year to most of us was the defeat of the arbitration treaty between England and America. So heartsick were we when the announcement came that we overlooked the fact that, the treaty having been signed with enthusiasm by our President and the British Minister, forty-three senators cast their votes for its ratification, while twenty-six voted no, the pity of it being that we required two-thirds to carry it; but let it never be forgotten that the senators representing the historic states of the Union all voted solidly for the treaty except Pennsylvania, of all others, whose foundation stones were laid by William Penn, than whom no greater friend of peace has lived since the Founder of Christianity. It is well known that the degeneracy of this state is due to the bad reign of a political boss, who shall be nameless here as he will be hereafter."

If the question had been put to popular vote, during Miss Willard's life, who was the greatest woman in America, we have not the least doubt that of those who would have taken intelligent interest enough in the matter to give their judgment, a large majority would have placed her name first. She was often called "the uncrowned queen." The secret of her greatness was not ambition, not self-seeking, not inherited position, not fortune. It was only in a secondary sense her fine intellect and her still finer voice. It was her whole-souled, uncompromising, unremitting devotion of her whole being to duty, whether the cause which she saw demanded her love was popular or despised. And how nobly, unceasingly and unselfishly she did her duty! The story of her life, now being retold over her grave, ought to inspire millions of American girls to abandon all that is cheap, vain, worldly and unworthy, and to consecrate themselves forevermore to the high and eternal life of duty. Humanity, still suffering, on every spot of the globe, from the ravages of hoary evils, is lifting its pleading hands to these young spirits.

### Editorial Notes.

*The American Monthly* (*Review of Reviews*) has done much to give the public a better knowledge of the recent progress of what the Editor calls "a marvelous propaganda," by translating and publishing in its February number an able article on "The Advance of the Peace Movement throughout the World," from the pen of Frederic Passy, which recently appeared in the French magazine, *Revue des Revues*. The article is especially valuable to those wishing to acquaint themselves with

the recent wonderful development of the peace propaganda in Europe. Those who have carefully read the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* in recent years are acquainted with the various phases of this great movement. They will, however, get new light and inspiration by reading Mr. Passy's article, which presents the subject from the point of view of an enlightened, energetic and humane European. There is something very noble in the devotion and courage of these European workers who in the midst of the burdens and terrors of militarism are trying to recreate the heart of Europe. Their faith and hopefulness are worthy of all praise, for it is only the truest spirits which believe in a bright and better future when so much of what surrounds them is dark and dismal. After summarizing the leading features of the movement, indicating its widespread and rapid development, Mr. Passy uses these hopeful, prophetic words: "Yes, a new heart is forming in the bosom of humanity. A new era is preparing, if we rightly recognize what we want and pursue it with discretion, perseverance and moderation. Yes, it is no empty sound which is struck every day by that bell which, faithful to the inscription which it bears, is commissioned by one of the most powerful monarchs of the world to sound out in France, in the name of Russia, peace and the brotherhood of nations. Yes, international justice, although imperfect as yet, shall one day be as much respected as civil justice, without which society could not exist."

The U. S. battleship *Maine* was destroyed in Havana harbor by an explosion on the evening of February 15th. The disaster occurred at 9.40 o'clock, just after preparations had been made for the night. The entire front part of the ship was torn in pieces, fragments being hurled in all directions. The vessel sank within ten minutes, in thirty-six feet of water, the stern remaining above the surface. Of the three hundred and fifty-four men belonging to the *Maine* two hundred and fifty-three perished. Many of the survivors were severely injured, some being maimed for life. Those who survived were immediately rescued by the vessels in the harbor, and the authorities in Havana did everything in their power to render aid and comfort. The whole city was shaken by the terrific explosion, windows were shattered, electric lights put out and general confusion created. The wreck took fire and what was above water burned for many hours. At sunrise all flags in the harbor were put at half mast, and grief because of the catastrophe and loss of life was seemingly universal among all classes of people. At Madrid the Spanish authorities immediately expressed to Minister Woodford their profound regret at what had happened, and at Washington all the foreign representatives acted in the most sympathetic and friendly way. All sorts of rumors were at once set afloat as to the cause

of the disaster, and these have continued. The prevailing impression at the Navy Department has been that the disaster was due to an explosion of some sort or spontaneous combustion within the ship, and not to a torpedo from without. A board of investigation has been appointed and a thorough examination of the wreck is being made. It seems improbable under the circumstances that the cause of the catastrophe can ever be discovered.

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This appalling calamity over which we all grieve is only one of a series of dreadful disasters that have occurred since the new style of war-ships began to be used. These vessels, created with a view to securing greater national safety, have proved themselves to be regular death-traps. In connection with this catastrophe one recalls the one at Samoa in 1889, when a storm drove a number of steel-clad ships of England, Germany and the United States against one another, the result being that in a few minutes some of them went down carrying many of the seamen to their death; the destruction of the *Victoria* and four hundred men in 1893, while the English fleet was manœuvring off Tripoli; the sinking of the *Reina Regente* in the Bay of Biscay in 1895, with three hundred men; and various minor disasters from time to time. The perilousness of these new ships comes from two causes, their heavy armor and the large quantities of powerful explosives which they carry. The "improvements" in them are certain to make them more and more perilous. Some one described the *Maine* as "a floating volcano." That is what they are all becoming. Why expose constantly to dreadful death so many lives on these marine infernos? Why not cease at once and forever to make them, and go into better business? Seriously, why not? When one of these catastrophes occurs what a vast amount of sympathy and sorrow, of friendly international feeling is exhibited! It is an infinite pity that we cannot have this friendly sentiment, which all the nations hasten to show in times of misfortune like this, utilized in some intelligent way, when no disasters are at hand. This *Maine* occurrence proves that there is enough of such sentiment in existence, if it could only be brought to act deliberately and steadily, to devise within *six months* schemes for settling international misunderstandings which would make it possible to do away with these devouring sea monsters forever. Or shall we write down these exhibitions of international sorrow and sympathy as hollow, heartless mockery? We do not believe they are. They are the voice of real humanity, which ought to govern the world.

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The events attending the destruction of the *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, illustrate better than any amount of rhetoric could do the difference between the natural

operation of the common instincts of humanity, in the presence of distress, and the heartless movement of the inhuman feelings of hatred when war is on. No sooner had the awful explosion done its work than everybody in Havana, from the highest official down to the poorest Spaniard along the wharves, showed his pain at the dreadful calamity and hastened to do what he could in the way of relief. The Spanish Commander put his cruiser at the service of the perishing Americans, boats of all kinds were sent to the rescue, the firemen of the city came to the rescue and tenderly cared for the wounded brought to the shore. This was all an exhibition of real humanity such as would be a credit to any people. But another picture is easy to imagine. If the big battleship had been blown open and sunk by shells from the Spanish cruisers or forts, leaving scores of mangled American seamen struggling and perishing in the waves, a wild howl of "patriotic" delight would have gone up all along the shore, Havana loyalists would have yelled themselves hoarse, processions would have paraded the streets at night, and *te deums* would have been sung in the churches. Reversing the circumstances, and Americans would have done the same! The swirl of battle and the wild rejoicings over victory leave little place for the instincts of humanity.

The De Lome incident was entirely overshadowed by the more serious affair of the Maine. It never gave the least ground for any uneasiness. There was nothing for the Spanish Minister to do but to pack up and go home, after the discovery of the letter in which he had spoken so abusively of President McKinley and so disparagingly of his own government. De Lome had sense enough to see this, and resigned without waiting to be asked to do so. He knew that he had disgraced himself with both governments. The Spanish government quickly disowned his conduct and apologized to our government, and there the matter ended. The lesson of it is that ministers of state should not only keep a close mouth but a silent pen so far as criticism goes. Their office as the accredited representatives of their nations is so high and important that they ought to abstain absolutely from all unfavorable personal reflections upon either of the governments between which they stand. They may commend and praise, in a prudent way, but criticise never. Whenever a minister of state has reached a state of mind in which he feels compelled to criticise, even through private letters, the acts of either government, it is his duty to resign and go where he can speak as a private individual. As to the Cuban side of this incident, it was not only disgraceful but thoroughly senseless. The deliberate search for and stealing of the letter from the mails has been universally condemned and has proved worse than useless to the Cuban cause. If this thief is an American and can be

found by the government, he ought to be put where other mail thieves go. Whatever indirect effects may result from the acts of Judas, for Judas himself the cause of justice has no use.

As was the case last year, many of the peace societies again this year, especially in Europe, held meetings on the 22d. of February in order to reaffirm in identical language, or nearly so, the principles held in common by all the societies. The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Moscheles of London, and sent out by the Peace Bureau at Berne, contains the declaration made: "We protest against the unwise and unrighteous system of attempting to settle disputes by war, and against the folly of ever-increasing armaments. We pledge ourselves energetically to oppose the rule of force in international relations and to concentrate our efforts on the organization of juridical procedure between nations." In addition to this general resolution one was also passed expressing satisfaction at the recent organization at Paris of an International Peace Association of Journalists. Not all of the societies observed the day. In many places it was inconvenient or considered unadvisable to do so. In this country an interesting meeting was held by the Universal Peace Union in Philadelphia in Independence Hall.

The celebrated Dr. Wayland, who was in New York City when the war of 1812 closed, thus describes the outburst of delight among the people when it was learned that a treaty of peace had been signed:

"At the close of the last war with Great Britain I was in the city of New York. It happened that on a Saturday afternoon in February a ship was discovered in the offing, which was supposed to be bringing home our commissioners at Ghent from their successful mission. The sun had set gloomily before any intelligence from the vessel reached the city. Expectation became painfully intense as the hours of darkness grew on. At length a boat reached the wharf, announcing that a treaty of peace had been signed. The men who first heard the news rushed into the city, shouting as they ran through the streets: Peace! Peace! Peace! From house to house, from street to street, the news spread. The whole city was in commotion. Men bearing lighted torches were rushing to and fro, shouting: Peace! Peace! Peace! Few men slept that night. They were assembled in groups in the streets and in the houses, telling each other that the long agony of war was over, and the distracted nation about to enter upon a career of prosperity."

Max O'Rell, who is well known in all parts of this country, has recently written to an English gentleman concerning ill feeling between the French and English. We are indebted to the *Concord* (London) for the letter, which is as follows:

My Dear Sir: I am much obliged and gratified by your letter. You say: "One finds in England that



there exists in many quarters a feeling of dislike, if not contempt, for the French nation, a feeling which is wholly the result of ignorance." Let me assure you that you exaggerate that feeling; and there is not a Frenchman, I believe, who can say so with more authority than myself. I gave last night my 1308th. lecture. Out of these about 900 have been given in Great Britain and in the British Colonies. There is not one of my lectures in which I do not preach the love and respect for France, and there never was *once* an audience that did not receive my appeal with enthusiasm, and did not applaud the sentiment to the echo.

There may be an ignorant class in England who may dislike and despise the French; but who feeds that ignorance, who caters to that public and keeps them in ignorance? No other than your Press. Read the *Times*, the *Globe*, *St. James' Gazette*, especially the *Pall Mall Gazette*, run, I believe, by an American, and tell me if they ever mention France otherwise than with a sneer or contempt. Yet these writers are educated men. They have traveled, they must know France a little. They must surely have spent a Sunday in Paris, but they will write articles in which they will inform the British public that the crowds, which on Sunday throng the Louvre Museum are not so respectable as the ones who fill the public-houses of London. They will speak of the "awful" Continental Sunday, knowing his to be a shocking libel, but to please their readers and keep them in ignorance. They will speak of French irreligion, and, while in Paris, will never go inside the churches which they would see crowded to the doors from six in the morning till one o'clock in the afternoon. The English people do not go to church at six o'clock in the morning, because nobody would see them.

The Press alone, my dear Sir, has the power to enlighten the public and to destroy international prejudices. The writer, the lecturer, is read or heard by a few hundreds a-day, the journalist is read by millions. When the journalists will have made up their minds to enlighten their readers, instead of deceiving them, the nations will know and understand one another, and then the peace of the world will be secured, but not till then. Such is at any rate the modest opinion of your faithful servant.

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Rev. A. A. Baart, of Marshall, Michigan, has written the following note to *The Independent*:

"Referring to your editorial note regarding the old method of 'christening' a new cruiser with a bottle of wine or whiskey, and the new way of a bottle of water, I am reminded that this ceremony and so called 'christening' is but a remnant of the old-time blessing given ships by a bishop or priest of the Catholic Church. For centuries this custom has been in use, and to-day in Catholic countries is usually imparted to new vessels at the launching. The prayer used is as follows:

'Be propitiated, O Lord, by our supplications, and bless with thy holy right hand this ship and all who may be carried in it, as thou didst deign to bless the ark of Noah floating in the deluge; extend to them, O Lord, thy right hand as thou didst extend it to Peter walking on the sea; and send thy holy angel from heaven that he may free and ever preserve this ship and all who are in it from all danger; and repelling all adversity, protect thy servants by a haven always desirable and a course always

tranquil; and grant that, having transacted successfully all their business, they may again return in all joy to their homes; Who livest and reignest forever and ever, Amen.'

The ship was then sprinkled with holy water by the priest. This blessing was followed by a banquet at which wine flowed freely, as is the custom in Latin countries. Many a bottle was broken and many a glass drunk to the success of the new ship, not only by the sailors but by the officials who were present. In later times this blessing has been dropped out of the program, and the smashing of a bottle of wine by a pretty young lady has taken the place of the sprinkling with holy water by the priest. 'Blessing' also has given way to 'christening'. In olden time the sprinkling with holy water might have been (not) improperly called baptism, just as soldiers received their 'baptism of fire' in their first battle; but 'christening' a ship seems an American product."

Possibly the abandonment not only of the bottle of wine but also of the whole ceremony of "christening" may hereafter become "an American product." Think of "christening" (making a christian of) anything so merciless and terrible as a war-ship! Secretary Long, who is President of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, has in a quiet and graceful way done away with the bottle of wine by substituting for it the beautiful ceremony of flying a white dove. The white dove of peace will certainly make it necessary for the "christening" to go. And the ship, too, by and by — why not?

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In a clever, racy, picturesque article in the February *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, in which the John Bull that is to be mingles rather amusingly with the John Bull who has been, Mr. W. T. Stead outlines certain "British Problems and Policies for 1898." So many of these concern international relations as to justify a simple summary of them here.

"Great Britain must readjust her policy to the altered conditions of the time. The Liberal Party, which has hitherto been the support of good government, has collapsed. The Empire stands in isolation in the midst of a multitude of envious rivals. The military system on land is outworn and has broken down. British industrial supremacy is endangered by Germany and the United States. The campaign in Northwest India has been a failure. The senseless policy which has landed Great Britain in Afghan war after Afghan war must be abandoned. Faith must be kept with the hill tribes. An empire that can only be maintained by campaigns of arson and slaughter and by keeping enslaved women for the amusement of the soldiers is scarcely worth the while. Representative government is breaking down. There is a reaction in favor of government by the capable as opposed to government by the counting of noses. Brain has a divine right to rule.

No new principles are required. What is wanted is a policy of imperialism plus common sense and the Ten Commandments. Between the Little Englanders on the one side and the jingoes on the other stands the great body of *rational* imperialists. We are going to keep

what we have got—if we can—matters not how we got it. But we must not get any more,—for ten years. John Bull must rest till his dinner digests. We do not want any Chinaman to eat. We should have nothing to do with any proposed division of China. The fiscal *status quo* in the East may be enforced if we enter into a league of peace and fair trade—with the United States especially. A policy of honesty and truth should be followed in India. Any one proposing the extension of British sovereignty among the hill tribes should be hanged. We must stay at Berber on the Nile—unless we can get to Khartoum by water. We must keep on our own territories in the Hinterland of Lagos. A policy of appeasement and reconciliation must be followed in South Africa. 'First things first'; and the first thing is the maintenance of the navy. Without that Great Britain would be gobbled up like a huge plum-pudding. The army must be also readjusted to fit it to the extended empire which it must defend. What the ablest soldiers recommend, that must be done without any nonsense. But above all things British industry, British manufacturing supremacy must be revived and reestablished. The old policy of *laissez faire* has broken down. Anything to make English business go. The condition of the toilers must be carefully looked after. If all this is not done soon, the British empire is doomed. Poor ostrich! She must not stick her head in the sand and await her doom."

The navy first, the army next, British imperialism, British supremacy on the sea, British commercial supremacy everywhere, holding all you have, resting and digesting before proceeding to take more, and all this spiced up somewhat with improvement of the people at home and with common sense and the Ten Commandments abroad, that is the great editor's picturesque worldly-moral program for his country.

The new Christian reform daily *The Commonwealth*, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, it is to be hoped will be longer lived than some others of its class have been. It issues no "Sunday" edition, and no work upon it is done on that day. It has at once placed itself on record as strongly opposed to all pension abuses, and against all bidding for the soldiers' vote by the continuance of unjust pension legislation. It is distinctly for international arbitration and the ways of peace. In an editorial referring to some recent remarks by Charles H. Cramp, the builder of war-ships, it says:

"*The Commonwealth* will go as far as Mr. Cramp in condemnation of silly persons who think it their duty to wear English clothing, imitate English modes of speech and ape the follies of English society. But *The Commonwealth* is no jingo, has no sympathy with the jingo spirit; is opposed to the impudent, domineering and aggressive spirit falsely called 'the American policy,' and has a supreme contempt for the counterfeit patriotism which insists that an American who is not always making faces at some other nation—preferably England—is a poor cur,

unworthy of citizenship in this 'land of the free and home of the brave.' It is quite possible for a people to be self-respecting and yet peaceable, and we do not see how a Christian nation can be a glowering advocate of war upon the most frivolous pretext. Mr. Cramp's business has perverted his judgment."

### Brevities.

Mr. Frederic Passy, the indefatigable apostle of peace, gave during the month of January in the south of France, a series of lectures on disarmament—immediate, gradual, proportionate disarmament. The same lectures had previously been given during the month of December at various places in and about Paris.

. . . On the occasion of his installation recently, the new Lord Mayor of Dublin was accompanied from the Mansion House to the City Hall by a civic procession. The program as originally drawn up included a military escort, but in deference to the wishes of the Nationalists, who objected to the military element, this feature of the program was omitted. The Unionist members of the Corporation protested against the Mayor's action, and refused to join in the procession.

. . . For arraigning the French government for its conduct in the Dreyfus affair Emile Zola has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a fine of three thousand francs. Outside of France, the general opinion is that the trial was a mere travesty of justice, all evidence by which Zola might have sustained himself being ruled out of court.

. . . The Spanish man-of-war Vizcaya has made its "friendly" call in New York harbor, and gone away. Our government took every precaution that the vessel should incur no risk while in American waters.

. . . Count Muravieff, the Russian minister for foreign affairs, has announced that all North China ports which shall hereafter be under Russian control will be freely open to the commerce of the world.

. . . The International Peace Association of Journalists recently organized at Paris, celebrated its establishment by a grand banquet on the evening of February 26th. The speakers were Mr. Frederic Passy, Senator Trarieux, Messrs. Barodet, Berthelot, Sorel and Merillon, all of whom are members of the *Comité d'honneur*.

. . . During the recent excitement over the destruction of the Maine, Congressman Boutelle, chairman of the House Committee on Naval affairs, said that he considered any man who by speech or writing tried to influence public sentiment at such a time as guilty as the man who would touch a match to the powder magazine of a vessel. It was a time for calmest judgment instead of unguarded talk of a war which would entail the loss of thousands upon thousands of people.

. . . Our Ambassador at Berlin has secured a revision of the order excluding American fresh fruit from Prussia. Dried fruit and all fresh fruit that is not infected will be

permitted to enter. The order was originally issued to protect German fruit against infection from the San Jose louse carried in by American fruit, and not in retaliation, as was charged.

. . . At a banquet at Madrid on February 25th to Señor Bernabe, the new Spanish minister to Washington, our Ambassador, General Woodford, spoke in the strongest terms for peace between the two countries. His words produced a strong revulsion of feeling among the Spanish in favor of America.

## The Annexation of Hawaii.

BY PROFESSOR H. E. VON HOLST, PH.D.

Address delivered before the Commercial Club of Chicago,

Jan. 29, 1898.

That the Sandwich Islands are one of the fairest spots on God's earth, and of considerable economical value, nobody gainsays. I, however, hold myself justified in passing by this side of the question, for the simple reason that all the economical advantages to be derived from them can be secured without annexation, nay, are secured already. That the future will change nothing in this respect against the will of the United States is certain, because the immutable facts of the case render it palpably and eminently the interest of the islands to maintain the established economic relation with this country.

The second reason adduced for annexation is the alleged great value of the islands from a military point of view. Some weeks ago, I was triumphantly told that, as to this, all our naval officers are agreed, and I raised great laughter at my expense by replying that I could by no means recognize our naval officers as an authority whose *ipse dixit* settles this question. At the risk of meeting here with the same fate, I repeat this declaration. *A priori*, our naval officers cannot be considered wholly impartial witnesses. It is to be presumed that they will be more or less biased in favor of whatever tends to increase the import of their vocation. This is no reproach, but simply saying that even our naval officers are heirs to human nature. Does the past history of mankind not warrant the statement that the military have been fully as prone as other mortals to view public problems through the medium of their class-interest? Besides, it will have to be admitted to be at least a possibility that the perspective of military men may be marred by taking a somewhat one-sided, what I should call a too technical view of it. Into military questions of this character largely enter factors which common sense is fully capable of judging correctly. And, finally, I do not hesitate to venture the assertion, though it may expose me to the charge of egotism and arrogance—in military questions of this character, also, historians can lay some claim to speaking as experts. It goes without saying, that this does not extend to tactical and strategic questions, partaking of a strictly technical character and requiring a knowledge of practical details. But if they have studied the military history of the world with open eyes, they must be perfectly familiar with and competent to judge of the general facts and causes on which military strength or weakness necessarily depends. In this re-

spect, an able historian even holds vantage ground over the majority of military men. If these are not also, to some extent, historians, with a dash of statesmanship in their intellectual makeup, their very mastery of the more technical sides of their profession can easily become a film over their eyes as to these general facts and causes. The historian, lacking this kind of knowledge, can only take a bird's-eye view, and that does not offer such obstruction.

Let us, however, grant, for a moment, that the military value of the islands is all our naval men claim. Ought that to determine us, in case military objections to annexation must be admitted to exist in other respects? I think clearly not, because I confidently defy any one to successfully refute the assertion that we can never have a war unless it be of our own seeking, and, therefore, the advantage would be merely a fictitious gain, so long as we do not put it to improper and harmful use. So long as we do not demand of other nations more than is justly our due, and do not force them to the alternative of drawing their sword or letting their honor be trampled upon, they, without a single exception, will never appeal to the *ultima ratio*. The reason is neither that they love us so much, nor that they stand in such awe of our military resources, but simply that they are not idiots. Unless their potentates and ministers are idiots, they cannot fail to see that, in the given and unalterable condition of things, even a successful war would be to them absolutely barren of any advantages, and that even the most successful war would impose upon themselves incalculable sacrifices. A cession of territory is out of the question, for territory of the United States—with the exception of uncoveted Alaska—being compact and extending over half a continent, the ceded strip of land would be simply an earnest of eternally renewed wars till it was regained; and the Franco-German war of 1870-71 has forever settled the question that the greatest war indemnity which can possibly be imposed upon a vanquished country, falls far short of the expenses of the victorious nation. For these reasons, the United States are the one nation on earth whose peace is wholly in its own hands.

That we can, nevertheless, sooner or later be involved in a war, is unfortunately only too true. Therefore, it is proper to compare our actual condition with what it will be after annexation.

Our Western coast, say the annexationists, is dangerously exposed; the way to it will be most effectively blocked to every enemy if Hawaii is ours, for the hold of no man-of-war is big enough to steam from Asia to Australia over the vast Pacific without recoaling, and that can be done only at Hawaii. It must be conceded that there is some truth in this, but if we look a little closer we will become satisfied that, after all, it does by far not amount to as much as it would seem at first sight. And just as to that power with which we are the likeliest to clash, and whose navy is equal to the combined naval forces of any other two powers, it is of the least consequence. John Bull is still so large a land-holder on the Western coast of America that he need not defer striking a blow at us on the Pacific till he has got his war-ships over from Asia and Australia. As to all other powers, we would only gain some time by this coaling question, valuable, indeed, but by no means of decisive import. There is no means of effectively protecting our shipping but by an adequate navy, and our seaports can be suc-

cessfully defended only by efficient coast defenses. As to the creation of such a navy and such coast defenses, the possession or non-possession of Hawaii is, however, of no relevancy, and, in point of time, it requires not weeks or months, but years.

In itself, Hawaii is of no military value whatever. This assertion is fully endorsed by Captain Mahan, who is usually considered our leading naval authority. He writes: "Military positions, fortified posts, by land or by sea, do not by themselves confer control. People often say that such an island or harbor will give control to such a body of water. It is an utter, deplorable, ruinous mistake." When we have an adequate navy, then, but only then, Hawaii will indeed constitute a *point d'appui* of no mean value in its operations for the protection of our shipping in the Pacific. This is true, but it is only half the truth. The reverse of the medal is, that to be adequate, our navy would have to be considerably larger, if Hawaii is ours, than if it is not ours. The reason is that we would need a navy large enough to protect not only our shipping and our coasts, but also Hawaii. If we make it a formidable military stronghold, as we must do according to the annexationists, any first-class naval power is likely, in case of war, to make it a principal object of attack, because, being at such a great distance from our real seat of power, its defense will be difficult, and necessitate the withdrawing of a large part of our naval forces from other points, thereby exposing us there to telling blows, more especially affecting us economically. That we would much rather suffer these than risk anything as to Hawaii, admits of no doubt. For then we would not think of it only as a strategic point. We would consider our honor engaged, and rather than yield as to this point of honor, we would submit to any sacrifices in money and in blood. This being so, we are justified in feeling perfectly sure that, if we conclude to *take* possession of Hawaii, we shall always be able to *keep* possession of it. That we *can* do it, is, however, no proof that we *ought* to put ourselves under the necessity of doing it. *Ought* we to consider the game worth the candle? We are now, in a sense, practically invulnerable. The reasons are so obvious that I cannot spare the time to elucidate them. *Ought* we, without any need, to acquire a spot at which an enemy can hit us infinitely harder than anywhere else? If the mother of Achilles had had forethought enough to bring the whole body of her baby into contact with the water of the Styx, would the hero have eagerly snatched at the proffered gift of a heel, which would not be impenetrable to the arrow of Paris? That is what we are invited to do. The expense involved in rendering Hawaii a formidable military stronghold is comparatively of no moment. The decisive point, as to the military side of the question, is that, what at first sight seems to be a source of strength will, by directly and indirectly acting as a drain upon our force, ultimately prove to be a source of weakness. When we come to realize that, it will be too late. Other mistakes we can correct. This would be a step that could not be retraced, and it is this that renders the issue of such tremendous import. Not only during a war, but always public sentiment would see "honor" as an insurmountable obstacle in the way. To make the best of a bad job, would be all that was left to us.

I said, a minute ago, very deliberately, we would bur-

den ourselves with it without any need. That this assertion meets only with derision and indignation on the part of the annexationists I know full well. Some of them believe, and all of them try to make us believe, that we act, in a way, under compulsion, because if we do not take Hawaii, most certainly some other power will—probably England. For proofs, we ask in vain. The question why some other power, especially England, did not take it long ago, although the natives could never have offered any resistance worth speaking of, remains unanswered. That the same cry has been raised every time we were after some territory; that it has never been substantiated; that it was most drastically disproved in the case of St. Thomas by England's not offering a shilling for this "breeding place of earthquakes and hurricanes" when we had failed to buy it, and in the case of San Domingo—it is all of no avail. The cry has hardly ever failed to have the desired effect. Small wonder, therefore, that we hear it now. But I ask: Has not the time come, at last, when we can afford to think high enough of our power as well as of our dignity, not to let the cry "England!" have the effect upon us that the red cloth has upon the bull?

Nor do I stop there. I can serve the annexationists with an answer to the question why—if their assertion be true that Hawaii is coveted by other nations—it has not been grabbed long ago. Simply because all the world knew that the United States would not be an indifferent looker-on. Ever since 1825, when, measured by the standard of their present power the United States were a mere stripling, the notification—given, by the way, not only to the European but also to the other American states (Mexico and Columbia. See my Constitutional History of the United States, I., 428-430.)—that they would not "allow" and "permit" Cuba to pass into the hands of any other power, has sufficed to prevent the materializing of the projects entertained in different quarters with regard to the pearl of the Antilles. And about thirty years ago, though they had but just emerged from the most gigantic civil war history knows of, their pronouncing, without any blustering, but very firmly, the two words "we object," sufficed to make the French clear out of Mexico. Is it, then, not a moral certainty that their categorical "hands off!" would now be respected? It surely bespeaks neither levity nor presumption to assume that what more than half a century ago was justly deemed a sufficient curb upon the supposed covetousness of the great European powers will not now prove too weak a bit upon Japan, the new bug-bear with which the annexationists try to scare us into annexation.

This disposes also of an argument I heard the other day advanced by a distinguished Hawaiian. If I understood the gentleman correctly, his declaration was to this effect: If the United States do not accede to our request, dissensions are sure to break out among the ruling elements of the islands, resulting in eternal intrigues with other powers, which it will be impossible to terminate in any other way than by bringing about annexation by one of them. It won't take the islanders long to come to the conclusion that this is not the way to set their affairs to rights, because the warning given by the United States to all other powers will have stopped their ears to such solicitations.

The objection that the islands are a sovereign state, and that we have no right to interpose our veto to their

merging themselves into any other sovereignty—more especially after having refused to take them ourselves—does not hold water. It is exactly the same right the United States exercised in regard to the Cuban and Mexican question: the right to shape their international policy according to their interests, and to declare in advance what this policy will be in certain contingencies. If this policy runs counter to the supposed interests of some other state, it is perfectly free, at its own risk, to defy this policy. In this case, the ruling classes of the islands have, moreover, only to blame themselves, if this puts them into a position they do not like. They would have no right to complain, if we were to dismiss their lamentations over the dire consequences they declare to apprehend with the cold comfort to be derived from the homely saying: You have to eat the soup you have chosen to cook for yourselves. But I honestly believe they have no reason to lose heart. The docility of the bulk of the population, combined with the moral backing they are sure always to receive from the United States, because the American people consider their own interests in a measure involved in the problem, is a guaranty that it will be possible to devise other ways to secure all that is really essential to the welfare of the islands.

My last assertions seem to me so incontrovertible that I think even all candid annexationists could not help endorsing them, though ever so reluctantly, if it were not for one fact: the annexation of Hawaii does not mean the annexing merely of Hawaii. If there be one prayer surpassing in practical wisdom and importance all others, for nations no less than for individuals, it is this: Lead us not into temptation. With Hawaii, however, we would annex temptation, and it is chiefly because of this that annexation is so enthusiastically urged and so strenuously insisted upon. Undoubtedly the annexationists want to get Hawaii for its own sake; but they infinitely more want it as a stepping stone, an opening, a new departure in the general character of our international policy. And they are only too right in assuming that, if they prevail now, the question will no longer be whether, but only how fast the nation will yield to the temptation. This is no baseless charge. It is daily avowed in a hundred different ways.

I do not mean to assert that the bulk of the annexationists of to-day are already now consciously driving at further annexations. On the contrary, I believe that the ardor of the majority of them would be considerably cooled if they could be made to realize how likely this annexation is to lead to the annexation of other outlying territory. I confess it is a rather bold assumption, that they do not realize it, for it is so palpable that it requires almost an effort not to see it. The question of the annexation of Cuba is of older date than that of the annexation of Hawaii,—all the “manifest destiny” arguments apply to it much more manifestly,—all the strategic lectures we are so liberally treated to in regard to Hawaii are, in the main, but repetitions of the strategic lectures in regard to Cuba, delivered *usque ad nauseam*, to those who sleep in their graves for many a year. Are there no men within sight, eager to seize the first opportunity to rake all these venerable heirlooms out of the historical lumber-room, give them a fresh varnish, set them up and call upon the people to come, see, admire, hurrah and “go it”? Will unsophisticated people, then, not think that what was but yesterday accepted as sound and con-

vincing argument should to-day be allowed to pass as such? The better they have learned the lesson, that, as up-to-date patriots, they must consider Hawaii an exquisite relish, the more they will be disposed to roll Cuba as a sweet morsel under their tongue. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*. And the veriest tyro in politics cannot fail to discern how easily the actual condition of things in the hapless island may turn the perplexing Cuban problem into this channel, even without any aid from scheming politicians, and how many arguments it would furnish appealing strongly to certain generous and noble emotional tendencies, which are marked typical traits of the American people.

Attention had to be called, first, to Cuba, not because there is any reason to believe that a considerable number of Americans would deem the island the most desirable of all possible acquisitions. That has completely changed since slavery was buried beneath half a million graves. The next gust of annexation-wind is the likeliest to come from that quarter, because it depends largely on Spain and the Cuban patriots whether the annexation question is to come to a head; while as to all other possible acquisitions, no outside pressure could be brought to bear upon public sentiment. But while Cuba must be watched the closest, it would be a grievous mistake to suppose that no other points of the horizon need watching. Whenever men of annexation proclivities have been in our public councils, they have found no difficulty in putting something nice on the annexation counter, and, whatever they offered, they always had exactly the same plausible tale to tell in praising up their merchandise. A senator, hampered for time to compose a speech of his own on the necessity of taking Hawaii, could, for instance, read off nearly verbatim President Grant's message on the annexation of San Domingo, changing only the names; not one of the points that are material in the eyes of his brother-annexationists would be missing. The astounding impulse commerce and shipping would receive, the commanding military position, the isthmus transit, the voluntary offer by the government, the “yearning” of the people, the noble humanitarian ends to be attained, “the reliable information” about the unnamed European power anxious to secure the tit-bit and offering fabulous sums for it—it is all there.

Am I asked whether I think I could scare the American people by conjuring up historical ghosts, the San Domingo project having been shelved twenty-seven years ago? I ask in reply: Is that a guaranty that it will never again be taken down from the shelf, especially if the modernization of the Senate, which of late years, has been such a fruitful source of inspiring delight and duly appreciated blessing to the people of the United States, should go on as it promises to do? If Providence should bless San Domingo with another Baez, a second edition, revised or unrevised, of the special message of March 23, 1870, would by no means be an impossibility. The shelving of the Danish Islands is of a little older date, and, lo and behold, in June 1896, the platform manufacturers sprang on the unsuspecting National Republican Convention at St. Louis the following resolution: “By the purchase of the Danish Islands, we should secure a proper and much needed naval station in the West Indies”; and the junior senator of Massachusetts is reported to have a bill ready in his pocket, calling upon the party to make good its implied promise

to materialize this ghost, that has been laid these thirty years.

Take a warning. It is very rash to speak of ghosts as to annexation. You mistake your men if you suppose that when beaten off at one point, they will resign themselves to stay defeated as to that point.

Nor is that the only reason why there is no telling what surprises may be in store for us if we proceed upon the theory that they will ever be at the end of their tether. The sublimated mind of your full-fledged annexationist easily alights upon projects utterly baffling the puny imagination of common mortals in its wildest flights. The purchase of Alaska made the mouth of Robert J. Walker water for Iceland. And where does the spirit of our people draw a line to extravagance in this respect? Speaking in the House of Representatives on the bill making the appropriation for the Alaska purchase, Mr. Shellabarger, of Ohio, stated the reasons commending the treaty thus: "That we are a land-stealing people by nature, and that our propensities and our manifest destiny are to steal land, until our 'abutments,' as the gentleman (Donnelly, of Minnesota) says, shall be one on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and also upon the Arctic and the tropic seas. I know that argument appeals to our Fourth of July natures; I know how that is calculated to carry us off in that direction, and how I am and how everybody else is disposed to fall into this kind of thing. That is one thing we have to encounter in dealing with this matter. Our propensities as Saxons, our vanity as Americans, our pride as a great and progressive nation, our love of dominion, our lust of power, our self-glorification, our notions of what a great thing in diameter our country ought to be, and, above all, our ideas that it is as unpatriotic and out of fashion to hold that our future glory is not to be found in owning all the continents and islands between; all impel us to take this land." (Congressional Globe, 2d Session, 40th Congress, Append., p. 377.) The bold scoffer thereby provoked the following retort from his colleague, Mr. Spalding: "Sir, as an American citizen, and a Republican at that, I deny that any territory upon this western continent is to be deemed foreign to the government of the United States when it seeks to extend its limits. I believe that if anything under heaven be fated, it is that the American flag shall wave over every foot of this American continent in course of time. This proud Republic will not culminate until she rules the whole American continent and all the isles contiguous thereunto."

Here Mr. Pike, of Maine, interjected: "Including South America." Mr. Spalding continued: "Including South America by all means." (Congressional Globe, 2d. Session, 40 Congress, p. 3810.)

There you have the Simon-pure annexationist. He does not stop short anywhere, nothing is too mad for him; and, judging from the beating of the people's pulse in the past, he never doubts that he will find a goodly number of approving listeners, whenever he shall see fit to begin in good earnest the agitation for the next step forward. And with every inch of ground he and his soberer fellow-workers—I am tempted to say his soberer co-religionists—are allowed to gain, their strength and power of mischief increases. Who can gainsay that, seeing how the annexation speeches and editorials teem with the assertion that our having annexed so much is in itself irrefragable proof that we ought to annex more. They

know only too well how telling an argument that is with people, who are at no pains to let their thoughts go any further than they are led.

In spite of all I have said on this head, the danger of further annexations causes me the least alarm. I am enough of an optimist to hope that at the next occasion the level-headed men and women will not wait until the eleventh hour ere they step forward and speak out forcibly enough to arouse the people into asserting their sober second thought in so peremptory a manner that their official representatives cannot help minding it. I am infinitely less hopeful in regard to another side of the question, which is even of vastly greater import.

Captain Mahan says: "This is no mere question of a particular act, but of a principle, a policy, fruitful of many future acts." That is true, too true, and the scope of it is appalling.

Further territorial acquisitions are only an incidental feature of the irresistible temptation which the annexationists want to foist upon the United States by the annexation of Hawaii. It is of the most sweeping character, comprising all their relations as a political entity with the rest of mankind as politically organized. In a conversation on the question I had the other day, a gentleman formulated the issue thus: "Washington's warning counsels in his Farewell Address as to our international relations were conformable to the then condition, and the American people have done wisely to heed them thus far; now, however, we have outgrown this condition of things, the time has come to close the *provincial* era of our history (a leading daily paper of Chicago 'goes it one better,' substituting 'parochial' for provincial); henceforth it is our interest, and therefore our duty, to assert ourselves to the full extent of our actual power as a determining formative factor in all the world's concerns and problems." That sounds so plausible and touches so strongly two very resonant and most dangerous chords in the popular mind, that to consider the refutation easy is to concede the victory to the opponent.

Fisher Ames said, in his famous speech of April 28, 1796, on Jay's treaty: "The treaty alarm was purely an address to the imagination and prejudices of the citizens, and not on that account the less formidable. Objections that proceed upon error in fact or calculation may be traced and exposed; but such as are drawn from the imagination or addressed to it elude definition, and return to domineer over the mind after having been banished from it by truth." (F. Ames's Works, II., 47.) And in the Massachusetts ratification convention of 1788, he asserted: "Faction and enthusiasm are the instruments by which popular governments are destroyed." (ib. II., 7.) What is said in the first quotation of objections drawn from or addressed to imagination equally applies to arguments in favor of a measure.

The tremendous import of the truths embedded in these two sentences is fully realized by but very few. Our typical politicians hold them in utter contempt, if they are not as unintelligible to them as Chinese, though the reasons rendering imagination and enthusiasm so dangerous are obvious enough. Imagination is so formidable a foe, because "men are not to be reasoned out of an opinion they have not reasoned themselves into." (ib. II., 95.) Enthusiasm, however, is the offspring of imagination and sentiment. Democracies have so much more serious consequences to apprehend from it than peoples living under



a different form of government, because enthusiasm is intensely contagious, to resist the infection is to placard oneself as deficient in patriotism, and in democracies that is so momentous a charge that considerable nerve is required not to wince under it. To combat with the blandishments of imagination and the ardor of popular enthusiasm arrayed against one is, therefore, indeed to fight against heavy odds. And what can appeal more powerfully to the imagination, what is better calculated to arouse popular enthusiasm than this idea of taking a leading hand in all the great affairs of the world! We can do it, and therefore we *must* do it, partly for our own sake, because if we do not do it we will necessarily be distanced in the race for empire and all that it implies by the other competitors for the stakes, and partly because we have a great and glorious mission to fulfil.

Aye, sir, a great and glorious mission has been entrusted by Providence to the people of this republic, and they will become recreant to it if they listen to the voice of the tempter. They have thus far worked effectively at it by minding their own business. Now they are to hitch the republic to the entangled politics of the rest of the world so as to affect it in every way by their vicissitudes, whether they are really any of its business or not. Do you know what the heaviest incubus is lying upon the nations of Europe? Not emperors and kings, not aristocracies, not remnants of feudalism, not class distinctions, not lack of liberty, not the antagonism between poor and rich, but what the *international* history of Europe in the by-gone centuries has bequeathed to them. This heirloom forged by the past of that continent, is an unbreakable chain, dragging them, jointly and severally, all the while down and along by its terrible weight. This republic of ours came into being practically unencumbered by this chain, and this is one of the cardinal causes to which it owes the wonderful possibilities vouchsafed to it by Providence. Unbound by the past, it has been free to shape its course with a single view to its true interests, and it can remain thus free to the end of time. And now it shall renounce this inestimable privilege and insist upon having its arms, too, riveted to the curseful chain to satisfy a delusive megalomaniac itch!

Yes, delusive! They grossly deceive themselves who believe that this is the way to secure to our prestige the lustre, and to our influence the weight, to which our actual power entitles us. The longer we continue what they are pleased to term the provincial or colonial period of our history, the surer and the more these ends will be attained. The new international part we are urged to play would consume no inconsiderable part of our strength, and it would necessarily result not only in what would be deemed successes, but also expose us to occasional checks; for so overtopping our power is, after all, not yet, that we would always have it all our own way. On the other hand, leaving well enough alone, continuing to travel on the old roads that have conducted us to where we are now, our actual strength will and must go on increasing at least at the rate it has done heretofore. Prestige and influence, however, are not commensurate to the degree of meddlesomeness, but depend solely on the actual power, and our greater actual power could every time be brought to bear with its full weight on questions that are really our business, i. e., palpably affect, not our imaginary and fictitious but our real interests. We rest under no obligation, nay, we have no right to do

ought contravening these for any missionary purposes whatever. To do this would be pure and simple Quixotism, and Quixotism of an infinitely more vicious type than that of the noble knight of La Mancha; not a generous folly, but a portentous crime—a crime not only against ourselves, but also against mankind. For the stricter we are guided only by our own true interests, the more effectively do we serve the true interests of mankind.

Look at what our contemned provincial policy has accomplished already. An Austrian minister calls, in tones of deep distress, upon the nations of Europe to make a joint stand against the unbloody onslaughts of the transatlantic giant. He not only sets their tillers of the soil a-squirming, but is also changing with bewildering rapidity from a buyer into a seller of manufactured goods. Nor is this due solely to the unsurpassed natural resources of his patrimony and his ingenuity and industry. He can bend all his energies to the legitimate tasks of civilized man. They are condemned to spend an awful and ever-increasing part of their strength upon maintaining among each other the equilibrium of destructive force. This endless chain must ultimately put them at our mercy. No less an authority than Moltke has frankly confessed that it cannot go on so forever. No, it cannot, and primarily for this reason, that the economical competition of nations not weighted down by this endless chain must, in the end, become crushing. Thus the best interests of mankind are served in an eminent degree by the economical pressure we exercise upon the leading nations of Europe. For it steadily pushes them towards the line, where they must turn over a new leaf of their history, whether or no. It forces them to learn the lesson that, in the nature of things, the progress of civilization implies the conscious and systematic contending against and breaking down of whatever tends to the settlement of international questions by the sword. The history of the world has taken such a turn that, so far as we are concerned, in the long run much more coercive power is to be derived from peace, from whatever is calculated to keep us out of the broils of the world, than from any number of battleships we are able to build and to man, and from having our fingers in all the pies that are being baked in the hot oven of international politics.

As to the rest of the mission entrusted to us, I can say on this occasion only this much: It does not consist in going forth among all the heathen and preaching to them—in whatever way it may be—the gospels of our free institutions, but in staying quietly at home and teaching them by our example. Here is a vast enough field for missionary work to keep all our material, intellectual, and moral energies fully employed a good long while. It never pays and always comes with a bad grace to volunteer to sweep other people's houses, while in one's own abode many a nook and corner stands badly in need of a thorough cleaning. It will be early enough in the day to proclaim ours all brightness and gloss when the papers have been able to grant us a single week's respite in dinning into our ears the sorry tales of bossism, rotten municipal governments, corrupt and incapable State legislatures, unscrupulous and voracious corporations, etc., etc.

Are the tasks confronting us in all these problems not grave, difficult and urgent enough to deprecate whatever is calculated to divert the popular mind and the popular

conscience from them? And will this launching us into the troubled sea of an imperial international policy not have this tendency? Take heed, gentlemen. I do not hesitate to express my firm conviction that it is advocated by many an annexationist with a view to this end. And even if this charge be unfounded, there is no doubt that it will serve as an invaluable cover to the class of men so graphically described in the witty saying that they turn patriots after having failed in every other vocation; for these worthies are no fools, but know a good thing when they see it.

"Neither are England, Germany, France and Russia fools." I hear some annexationist interject, "and they are tumbling over each in their hot craving for what you contend must prove to us to be a prickly pear." Isn't it rather strange that the very men who are wont scornfully to hoot down the craven notion that the United States can learn from Europe valuable lessons of any kind whatever, are in this case so eager to bid us accept Europe as an authoritative model? I for one must beg to be excused, because, whether the European powers act wisely or not, their doings cannot serve us as an example, for they act under conditions that are not analogous to our own, but essentially different. England and Germany have a larger population than they can sustain. With them the question, therefore, is what can be done to secure the greatest benefit to the mother country from the outflow of the surplus. France has no people to spare and many reflecting and discerning men therefore do not doubt that her so-called colonial policy must turn out a losing venture and are satisfied that only vanity prevents the French people from realizing its folly. More than once France has brought down upon herself unutterable misery and woe by her inclination to consider "*prestige*" and "*gloire*" her paramount interests; *prestige* and *gloire* received a terrible blow by her last war with Germany, and the people give her rulers almost *carte blanche* as to measures which can be made to appear a burnishing up of the dimmed luster. Russia, while prone even more than we to confound size and greatness, is partly prompted in her policy of expansion by a desire resting upon a basis of sound statesmanship. Her usable coast line is greatly out of proportion to her vast expanse of territory, and she more especially stands sorely in need of ice-free harbors. Are we as to any one of the points mentioned in a similar situation? We have no surplus population, we have not to retrieve lost prestige and glory, we do not stand in need of more coast line or ice-free harbors. There is still room for uncounted millions within our borders, every year brings new revelations as to the boundlessness of our natural resources, and we command all the means necessary for securing all the benefits to be derived from peaceable intercourse with other nations, without having to resort to a hazardous change of our international policy.

If I were to stop here, I think I would have said enough to convince any American whose mind is still open to argument as to this question that the annexation of Hawaii would at best be a leap in the dark, which we as sensible people ought not to take, unless we are compelled to do it. And still by far the most momentous objections I have not yet even alluded to.

In the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence it is asserted that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Declaration of Independence is the nation's birth-certificate,

officially and authoritatively, stating its *raison d'être*. To eliminate this axiomatic assertion as the basic formative, nay creative principle of our whole national existence, is to give the lie to the generation of 1776 and our whole past history. The annexation of Hawaii as proposed would be such an elimination as to the islands. This the annexationists deny, pointing to the unanimous ratification of the treaty by the Hawaiian Senate. I ask: Is there one man among those of them whose reputation for honesty and candor is not a sham and a fraud, who could look another honest man square in the face and protest that he would not indignantly pronounce this justification a disingenuous evasion and a brazen quibble, if the Hawaiian government had originated with Englishmen and under English auspices, as it has originated with Americans under American auspices, and England were to adduce such a ratification as incontestable proof that annexation would rest upon the consent of the governed? This specious argument may do as a soporific drug for the uneasy conscience of honest annexationists, but it can never fool those who do not subscribe to the doctrine that the essence is of no consequence, if it can be covered up by ever so thin a veil of a plausible form.

Proof is not lacking that they know it well. Though the Senate discusses the treaty behind closed doors the Washington correspondents have no difficulty in sending a synopsis of the speeches to their papers. It is curious reading. I have not been able to quite make up my mind which of the several astounding statements deserves the palm. The guns "pointing straight" to the mouth of the Nicaraguan canal *in spe* over a couple of thousand miles have it, I said to myself, when I vainly tried to fathom the awful consequences of the development of artilleristic possibilities foreshadowed in this momentous announcement by so eminent a ballistic authority as a United States Senator cannot fail to be. But I again became doubtful, when I read that the natives were now, as they always had been, enthusiastic for annexation. Did the wicked press palm off a sensational romance upon the people with its stories about a deputation of natives gone to Washington to protest against annexation? Why did a prominent Hawaiian gentleman, who for years has been earnestly laboring for annexation, to my direct question the other day as to the attitude of the natives, give an answer in which the absence of the faintest intimation of such an enthusiasm was painfully conspicuous? Above all, if the natives have such an ardent longing to become Americans, why does no annexationist want to hear of the proposition to make annexation dependent on a free expression of the popular will? Except in cases of conquest this has been for about forty years the uniform practice in Europe, which we are so prone to decry as despot-ridden. We, the democracy par excellence, with the Declaration of Independence tucked under our arm, are now to abjure the old faith and proclaim by our act a new creed to this purport: "the consent of the governed" is a good enough thing, if you are the governed; a fool, who stickles about it, if his chance to govern depends on disregarding it.

This objection, the annexationists declare, is a shell sounding so loud only because it is hollow; the argument comes too late in the day; many a vast territory has been annexed by the United States without submitting the question to a popular vote; then nobody thought of making the charge that the underlying principle of the

Declaration of Independence was infringed, and even supposing that it could have been made nobody can contend to-day that any harm has come of it. To the uninformed and the unthinking this may seem a plausible refutation; in fact it has no basis whatever to rest upon. It is very clear that no precedent is to be found in the past history of the United States—provided we are not prepared to contest what all mankind has thus far been agreed upon, viz.: that every principle requires a reasonable application, because in practice every principle turns into a monstrous absurdity if it be run down to its last logical conclusions. The Indians inhabiting the Territories in question were savages, and as to annexation savages were never thought to come within the pale of the principle of the Declaration of Independence. The other inhabitants—Texas excepted, where, although the popular sentiment was not doubtful, a convention was called ad hoc—were comparatively few in number, occupying but a small part of the territory to be annexed, and the gift of American citizenship was deemed so valuable that the dispensing with their consent was morally justified. In Hawaii not a single savage is to be found, the islands are more densely peopled than the vast areas within the borders of the United States, and as to the gift of American citizenship—Ah, “there is the rub.”

Is the infringement of the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed to be confined to the question of annexation, or is it after annexation to go on indefinitely, permanently? The treaty is silent on this all-important question. President McKinley in his message recommends “the most just provisions for self-rule in local matters, with the largest political liberties as an integral part of our nation” to the Hawaiians. That sounds fair enough. But a ruthless sceptic arises who will not be satisfied with two lines of “glittering generalities;” he insists upon a bill of specifications.

Oh, say our annexationists, this is not the time to talk of details; in due time Congress will see to that and fix it all right. Excuse me. This is the time to discuss the details. After annexation it will be too late, for the annexation could not be undone, and great as the wisdom of Congress unquestionably is, it is not equal to the impossible; the discussion of the details, however, would prove beyond controversy that the given condition of things, the hard unalterable facts of the case render impossible a fixing of the practical details so as to make a satisfactory, nay even a tolerable job of it.

Who are the Hawaiians the President had in mind, when he penned the passage in his message which I quoted before? The Chinese are not included, for our laws brand them not only as unfit for citizenship, but even as a tainted race against which “the land of the free” must be closed altogether. How far the Japanese come under the same head may be a question that has as yet not been definitively passed upon by the courts; but that the ruling element in Hawaii views the class of Japanese settled in the islands in no other light than the Chinese is not disputed, and that on this point American public sentiment will fully sustain the ruling element of Hawaii admits of no doubt. The Portuguese, at least so far as the exercise of political rights is concerned, are not much more favorably looked upon by those who pose as “the Hawaiians.” Mr. W. N. Armstrong, of Honolulu, who I understand cuts quite a figure in the front row of the

annexation phalanx, goes to the length of denying their right to be counted among “the whites.” As to the natives or Kanakas, the Supreme Court of Utah, then a Federal tribunal, held in 1889 in *re Kanaka Nian*, as Mr. Lobingier points out to *The Nation*, that they cannot be naturalized. Congress could, of course, nevertheless confer the suffrage on them. But if this were done, what would the Hawaiians come to think of “the wisdom” of Congress? Mr. Armstrong says: “It must be distinctly understood that, besides ruling themselves, the whites must create a form of government through which they can rule natives, Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese, in order to prevent being ‘snowed under.’ That is, we need two distinct forms of government made up into one form; one for ourselves and one for aliens, who outnumber us.” (Quoted in *The Nation*, Dec. 2, 1897.) In parenthesis: make a note of it in your Webster or Century Dictionary that in Hawaiian English *natives* means *aliens*. Now, will it be denied that the Hawaiians are more competent to judge of the Kanakas than Congress? The wisdom of the Hawaiians, however, informs us that the Kanakas are utterly unfit to rule and must be ruled. Rev. Dr. S. E. Bishop, the son of a missionary and himself a missionary pastor, most emphatically endorses what Mr. Armstrong asserts on this head. The Kanaka, he says, “can no more rule than a child;” “in kindness he cannot be left to assert a right to control the vast public interest here.” (Quoted in *The Nation* of Dec. 9, 1897, from *The Independent*.)

Now, what does all this mean? The venerable gentleman last quoted concludes from it: “the question (of annexation) is one too broad and far-reaching for the mass of people to vote on with any intelligence.” Though there may be and probably is a good deal of truth in this, it does not warrant our trampling under foot the basic principle of the Declaration of Independence. But let it be granted for argument’s sake that it is conclusive as to the question whether a ratification of the tender of the Hawaiian governmental authorities by popular vote may be dispensed with. Would that be conclusive also as to the main question? Whether Dr. Bishop’s conclusion be right or not, it is most obviously not the only conclusion to be drawn from the facts I mentioned. According to their own statement the Hawaiians are less than 4,000 in a population of about 110,000 and the 106,000 “aliens” or non-“whites” are of such a character that we could not afford to merge the islands in the Union, though their strategic and economical value were a hundred times what it is claimed to be. That is what Mr. Armstrong and Dr. Bishop have demonstrated beyond the possibility of refutation.

In the discussion of the Alaska purchase Mr. Shellabarger and other opponents of the measure strongly dwelt upon the fact that this was the first time non-contiguous territory was to be acquired. It is still much too early to contend that experience has proved their apprehensions to be unfounded. The first war with a great naval power may easily bring a drastic vindication of their views. And even if it should fail to do so, that would by no means disprove the principle they contended for. Possibly Alaska would play no part of any consequence in such a war, only because the United States, in spite of its gold-bearing rivers and mountains, do not deem it valuable enough to warrant considerable efforts for its defense, or because the enemy thinks that all his forces can be em-

ployed to better purpose at other points. Whether territorial contiguity ought to be made a *sine qua non* for annexation, we, however, need not discuss to-day. To consider it of no consequence is certainly not the part of sound statesmanship. But let its import be rated ever so high, another question is indisputably of vastly greater moment. Homogeneity as to what is in the true and strict sense of the word essential must be deemed indispensable. If this degree of homogeneity does not exist at the time the annexation is contemplated, it must at least be certain that it can be brought about in a very short time. According to the unanimous testimony of the Hawaiians, this degree of homogeneity does not exist at present in Hawaii and the facts on which their statement rests prove that it cannot be brought about in the future, either near or remote. That ought to settle the question with every American, who does not let imagination and enthusiasm get the better of his sober reasoning.

Self government is to this gigantic republic of ours even more than its breath of life; it is its very structural principle. It permeates not only all its institutions, but also the whole thinking and feeling and all the habits of the people, which are even a greater force in a nation's life than its institutions. In the great ordinance for the organization of the Northwestern Territory, antedating the constitution, it was made the bedrock on which the new commonwealths must be reared that in the course of time were to become equal constituent members of the Union. The federal government under the constitution has never swerved from the path thus taken by the old Congress. Our laws teem with provisions bearing testimony to the fact that self government is the basic national principle, not merely granted as an inestimable privilege to the incipient new commonwealths, the inchoate states of the future, but also imposed upon them as an irrefragable obligation. A committee of the Hawaiian Senate, however, has informed us that "good government cannot be permanently maintained in these islands without aid or assistance from without." What is this if not a formal official declaration that Hawaii is permanently incapable of self government? Therefore, if we annex Hawaii we consciously insert into the nation's lifeblood a foreign body which cannot be assimilated.

Am I to be answered that so tiny a thing in so huge a body can surely not do much harm? Beware! A foreign body in the blood, which cannot be assimilated, will cause festering though it be never so tiny, and if it be not removed the festering will spread, slowly perhaps, but steadily. An incongruous element will be introduced into our institutions and, what is a hundred times more portentous, this will bring about progressing vitiation of the thinking and feeling and of the habits of the people. We will have two heterogeneous basic principles, two heterogeneous sets of institutions, two heterogeneous sets of ideas, sentiments, and practices; and, as with two different money standards, the baser will constantly encroach upon and irresistibly flch ground from the better. The eclipse of the republic will have set in. For a nation's vitality is not to be measured by area, wealth, and power; it primarily depends on the energy and momentum of the vital force in the harmonious regulation of all the vital functions. When the area, wealth and power of the Roman empire were the greatest, Fate, in pursuance of

the implacable laws governing the life of nations, tolled its death knell.

I, too, am a sincere and thorough believer in the "manifest destiny" of this country; I have only a somewhat different conception of what it is popularly understood to mean—different, but certainly not less lofty. Yea, I believe in its manifest destiny and I am thoroughly convinced that nobody can thwart or prevent its fulfilment—*nobody but ourselves*. The annexation of Hawaii, however, seems to me the first fatal step towards our frustrating its fulfilment. I have examined the question honestly and earnestly, bringing all the light to bear upon it furnished me by knowledge of human nature, by my observations during repeated extended sojourns in most of the leading countries of the world, by my studies of the history of mankind and especially of this country. Though the frankness with which I have stated the result to which I have come, is perhaps unpalatable, I trust it will be admitted that I have reasoned dispassionately. Aye, dispassionately, but not as if there was nothing in the problem to touch the emotional chords in my mind's harp. I feel strongly about it. My race will be run long ere the dire consequences which I expect will become very manifest. But I have taken my children along to become and remain Americans. How then can I help looking beyond my grave with deep concern and considering the issue as in a way of personal moment to me? How can you help doing the same? All the impressiveness I can command I wish to lay into my last word, addressing it to every one of you individually: *tua res agitur*, it is your cause I have been pleading.

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The Women's International Peace League of America, Mary Frost Evans, President, East Providence, R. I., Christine Whipple Clarke, Secretary, Mystic, Conn.

## The Women of France to their English Sisters.

The Women's International Disarmament League of France, recently formed, has sent the following letter in reply to one addressed by English women to their French sisters in 1895. For the translation we are indebted to "War or Brotherhood?"

"As members of a Women's League which has for its object the destruction of international hatreds and the promotion of good feeling between different races and peoples, we hasten to reply to your address, cordially extending to you the hand of friendship. We learn from those who have visited your country that the feeling of the English nation towards the French nation is friendly and sympathetic. One evidence of this is the brotherly welcome accorded to the sixty thousand French work people who find employment in London. On special occasions, too, the sympathy of English people has often been manifested; as in 1871, when the city of London hastened to supply the city of Paris with provisions, on the raising of the siege. Another example was furnished by the self-sacrificing labors of an English lady, Miss de Broen, who during the last struggles of the Commune, earned the name of the 'Mother of Belleville' by her work of mercy in one of the poorest quarters of Paris. Continuing to devote her life and her fortune to the help of the suffering people there, she received unbounded gratitude in return.

Do not such facts indicate the possibility of making friendly international relations general, through a sense of our common brotherhood realized in acts of kindness?

The desire among the nations for increased mutual comprehension and sympathy is one of the forces making for civilization and moral progress. The same need is operative on the material plane. England is by far the most important customer of France, purchasing goods there to the extent of 32 per cent. of her entire trade. It may therefore be imagined what a calamity war between the two nations would be, from the commercial as well as political standpoint. Such a war would mean a general collapse which would retard progress for a century. It is a matter for congratulation that there are no questions at issue between us too serious to be arranged by arbitration.

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AND EVEN WHEN THE SLEIGH-BELLS RING,  
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The letter is signed by the president of the League, the Princess Wiszniewska, by the vice-presidents, Madame Flammarion and Madame Chéliga, and by a number of other prominent French women who are members of the League.

At the meeting of the Universal Peace Union in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on the 22d. of February, Judge William N. Ashman, in a very able speech appropriate to the present

disturbed times argued that the Government in relying upon its navy is leaning upon a broken reed, because it is admitted by the highest authority that it is the merest experiment, as is the whole modern science of naval warfare. No one can say that the sailor in one of the modern men-of-war is not in more peril from the dangers that come from within his ship than from those that come from the enemy. All conditions of war have so changed that no one can tell what the results of a war are likely to be. "War is so near the end of its reign," he said, "that all its conditions have changed, and we are coming to a position where war must cease," though he said that there were evils from which the country had more to fear than from war, such as sectional hatred, the evil influence of vast and ill-gotten fortunes and trust and corporation greed.



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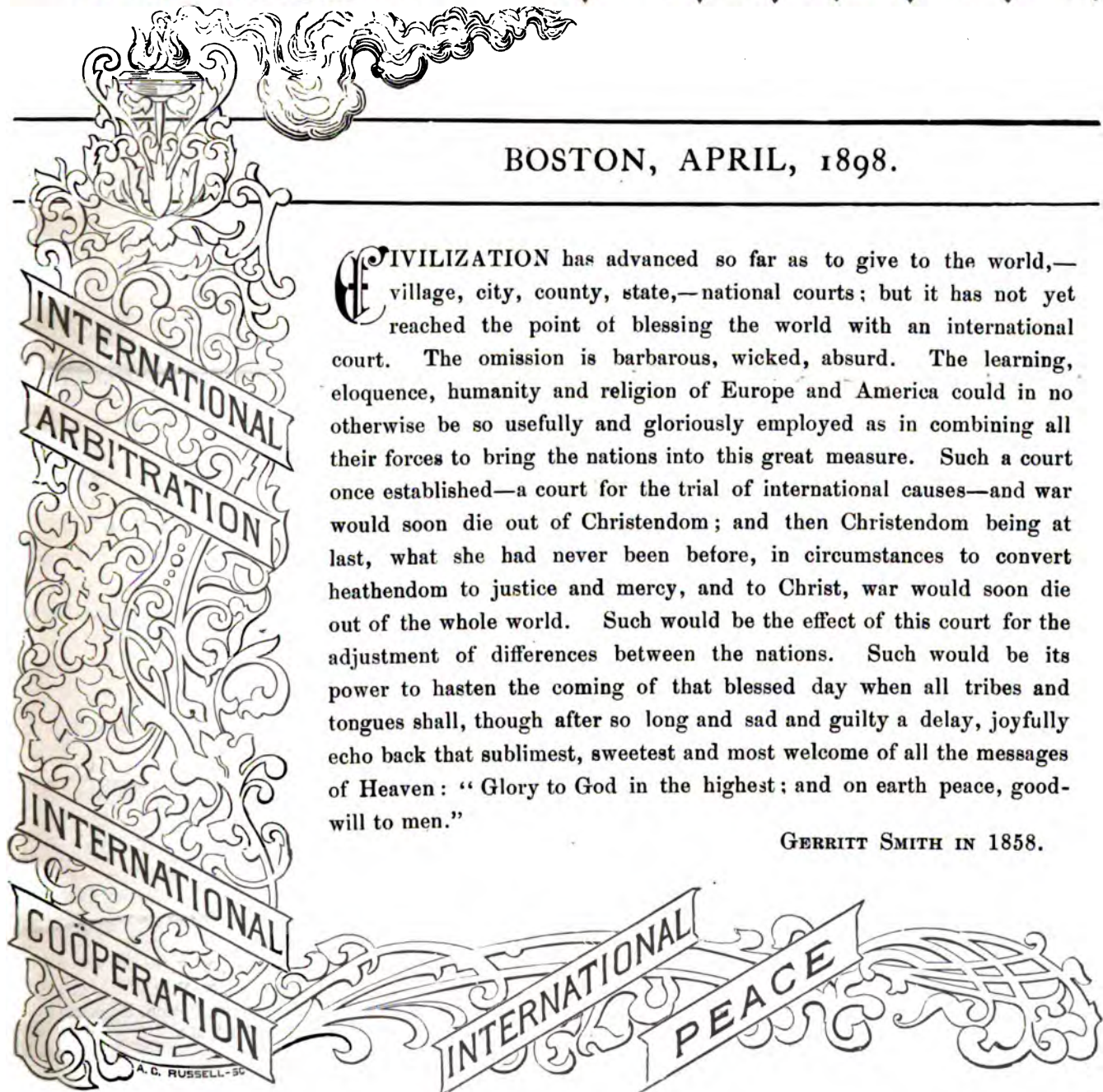
APR 7 1898



BOSTON, APRIL, 1898.

CIVILIZATION has advanced so far as to give to the world,—village, city, county, state,—national courts; but it has not yet reached the point of blessing the world with an international court. The omission is barbarous, wicked, absurd. The learning, eloquence, humanity and religion of Europe and America could in no otherwise be so usefully and gloriously employed as in combining all their forces to bring the nations into this great measure. Such a court once established—a court for the trial of international causes—and war would soon die out of Christendom; and then Christendom being at last, what she had never been before, in circumstances to convert heathendom to justice and mercy, and to Christ, war would soon die out of the whole world. Such would be the effect of this court for the adjustment of differences between the nations. Such would be its power to hasten the coming of that blessed day when all tribes and tongues shall, though after so long and sad and guilty a delay, joyfully echo back that sublimest, sweetest and most welcome of all the messages of Heaven: “Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, goodwill to men.”

GERRITT SMITH IN 1858.



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# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

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## The Purpose of the Peace Societies.

"What is the Peace Society doing to prevent war?" This question has been frequently asked us during the recent weeks of excitement. The question indicates a wrong or very imperfect conception of the nature of the work of the peace societies. It seems to be supposed by some that an organization like the American Peace Society is good for nothing if it cannot prevent any war that threatens. Such a society ought to be able, it is imagined, at a moment of sudden excitement and danger of hostilities, to set at once in motion a mechanism powerful enough to calm the inflamed minds of the people, to stop the sensational press reporters from lying, to arrest the pens of belligerent editors, to close the mouths of fiery jingoes, to dictate the judgment of the administration, and to direct the whole course of diplomacy between two governments; in fact, to control two peoples and two governments.

The Peace Society would be delighted to do all this, if it could, but it ought not to be expected to

perform prodigies. It is only a little, comparatively, that any group of persons, unless it be large and distributed over a wide area, can do to control public sentiment when it is at fever heat, or to check the mischievous activity of a lot of irresponsible scare-heads who are always busiest at such times. As to controlling diplomacy at these junctures, but little can be done. Its secrets are not disclosed to the public, and memorializing government with declarations of general principles when delicate and disturbing questions are perplexing the minds of those in authority, is about as near useless as any good thing can be. It is often a positive injury.

We are only stating what a peace society cannot accomplish, and ought not to be expected to accomplish, under such circumstances. We do not underestimate, in the least, the positive influence which it ought to exert, and actually does exert, in the most troublous times. It goes without saying that such a society ought at such periods of disturbance, as at all other times, to put forth its utmost efforts, in all wise ways, in behalf of the principles and policies for which it stands. It should utter its voice all the louder because of the general din. Every one of its members constitutes a center of influence in his locality. By his example, his conversation, his articles in the local press, etc., he exercises a considerable restraining influence. The joint influence of all the members, scattered throughout the nation, is very strong. The peace societies, while not claiming perfection, have not been found wanting at times when the people have been carried away by passion, and war has seemed imminent. They have contributed much of that restraining force, which has often, in spite of the gusts of wild and irrational feeling, held the nation fast to her moorings and kept her from plunging recklessly into the mad orgies of war.

But the chief work of the peace societies is not

done during times of excitement, such as we have just passed through. A society which did nothing except on such occasions, and then rushed about in a paroxysm of effort, would be unworthy of the name of peace society. The purpose of such societies is not so much to try to prevent war in specific cases, however efficient they may then be, as to bring about such a change in public sentiment in reference to the whole subject of war and the methods of administering international justice as will ultimately render all war impossible. This is the great field of their service, — to promote better international feeling in a large general way; to inculcate the idea that war is a barbarous and irrational means of trying to secure justice; to induce governments to settle by arbitration all cases of dispute as they arise; to promote the negotiation of permanent treaties of arbitration between nations; and to try to secure the ultimate establishment of a permanent international tribunal to which all cases of international difference, not adjustable by diplomacy, may go as a matter of course.

It is evident that but little of this work can be done when the public mind is in a state of frenzy and suspense. It requires the patient labor of months and years, when men's minds are free from passion and open to truth. It is but slowly at best that the bad instincts and habits of thought and belief inherited from the past and strengthened by false education can be changed.

The American Peace Society, with others, has great reason to rejoice that its effects have had already such large fruitage. The change of view with regard to war and the possibility of its abolition, since the Society was founded just *seventy* years ago (*eighty-three* years ago if the life of its immediate predecessors be included), has been enormous. During these years, in dark days and bright, the Society has faithfully worked away at its problem. It has circulated many millions of pages of literature discussing all phases of the subject, seeking to turn public opinion into better channels. Many of the most eminent men in the nation have coöperated with it, speaking for it and writing for it. It has gone to the government authorities year after year with its appeals for the settlement of disputes with other nations by peaceful means, for the negotiation of permanent treaties to this end, etc. It has seen its proposed methods adopted in many

cases of dispute. It has seen a great change in public opinion. It has been joined in its propaganda by other societies (now over 400), in all the civilized nations. It has seen many great and small organizations, not specifically devoted to peace, making the subject a part of their program. During the present excitement and intensity of feeling over the destruction of the battleship Maine, and over the general Cuban question, it has seen a strong conservative feeling, both at Washington and throughout the nation, opposing the cheap and vulgar jingo ravings and the lying abominations of the sensational papers, and holding back the country from plunging rashly into war.

The Society can justly claim that through its faithful work in the past it has been one of the chief instrumentalities in producing this large conservative, restraining sentiment throughout the nation. Whatever may be the outcome of the present crisis, the Society will go steadily on, in season out of season, propagating its principles and declaring its policies. Its members have an unfaltering faith in their ultimate and not very remote success. The great movement for permanent international peace, the idea of which has in recent years so deeply taken hold of men's minds, will be little retarded by any war that may come. It has gone steadily on increasing yearly in momentum in spite of the wars which have made the pages of this century so bloody. The Society proposes, with the help of God, to continue its efforts until the movement is consummated in the setting up of a great international court and the banishing of war from human society. It asks the immediate and continued coöperation and support of all the men and women throughout the nation who share its aspirations and its hopes.

### The Crime of the Sensational Journals.

A decent, self-respecting man can hardly allow himself to speak, or even to think, of the course pursued by many of the newspapers of the country during the past six weeks. The temptation to think bitter thoughts and to speak over-hard words about them, in the name of righteousness, is so great that about the only safe thing to do is to bite one's lips and keep still. However, their crime has been too great to be passed over in silence.

We have never had before in the history of the country such an exhibition of rumor-mongering as



followed the destruction of the "Maine" in Havana harbor. Not that the spirit of it has been worse than often before, but the perfection of the press system made it possible on this occasion on a scale which would have brought chills to the consciences of the earlier experts in the art of news-fabrication. Taking advantage of the fact that everybody was eager to know all about the disaster and the progress of its investigation, many of the "yellow" sheets caught up every rumor, from any chance comer, and sent it out, with the most flaming headlines, as if it had been as true as the explosion itself. This was somewhat excusable at first. But they continued to do so week after week, in face of the fact that the investigating Committee were doing their work in secret, and that the President and the Secretary of the Navy had publicly announced and reiterated that they knew absolutely nothing as to what the report of the Committee would be.

This newspaper fabrication, therefore, was done in large part deliberately and intentionally, on the part at least of many of the reporters and editors. Doubtless a few of them were "simple" enough to have been duped into believing that they were giving out real news. But what shall be said of the fitness of such "simple-minded" men to have charge of so important a matter as the conducting of a newspaper! The iniquity of some of them may also be slightly lessened by their inordinate love of the sensational, by the subordination of their moral faculties to the pressure of their imagination—a stage in human development beyond which many people have not yet passed. It is a somewhat puzzling freak of nature that so many of this class of "undeveloped" persons have got into the newspaper business, where their opportunity to do mischief is so great.

Whatever part the tyranny of sensationalism and the desire to out-do other papers may have played in the conduct of these rumor-mongers, in the office or in the field, the love of money has been the chief motive of the owners and conductors of the journals themselves. Though lying for money in ordinary business is considered in the highest degree dishonorable and disreputable and is done usually only in covert ways, this newspaper fabrication is considered by its perpetrators a shrewd and perfectly legitimate business, whose products are offered to the public in the most brazen-faced way. Alas! that so much of the public love the lying so well that

they take it down without any compunctions and without any protest!

It may be thought that the word crime is too strong to be used of this kind of iniquity. On the contrary, there is no sort of evil-doing which surpasses it in criminality. Its natural tendency is, in a case like that before us, to inflame the minds of the people and through their passionate clamors to force the government into war, whose results would be the loss and maiming of tens of thousands of lives, the breaking up of many, many homes, the spending of enormous sums of money, the creation of a deep-seated international feud, and one knows not what other perils and disasters. The fact that all these dire results are prevented by other instrumentalities from occurring does not lessen in the least the guilt of those whose deeds would otherwise have run straight to these sad results.

We are not inculcating the whole press. In the anxious days through which the country has been passing, a number of the great papers have been a mighty bulwark against hasty judgment, against inflamed passion, against hatred, against war in any shape over Cuban affairs. By their rejection of rumors, their sifting of conflicting reports, their wise and brave editorials, their calm and lofty utterances as to the true honor, dignity and mission of our great country, they have done a service which should never be forgotten. They have given us a glimpse of what the press ought to be, of what it will be, as a moral force, when it rises as a whole to the height of its great responsibilities and its great opportunities. It is a source of encouragement to have many grounds for believing that these papers have represented the sentiments and wishes of the nation as a whole.

The low, degrading, criminal sensationalism of the class of sheets of which we have been speaking can be gotten rid of only through the pressure of a strong public sentiment. Such papers must not only be strongly condemned, they must be absolutely shunned by all good men and women. All the news worth having can now be had through good, clean papers, which are at the same time rich in contents and ably edited. These must be supported, even if they cost a cent a day more. Again, the daily papers, with their great world-wide agency, the Associated Press, must be brought to feel the *extraordinary* responsibility resting upon them by the very nature of the

position which they occupy. A great newspaper, every newspaper in fact, is something more than a private business enterprise. It is a quasi-public institution. The interests of the public are so connected with it and so affected by its conduct that that portion of the public on whom rests the responsibility of social and political order has a right to say something of the manner in which it shall be managed. If every man is under moral obligation to conduct his vocation with a view to the ultimate good of the public, the newspaper man is under double obligation to do so.

### Report of the Maine Court of Inquiry.

The report of the court of inquiry appointed to investigate the causes of the destruction of the battleship Maine has been awaited with anxiety. The report, which is now in, makes it certain, if it was not already certain, that this great calamity is not to lead to the still greater calamity of war. The court's findings are different from what many had supposed they would be. The accident theory, put forth at first by the government and held by many to the last, has been set aside by the report. There is, however, in the court's findings nothing of the sensational character which newspaper rumors right at the last predicted there would be. Spain and the Spaniards are not even mentioned in connection with the question of responsibility. The document is a short, cool, business-like one, and is allowed to speak for itself.

After describing the condition of the ship on the evening of the disaster, the nature of the two explosions which are found to have occurred, and the condition and position of the wreck as determined by the divers — which latter is set forth with great carefulness of detail — the court sums up its conclusions in three short statements:

"The court finds that the loss of the Maine, on the occasion named, was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of the crew of said vessel.

"In the opinion of the court the Maine was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines.

"The court has been unable to obtain evidence fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the Maine upon any person or persons."

While the report does not locate the responsibility,

there are parts of it which raise a strong suspicion of a Spanish origin of the disaster. Very few thinking people have ever believed that the Spanish government or the officials at Havana were directly guilty of blowing up the ship. Many have believed, from the general circumstances of the disaster, that it was caused by individual Spaniards acting of their own motion. This belief will not be at all lessened but rather much increased by the report.

The President, in a short, admirable message, has communicated the report to Congress. It has been referred to the Committees on Foreign Affairs, and is not likely to be acted on in any way until the President gets word from the government at Madrid. In reference to what the Spanish government may be expected to do, the President says to Congress: "I have directed that the finding of the court of inquiry and the views of this government thereon be communicated to the government of her majesty, the Queen regent, and I do not permit myself to doubt that the sense of justice of the Spanish nation will dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two governments."

Such utterances as this, supposing as we do that the President has used as wise, kindly and trustful language in his communication to the Spanish government, will go a long way toward securing an immediate response answering the President's expectations. The court of inquiry and the President have certainly shown a most wise and magnanimous spirit in treating the subject. There is not a syllable in their utterances to arouse Spanish irritation.

It is possible that the Spanish government may place the report of its own court of inquiry over against that of ours and ask that the whole subject be reviewed by an international tribunal. This report holds that the ship was destroyed wholly from within. If this course should be taken by Spain, the question of responsibility will certainly go at last to a court of arbitration. If the Spanish government should take this course and ask for arbitration, our government could not in justice, and certainly would not, refuse. It is a matter eminently suitable in every way for arbitration. Spain has a right to clear herself of all responsibility for the dreadful catastrophe, if she can do it. There is reason to hope that the Spanish government will be induced by our government's self-restraint and kindness to either acknowledge responsibility in a general way, or to offer, in

a spirit of friendship and conciliation, to make reparation without acknowledging responsibility, as our government did in the case of the Italians killed at New Orleans. After this report of the court of inquiry all talk of war over the destruction of the Maine is un-American and ought to cease.

### The Struggle for Peace.

It is not the Maine disaster in itself which threatens to lead to war, though the peril of the general situation has been greatly intensified thereby. For three weeks past it has seemed as if the country were driving straight into the yawning abyss. The feeling in favor of armed intervention, ostensibly to stop the inhumanities in Cuba, was blown into a white heat by the destruction of the Maine. It has been restless and aggressive in Congress and out of it. This feeling has been further intensified by the speeches of the Senators who have visited Cuba and seen the desolations there. The voting of the fifty millions emergency fund, which it was thought would quiet the aggressive men, has had the opposite effect. The extensive war preparations which have followed have deepened the determination of these men to accomplish their purpose of immediate armed intervention for the independence of Cuba.

The problem which the President has set for himself is, therefore, under the circumstances, an extremely difficult one. He has undertaken to secure the cessation of the Cuban war, the permanent relief of the sufferers, self-government for Cuba, and to accomplish this without involving the country in war with Spain. He has, up to this writing, pursued this aim with unfaltering faith and devotion. He has not been moved by the sensational papers. He has kept in hand, with admirable tact, the aggressive men in Congress. His diplomatic methods have shown the highest order of Christian statesmanship. He has had the support of the Cabinet, and of the strongest and best men in both the Senate and the House. He has had the increasing sympathy and support of all the best elements of the nation. Even that class of our best citizens who, while deploring war, believe that the United States ought to intervene by force to stop the dreadful inhumanities in Cuba, have supported the President and been willing to leave him a free hand and plenty of time to demonstrate what his policy can do.

There is now strong hope that he will succeed in

this brave struggle to keep the peace while doing what he believes to be his duty towards Cuba. As we go to press, the reports from Spain are favorable. The Spanish ministry, sustained in the recent elections by a large majority, is reported to be ready to make proposals to our government of such a liberal nature as will entirely satisfy our government and be acceptable to the Cubans. We hope the President may be able to restrain Congress from declaring war, and continue his wise pacific policy. If tried long enough, it will certainly succeed. There is power in pacific methods of which men have little dreamed.

The efforts of the violent men in Congress, who are bent on war at all hazards, who have gone mad at the very wisdom of the President's message on the Maine disaster, ought signally to fail. There is certainly good sense and conservatism enough still in the Senate to kill their war resolutions. No greater national madness could be conceived of than a declaration of war against Spain, after these months of patient negotiation, contrary to the President's wishes and at the very moment when his policy seems about to be crowned with victory. In such a case, we should deserve the just judgments of Almighty God and the contempt of all the civilized world for our weakness and childish loss of self-control.

If the President's policy fails, and we involve ourselves in hostilities with Spain, it will be difficult enough, from any point of view, to justify armed intervention either for Cuban independence or the arrest of Spanish inhumanities. We shall have abandoned our historic policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We shall have discarded all the rules of international law which govern the relations of civilized nations. We shall have supported against their home-government a body of insurgents about whose character there is no agreement among ourselves. We shall have substituted for inhumanities which we do not approve others awful to contemplate, of possibly much greater proportions and duration, which will have been brought on by our own voluntary act. We shall have deranged our whole commercial and industrial systems and brought on thereby an amount of suffering and distress impossible to estimate. We shall have taken a step leading straight to a policy of meddlesomeness, whose mischievous consequences can only be conjectured from the dire results of such

a course in the case of the European nations which have ventured thereon. We shall have increased tenfold in strength the clamorous jingo element of our population. We shall have strengthened in the nation's blood the warlike instincts which are already imperiling our institutions, and threatening constantly to lead us into the enslaving curse of militarism. We shall have deliberately thrown away our unique and commanding position among the nations, as the leader of the world in the paths of international friendship, goodwill and peace. We shall have become an object of hatred and distrust.

If a war is entered upon in behalf of humanity or Cuban independence, it will have to justify itself, twenty years hence, when the heat of passion is gone, to the cool judgment and conscience of the nation, in face of these tremendous considerations, to which many minds are to-day so little open.

### Great Britain's Peril.

There seems to be not the least inclination among responsible British statesmen to call a halt in the development of the navy. The disposition to go on enlarging it, at no matter what exhaustion of the nation is stronger than ever before. The naval demonstration at the Queen's jubilee seems to have put the last blinding touch on British eyes. The whole nation, with the exception of a handful of people who are trying bravely to stem the tide, appears to have surrendered and ceased active opposition to the further enlargement of this "glorious" instrument of power. The naval leaders and managers, with one voice, cry: "Great is the British navy! Greater must be the British navy!" and the people are either dumb with a confused sense of wonder and half-conscious pride or shouting with enthusiasm, "Great is the British navy!" like the Ephesians of old before the stupid piece of stone supposed to have come to them from Jupiter.

The naval estimates presented to the House of Commons on March 10th by the first lord of the admiralty amounted, with the outlay on naval works, to the prodigious sum of more than one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. Mr. Goschen, in presenting the estimates, said that even this sum was considered by some inadequate. The navy was in a transitional state. The government was introducing a series of improvements. He declared that the naval display at the time of the jubilee had been imposing but that it had not reached the ideal standard. The squadron now in the channel was the most powerful ever gathered together. It was intended not only to parade the channel and act as an instrument of defense, but also to take the offen-

sive if war should come. He spoke with evident satisfaction and pride of the quiet way in which the British fleet had been recently increased in Chinese waters. The government's plans could not be openly stated, but he assured the House of Commons that in the distribution of cruisers careful consideration had been given to the protection of every trade route and every food-supply route. He hoped that the House would have confidence that "if times darkened" the admiralty would be found doing its duty. He could not give particulars concerning the proposed new war ships, because foreigners must be kept in the dark regarding their plans. They would be adapted to the special circumstances existing in different parts of the world.

And the House took this materialistic boasting all down, with prolonged cheering! One member moved that even greater effort be made for manning the fleet. A rear-admiral, seconding the amendment, suggested that Great Britain should buy all the war vessels now building in England for other countries. Many members urged an increase in the naval reserve. One Radical declared that the present large estimates ought to have been made long ago; that the English navy, as compared with the navies of other countries, was worse than it had been two years before. One of the most disheartening statements made by Mr. Goschen was that there was no lack of recruits; that there was such a rush of "boys" to enter the service that only one in eight of those who offered themselves could be accepted, that every vessel was fully manned, and that seven out of every eight of those desiring to enter the service had to be rejected simply for lack of room! In the lobbies during the evening, when the Russian imperial ukase ordering the disbursement of ninety million roubles for the construction of new Russian warships became known, it was reported that the British government would make a considerable increase in its already colossal estimates.

We do not remember any other example in recent years where a nation has more coolly, deliberately and doggedly devoted itself, heart and soul, through its public representatives, to what is really militarism *à outrance*. No charge can now be brought against Continental militarism that cannot be brought with equal weight against British militarism. It is the navy instead of the army; that is all the difference. What the Continent accomplishes in militarizing its populations by its conscriptive system, Great Britain is accomplishing by the magnification of her naval power and glory and by the insidious work of the military organizations for boys in her churches, Sunday schools and post-office department. The navies of the world are already putting into the background the great armies. The mad rivalry has put to sea. Russia is pushing forward in it with all her restless energy. France is in the race. The German parlia-

ment seems about to yield to the imperious demands of the Emperor who has already forced his country into the contest. Japan is in the midst of them. But Great Britain has just declared, or will have declared if the admiralty's demands are complied with, more emphatically than ever before, that she proposes to lead in the race, if it costs the last pound in her exchequer. The navy must be kept equal to any other two navies of the world, if every other department of the public service is robbed and the people bled white through excessive taxation.

At thought of this, one cannot help trembling for the future of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The British ministers and people wholly overlook ultimate results. They forget that every move they make in naval extension will be matched by the other powers, as in the past. Where and when and by what means do they suppose the rivalry will stop? Are they so blind as not to see that on sea as on land, force, of all things, is just the one thing in which the other nations, when thoroughly aroused, can compete with Great Britain most successfully? It is the height of absurdity in British statesmen not to see that an ultimate combination of powers (and not a very large combination) is possible, which could crush any possible British fleet, and that without any combination the fleets of other powers will soon be in position to neutralize all the advantages which the British navy has been supposed to possess. It is painful to have to confess that Great Britain, because of the wide sphere she now occupies in the world's affairs, has, by her continued naval extension, and the declared purpose of her government to lead at all hazards, become the guiltiest of all those powers which are seeking to maintain brutal force as the ultimate standard of judgment in international affairs.

Anglo-Saxon civilization may stand the strain of this iniquity for a long time. It has tremendously vital elements in it, which may stave off the day of ruin for many a generation. But it cannot stand the strain always, if it continues and increases. The children will reap what the fathers are sowing. Militarism of whatever form, on land or sea, if allowed to dominate, will eat the vitals out of any nation and ultimately destroy it. The selfishness and pride, the corruption and debasement of character and morals attending it will overthrow liberty, undermine justice and its administration, weaken the nation's intellectual capacity, pervert its religious ideals, and introduce the deadliest form of social disintegration. From this degeneration under the domain of force Great Britain can no more escape than Rome escaped. Her mightiest fleet cannot save her from it, nor can her shrewdest prime ministers, her lords of the admiralty, nor her longest-headed colonial secretaries.

Englishmen themselves, some of them, realize deeply the peril of the situation. The Dean of Dur-

ham recently wrote: "One notes with great regret the rapid growth of militarism in England, and the corresponding deflection from the gospel of Jesus Christ. . . I am very hopeless and feel that our attempts to create a more wholesome state of public opinion are likely to be very ineffectual against the blare of modern and vulgar jingoism. The future of Europe is very dark, and we may be drawing near to a great punishment for our unfaithfulness."

England is dear to us all, and our devoutest wish for her is that her statesmen and her people may open their eyes quickly to the dangers of the course on which they have deliberately entered, before it is too late. We wish this for our own country's sake as well as hers, for America will find it difficult, if not impossible, to resist the influence of her example. The whole of Anglo-Saxon civilization is likely to go up or down together.

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### Editorial Notes.

The Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society will be held in Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, 1 Somerset St., Boston, on Monday, May 9th, at 2.30 P.M. The annual reports of the Board of Directors and of the Treasurer will be read, officers for the coming year will be chosen, and such other business transacted as may be brought forward. It is hoped that the importance of the cause of peace at the present time may cause a large attendance of the members. Contributions for extending the work of the Society are earnestly solicited.

The regular bi-monthly meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society was held at the rooms of the Society, 3 Somerset St., Boston, on March 28th. The meeting was given up to an earnest discussion of the strained relations between this country and Spain, and the following message was ordered to be signed by the President and Secretary of the Society and sent to President McKinley:

"To the President of the United States:

The American Peace Society, speaking through its board of directors, is impelled with unanimity to express to the President the profound satisfaction with which they observe, commend and support his policy in dealing with the relations of the United States with Spain and Cuba.

Humane men throughout the world, and nowhere so strongly as in the United States, deplore the distress and suffering of the Cuban population. Every influence possible to the United States should be exerted to exterminate these horrible conditions — every influence short of war.

We ask for no policy of cowardice, but of stern self-control. Sentiment and sympathy must yield to the strong behests of conscience. The Christian conscience of our people insists that peace is a nobler and more humane policy than war.

May God give to you, our honored President, to your

trusted Cabinet and to the Congress of the country, continued strength, courage and wisdom to adhere to a policy of peace, even if it needs great patience. We believe that such a course as you have so far pursued will, if continued a little longer, lead to a pacific solution of all the difficulties now pending — a solution which will be true to the noblest ideals and hopes of our powerful Christian nation, and at the same time in no way false to the claims of justice and humanity."

It has been frequently asserted that the citizens of the inland states are practically all jingoistic, and in the present crisis in favor of armed intervention for the liberation of Cuba. Being acquainted with the people in the interior, we do not believe that they are even as much for war as those in the Atlantic states. The sentiment in the nation is everywhere divided and the inland has its full share of pacific feeling. Here is a memorial, which was telegraphed to the President on the 24th of March, signed by fifty prominent citizens of Colorado Springs, Col. It could have been duplicated in every part of the inland states. The author of the memorial is Gen. W. J. Palmer, who went through our civil war and knows the meaning of war as the younger men, many of whom are clamoring for immediate armed intervention, do not know it:

"To the President of the United States:

We earnestly hope that, in behalf of justice, humanity and of our own permanent national welfare, the United States will continue to refrain from hostile intervention in Cuba. A false step at this time may bring war, and it is possible for victory, by begetting a willingness to interfere in the affairs of other nations, to produce results that might be worse even than defeat.

We deplore the unfortunate suffering in Cuba, but would not have our country invite the risk of calamities much more shocking to human sympathy, or assume any responsibility for the doubtful future of a Spanish-American republic.

It is not 'peace at any price' that we advocate, but what we consider the truest patriotism, and the best interests of humanity."

After strong speeches in favor of peace, the Boston Chamber of Commerce, at its meeting on the 25th of March, passed the following resolutions:

"When great issues are at stake and hideous war with all its barbarities and atrocities threatens the happiness and prosperity of the people, it behooves the citizens engaged in peaceful pursuits, through their organized bodies, to declare their convictions, to the end that wise counsels may prevail in the nation and an honorable peace be maintained.

Whereas, it is the high mission and duty of commerce to cultivate peace and goodwill among men, and to promote the progress and well being of nations and peoples, it is especially fitting that the Boston Chamber of Commerce should exert its influence and speak for peace in a voice of no uncertain sound. Therefore, be it

Resolved, that we admire and heartily commend the calm and dignified attitude and conduct of the President of the United States throughout the present crisis, and we pledge him our hearty support in his purpose and endeavor to avert from our beloved country the horrors and disasters of war.

Resolved, that we also contemplate with feelings of pride the ability and moderation displayed by a worthy son of our grand old commonwealth, the honorable Secretary of the Navy, and we express our entire confidence in his wisdom and sense of right and justice.

Resolved, that we deplore and condemn, as utterly unworthy the confidence and respect of the people, the publication by the so-called sensational press of false and exaggerated statements intended to inflame the passions of the people and to bring upon them all the calamities and distress of war.

Resolved, that it is in accord with the spirit of the age and the principles and precepts of Christianity for civilized nations to submit disputed questions and differences respecting policies of administration and government to the judgment of an impartial tribunal, and we heartily favor the application of the principle of arbitration to the settlement of all international questions.

Resolved, that the sentiments and principles as expressed by Washington in his immortal farewell address, to 'observe good faith and justice to all nations,' and 'to cultivate peace and harmony with all,' are especially applicable at this time, and should ever remain to the people of the whole country their guide and inspiration.

Resolved, that we extend to the suffering people of Cuba our sympathy in their distress and recommend most earnestly the collection of money and supplies for their relief and sustenance."

Two other short resolutions were passed, the substance of which was that the Business men of Boston would stand by the President, if war should come, after every possible means of peace had been tried and failed.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs has admitted that the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii is dead, by introducing into the Senate a joint resolution to take its place. Chairman Davis, on introducing the resolution, submitted an extended report of the Committee, discussing at length the arguments in favor of annexation. There is nothing new in the Committee's presentation of the case. It is simply a rehearsal of the arguments which all along have been brought forward in support of the project. The Senate was asked to give immediate consideration to the resolution, but the opponents of annexation at once began dilatory tactics. But there is little prospect that the resolution can be put through both Houses at this session. Certainly it cannot be gotten hurriedly through the House of Representatives, and we do not believe it can be gotten through that body at all. The manner in which the speech of Mr. Johnson of Indiana, on February 22, was received by the House makes it doubtful if a majority of the Representatives can ever be secured in favor of the resolution. Some other speeches, both for and against



annexation, have since been made in the House, members of the Foreign Affairs Committee taking part in the discussion. These preliminary speeches indicate that the House is so divided on the subject that the resolution will have to run the gantlet of a long debate. It will have to go over till the next session of Congress, and that will mean doubtless its final burial. It ought to mean that. The first part of Chairman Davis' resolution is as follows:

"The government of the republic of Hawaii having in due form signified its consent in the manner provided for by its constitution to cede absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and to the Hawaiian islands, and to their dependencies, and also to cede and transfer to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, government or crown lands, public buildings or edifices, forts, harbors, military equipment and all other public property of whatever kind and description belonging to the government of the Hawaiian islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that said cession is accepted, ratified and confirmed, and that said Hawaiian islands and their dependencies be, and they are hereby, annexed as a part of the territory of the United States, and are subject to the sovereign dominion thereof, and that all and singular, the property and rights hereinbefore mentioned are vested in the United States of America."

The remaining parts of the resolution provide for the disposal of the Hawaiian public lands, for the temporary government of the islands until Congress decides upon a permanent form of government, the abrogation of Hawaiian treaties and the preservation of Hawaiian customs regulations until those of the United States shall be put into operation, the assumption of the public debt of Hawaii by the United States to the extent of \$4,000,000, the regulation of Chinese immigration and the appointment by the President of five commissioners to prepare a code of laws for the government of the islands.

Here are some sentences from an article on "Patriotism" in the March number of the *North American Review*, by Bishop Doane of Albany, that pack whole volumes of meaning into them: "Is not the love of man, philanthropy, consistent with the love of country, patriotism? Must the preference be *exclusive*?" "My contention is that the one is larger than the other, that the one is above the other, that the one is before the other, that the one is the foundation of the other; that the patriot is first philanthropist; that in the great brotherhood of humanity all are brothers, only those are nearest who are in the same house." "If nations are masses of individuals, governed and controlled by the same great moral principles, it must be that national selfishness is a sin." "The true patriot is, first of all, a man, one of the great brotherhood of humanity, knit in, in the mere matter of self-interest, with the human race." "The hatred of other countries is, not only not the only sign, but it is no sign at all, of the love of our own."

"Of all so-called patriotic hatreds the attempt to foster American hatred of England is the most unpardonable and the most unnatural." "While true patriotism does not consist *in* and does not consist *with* contempt and dislike for other countries, it does not consist in boastful blindness about the faults of our country and our government." "It is not courage but cowardice that makes a blustering braggart of an individual, and this is just the element that marks the jingo in national feeling." "All antagonisms of citizen against citizen, sectional, local or of different classes and conditions, are unpatriotic because they hurt the country." "Wisest and best of all the marks of a true patriot is the possession and the practice of an intelligent interest in the public affairs of his country." "The noblest strife among the nations of the world is to be *rich* in the arts and achievements of spiritual and intellectual power, *strong* in the might of justice and purity and honor, and great in the magnificent and magnanimous qualities, moral and civic, of Christian manhood. The cultivation of true patriotism will find its finest exercise of legitimate competition along such lines as these."

Four more idiots have been trying to save their honor in Europe by fighting duels. We say idiots, because any man who consents to fight a duel is, from the standpoint of right and justice, a moral idiot, no matter what the weight of his brains or the depth and complexity of their convolutions. The duel is under the ban of the law both in France and Italy, but those who wish to fight duels find little difficulty in doing so. Public opposition to the duel is so weak that it has little restraining influence. The people in both these countries are so fond of the excitement afforded by the duel that they are perfectly willing, many of them glad, to see the law trampled under foot and despised rather than forego a little temporary exhilaration of the nerves. It is a curious kind of lawlessness, not as violent and loathsome as lynching in this country, but having even less excuse for its existence. It is not only wicked, but in the highest degree stupid and idiotic. If the French authorities would arrest both Colonel Picquart and Colonel Henry, fine them heavily and imprison them both for a year at hard labor, and then follow up all other duellists in the same way, it would not be five years before challenges would be unknown in France. In Italy, it would not be possible to follow this course with one of the recent duellists. He was killed in the encounter, and has gone to stand before that tribunal where he shall be judged for all the *thirty-two* duels which he had fought, and where no false public sentiment will make the trial a farce. The other Italian, who killed him, should be condemned for murder and imprisoned for life. These two Italian duellists, Signor Cavallotti and Signor Macola were both prominent mem-

bers of the national parliament and editors of influential papers. Their duel grew out of a newspaper war. Though political opponents, they were personal friends. Their seconds tried to avoid a fight, but the tyranny of public sentiment forced them on, and they had not sufficient moral courage to resist it. The duel of Colonel Picquart and Colonel Henry grew out of the Zola trial. One of the "gentlemen" called the other a liar, and they appealed to the point of the sword to decide! What did this "trial" decide? Simply that both men were consummate fools.

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The list of peace societies published on the first of March by the International Peace Bureau shows that there are now, including branch Societies, four hundred and twenty-two associations. Denmark leads with ninety-four groups, Sweden comes next with seventy-nine, Germany has seventy-two, Great Britain has forty-six, Norway thirty-eight, Switzerland twenty-six, France sixteen, Italy thirteen, Austria nine, Holland nine, Hungary two, Belgium, Portugal and Russia each one. In the United States there are fifteen societies, the Universal Peace Union having a number of branches besides. The number of societies is rapidly increasing in European countries. No great movement has ever had a larger number of associations organized and combined in its support. Some of the groups are, of course, small, but they are all composed of earnest, influential people. Their power for good is not to be estimated, by any means, by their size. In combination they represent a force which is every year increasing and whose momentum is soon to become irresistible.

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In an editorial entitled "The Road to Ruin," the March number of *Concord* (London), commenting on Lord Salisbury's warning that a continuance of territorial expansion means breakdown for England, says: "So far it has only involved a rapid increase of military and naval expenditure, the diversion of more and more strength and skill from productive industry into destructive adventure, the impoverishment of subject races, and at home a general reaction along the whole line of social reform. The next step will be conscription; after that, if we are still impenitent, will follow some great Imperial disaster, and then the *debâcle*." Speaking of Mr. Chamberlain, *Concord* says; "Sir William Harcourt did the Colonial Secretary no injustice when he spoke of him as loving to 'ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.' He positively revels in those 'interesting situations' which are the terror of the quiet, industrious citizen. He is the Napoleon of the commercial field, the great maker of history—as history was understood by the man who said that the State is blessed which has none." "The truth is we are face to face with a new type of politician, one

for whom peace and arbitration are mere idleness, and only an ever-extending frontier offers the opportunity which his greed of power and his delight in international wrangling demand." *Concord* then arraigns with great severity "the party to whom has descended the tradition of Cobden and Bright and Gladstone" for its "weakness in this emergency." "Only *ninety-six* Liberal and Nationalist members were found to go into the lobby against the infamous injustice, the crowning meanness of the Indian Government, the decision to charge the whole cost of the Afridi campaign on the Indian Exchequer. When the 'Mother of Parliaments' has become so degraded as to sanction a crime like this, who can wonder that anarchism is propagated and autocracy flourishes? We have hardly the heart to go on to complain of the tame, silent reception of the new Army Scheme by those who should have been planning a stubborn opposition."

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The American Peace Society lost by death during the month of March two prominent and very valuable members, Rev. L. H. Angier, D.D., of Boston, and Rev. J. H. Allen, D.D., of Cambridge, Mass. Dr. Angier, who was eighty-nine years old at the time of his death, attended the annual meeting of the Society last May and was well and very vigorous for one of his age. He kept up to the last his profound interest in the cause of international peace, which had enlisted his sympathies more than sixty years ago when William Ladd, the founder of the Society, was still living and devoting his great abilities and his splendid energies to the cause. He was full of reminiscences of the past with its brave struggles and heroic endeavors, but he kept fully abreast of the present time and was as hopeful and optimistic as a young man of twenty-five. We can never forget the fine fire in his eyes and the splendid ring of his magnificent voice when he spoke of justice, liberty and peace, and urged us all to keep up with the times, with the movement of God's Spirit in the progress of Christian civilization. Dr. Angier was a Presbyterian clergyman, and a prominent figure in his denomination. He was elected a member of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society in 1865, and continued to serve in that capacity for twenty-seven years, until 1892, when he was made a vice-president and remained so until the time of his death.

Dr. Allen, who died two days before Dr. Angier, in his seventy-eighth year, was a prominent Unitarian. He entered Harvard at the age of sixteen, graduating in 1840. During his subsequent long life, he filled many important positions. He was for a number of years teacher, then pastor, lecturer on ecclesiastical history in Harvard University, and editor of the *Unitarian Review* until it was discontinued. He was one of the authors of the Allen and Greenough series of Latin text-books. One of the more recent services which he performed was the

writing of the History of Unitarianism for the American Church History Series. Dr. Allen was chosen one of the Directors of the American Peace Society in 1891, and remained such until the time of his death. He attended regularly the meetings of the Board and took a profound interest in all the great international questions of the day, especially that of arbitration as the only rational means of settling disputes. He attended the meeting of the Board in January, but was unable to take much part in its discussions, owing to sudden illness which had come upon him. Both Dr. Allen and Dr. Angier were the kind of men out of which the best civilization is builded.

### Brevities.

There ought to be a law for the punishment, and even the suppression, of a newspaper that will incite to war.—*Harpers Weekly*.

. . . Maurice Yokai, the celebrated Hungarian statesman and novelist, now in his seventy-third year, is president of the Hungarian Peace Society.

. . . Above all, it seems to me that American chivalry demands that we exercise our finest and nicest sense of honor and dignity, and impute nothing evil to the government of Spain, unless the most incontrovertible facts demonstrate such a necessity.—*Ex-Senator Edmunds*.

. . . There is no "I" in the Lord's Prayer; it is all "we"; it is all the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.—*Frances E. Willard*.

. . . Edmond Potonié-Pierre, of Fontenay-sous-Bois, France, continues to put forth his *Petits Plaidoyers contre la Guerre*. He has sent out at different times, within a few years, about forty editions of these "flying sheets." It is a unique and very useful method of propaganda.

. . . Mr. L. H. Pillsbury of Derry, N. H., long a member and officer of the American Peace Society, has been busy with his pen during the recent exciting days. He has, through the *Derry News*, given his fellow townsmen something of just the right nature to steady their nerves.

. . . Mr. D. R. Goudie of Chicago, who has just begun the publication of a new peace paper, *The Pen or Sword?* has also organized a peace association in Chicago to be called "The International Peace Association." The headquarters of the Association is at 686 Madison St.

. . . Three parties in Germany have made international arbitration a part of their program. These are the Democratic Party, the Social Democrats and the Bavarian Peasants' Union.

. . . Franz Wirth, the late President of the Frankfurt Peace Society, left a legacy of ten thousand marks to the Society.

. . . Pastor Otto Umfrid of Stuttgart, Germany, continues to give addresses in his own and other German cities. Some of his audiences number a thousand people, so great is the interest in the cause of peace.

. . . Mr. John W. Penny of Mechanic Falls, Maine, recently read a paper on the Life of William Ladd before the Maine Historical Society. At the same time he pre-

sented to the Society an oil painting of William Ladd's home at Minot, Maine. This painting had been carefully prepared, with the aid of persons still living, to represent the home as it was in William Ladd's days, sixty years ago. The American Peace Society hopes to secure a copy of the picture.

. . . The Berne Peace Bureau has published in a pamphlet of 32 pages all the resolutions passed by the eight peace congresses already held. The resolutions are classified according to subjects, and printed in French, German, and English. Mr. Ducommun, the Secretary of the Bureau, has also prepared a Key to go with the pamphlet, giving in a condensed form the substance of the resolutions.

. . . At the laying of the foundation stone of the new pier at Cannes on the tenth ult., the Prince of Wales, who laid the stone, expressed his sincere hope that France might continue to enjoy the benefits of her present government, and that cordial relations between France and Great Britain might continue, for the good of humanity.

. . . Señor Don Luis Polo y Bernabe, the new Spanish Minister, arrived in Washington on the 10th of March. He denied that he had come to Washington with a special mission. He said he hoped through sincerity and goodwill to gain the approbation of the President and the people of the United States. Señor Bernabe speaks English well, having lived at one time in Washington when his father was Minister to this country.

. . . The London *Echo* says it is well known in Court circles that Queen Victoria has declared that she will never sign another declaration of war.

. . . The Navy League in England has offered literature for use in the senior classes of elementary schools. Thirty-seven schools have already been supplied. That is a part of the program for navalizing the nation.

. . . "Utopia is usually the truth seen a little way off," says the Princess Wiszniewska, president of the Women's International Disarmament League.

. . . In a speech at Cannes on the 22d ult., the Prince of Wales said he trusted the relations between France and England would be more and more friendly. Referring to international relations in general he said that we shall not need navies and armies much longer but that we shall have universal peace. The speech was greeted with great applause.

. . . The two new battleships, the Kearsarge and the Kentucky were launched at Newport News on the 24th of March. They have each a displacement of 11,525 tons.

### Do We Want War?

A SOBER SECOND THOUGHT.

BY HENRY WOOD.

Under civilized conditions war has no place. A resort to brute force, whether between individuals, communities or nations, never can right a wrong. Except for the purest self-defence it is essentially a crime, and no sophistical gloss can make it otherwise. Disguise it as we may, it is simply mutual murder on a colossal scale.

universal liberty, rushed forth to set all other peoples free, they spread a conflagration which involved all Christendom in disaster. In our civil war it was the principle of non-intervention that held Europe passive and allowed us to settle our own quarrel in our own way. It is an application of the same principle in a modified form which under our federal system binds each State by an iron rule of abstinence from another State's affairs. When lately a negro postmaster's family were murdered by a South Carolina mob the righteous resentment of the nation did not assert itself through the strong arm of the Federal Government. In presence of any great wrong, like the devastation of Cuba, we must hold ourselves firmly to the question: Does the righting of this wrong come within our province? And on general grounds Cuba lies as completely outside of our national responsibilities as she is outside of our geographical boundaries. In the case of Armenia, the European powers had made themselves responsible for Turkey, which exists only under their protection and guarantee, and their responsibility for Armenia was wholly different from any relation we occupy toward Cuba.

But such arguments may fall feebly upon minds moved by stories of outrage and suffering. Let us come to the actual case. What would war with Spain really mean? What is war? We had an illustration of it when the *Maine* blew up and sank with 250 men. War aims at just such catastrophes. The *Maine* was built and armed and sailed for the ultimate purpose of inflicting just such a fate on some other ship. Only when American and Spanish ships sink each other, instead of a world-wide throb of pure pity and noble sorrow, there will be fierce exultation and applause. Who can sink the most ships and drown the most sailors! Let us have naval combats and land battles, let blood flow in rivers, let widows and orphans mourn by thousands, let crippled men drag aching limbs through their long after-life! The physical horror and suffering are but the least of it. Far worse is the unchaining of the tiger in the heart of man, the awakening of the war spirit, the glorification of all that in our saner moods we strive against.

It is a common expression that we are drifting toward war. It is like saying that we are drifting toward Niagara. Wise men do not drift into such places. If they want to go over a precipice, they go; if they want to keep away from it they had better use hands and feet and head and heart. Before we drift any farther let us look well at what lies before us.

The declaration of war would in the first instance bring confusion and paralysis to legitimate trade and business. The whole commercial system, we have learned by dear experience, has intimate relations to the comfort of every household, and the commercial systems would reel and stagger at the first shock of war. That slow uncertain return to prosperity which we are all so eagerly watching, so carefully nursing, would give place at once to a chaos of deranged affairs, of spasmodic activity at a few points, of diverted and wasted interests. The hard and homely lessons which adversity has been teaching us—thrift, economy, sobriety—would be counteracted by the fierce excitements and passions, the swift mutation of events and temper, which war-time breeds.

All that we habitually deprecate and oppose finds its opportunity in time of war. We have seen lately what yellow journalism is capable of. How it would revel

and thrive while the war lasted! The faults in our people of which yellow journalism is the index—greedy love of sensation, morbid pleasure in horrors, disregard of truth and sobriety—all the baser as well as the fiercer side of human nature gets a stimulus from war.

And war means diversion from home tasks grave and pressing. We have all, and more than all, we can rightly attend to. Honesty of government—look at the Tammany victory in New York; look at the corruption half disclosed in the Massachusetts Legislature by the gas magnates. The race problem—see the Louisiana Convention studying whether to disfranchise the blacks in a body, see the difficult and splendid struggle of Hampton and Tuskegee to raise the negro by industrial education. The relations of capital and labor—consider the cotton mill strikes, consider the passions still surging after the Lattimer tragedy. The treatment of our criminals and paupers—here are our prisoners shut up by wicked legislation to ruinous idleness, here is the call for reform in our whole system of county jails. On every side there are public questions which sorely task our best citizenship.

Now war means distraction from all these matters, and worse, it creates an inflamed temper which lasts long, and which is wholly unfavorable to rational progress. Our civil war, which books and orators have taught us to look at mainly on its heroic side, was in reality an awful price even for the great gain of liberty and union. Part of the cost was a fever in the national blood which kept us for twenty years afterward from any adequate attention to the real and homely tasks properly belonging to our public life. Just now, when those tasks grow constantly more pressing, there is some disposition to launch out into foreign crusades, to acquire new territory, to strut and ruffle among the gamecocks of the world. A war with Spain, on whatever grounds begun, could hardly fail to immensely increase that military spirit which is the foe of our best interests.

Have we any such obligation to the Cubans that we are called on to make war in their behalf?

A negative answer does not imply any indifference to the responsibility of our nation as a member of the great family of nations. It implies no insensibility to the claims of human brotherhood. Our best service as a nation to the family of nations, to the human brotherhood, lies first of all in working out successfully our own national life, in developing justice and order and mutual goodwill and common happiness among the people of the United States. Beyond this, we can render no higher service than to show that peace is a nobler divinity than war. We are set by providence as the natural peace-keeper and peace-maker among nations. Our situation insures us against invasion. Our character for courage needs no proof. We have taken the lead in appealing to arbitration as the true resource in national difficulties. We are the half of that great English-speaking race which is diffusing through the world the highest type of civilization. The very tasks laid upon us—the legitimate tasks of purifying and harmonizing our own society—are such tasks as the gods lay upon heroes. Let us be true to our calling, and not be drawn away by false lights. Let us not be lured into foreign war, even by the plea of sympathy for the oppressed.—*From the Springfield Republican*

## The Increase of the English Army.

The *Herald of Peace* for March devotes much of its space to the increase of the English army, and the large increase in the cost of its maintenance. The estimates for the current year amount to *one hundred million dollars*, only twenty-five millions less than for the navy. The total for the two "arms," *two hundred and seventy-five millions* of dollars, is something appalling to contemplate. In reference to the army estimates, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, in his speech during the debate on the Queen's Speech, said:

"With reference to a paragraph in the Speech in which I am especially interested—on the Estimates—I have felt it my duty before to raise a note of warning as to the expenditure of the country. It has been said that there has been no addition to the army for thirty years, whereas, in fact, the army has been increased by 100,000 men, 30,000 with the colours, and 70,000 or 80,000 in the reserves. There has been an increase in the expenditure on the army of 50 per cent., and if we add to that the expenses of the men added to the Indian army, the addition to the expenses of the army has been enormous. We have added £13,000,000 in that time to the navy, and the addition to military and naval expenditure since 1870 has been £19,000,000 a year. This addition, in time of Peace, is greater than the charges on the National Debt for the accumulated wars of two centuries. I have always warned the House of the growth of expenditure; it is growing, not in arithmetical but in geometrical proportion. The growth of expenditure in this country has been in the last thirty years £27,000,000, and if you add the local subsidies, the total amount is £35,000,000. The resources of this country are vast, but they are not inexhaustible. I am glad to know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have a large surplus, and you have this remarkable fact, that in the third year of accumulated surpluses we are told we are going to have unprecedented Estimates, and for the first time in the history of the country, you have got these accumulated surpluses without any relief to the taxpayer. You will have demands for the army, for the navy, for Ireland, for the West Indies, and I don't know what besides, and before the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to satisfy these demands I think he will regret those £2,000,000 which he threw away in the Agricultural Rates Bill—gold taken out of the Exchequer on the false pretence, known now to everybody to have been false, that the land of England was going out of cultivation. You have a splendid revenue if you administer it wisely and well, but if you abuse it by squandering your resources, by giving doles to favoured interests, by unnecessary frontier wars, and by Soudan expeditions, it is my firm belief that you will exhaust the springs upon which the life of your Empire depends."

Sir William's speech was greeted with frequent cheers by the members of the Opposition. The *Herald of Peace* thinks that Mr. Harcourt's speech, while possibly sincere, had too much politics in it to be of any real value; that if he and his party had been in power they would have done just as the supporters of the Ministry were doing, that is, have yielded to the clamor for more millions for military purposes. This criticism, which is true of other countries as well as of England, reveals the apparent hopelessness of any effort for the immediate checking of the alarming and insidious growth of military expenses. The cup

of iniquity is not yet full. Men in the national legislatures are so controlled either by politics or by fear (when they are in power) that they surrender their convictions and float helplessly with the tide. Like all other tyrannies, the tyranny of militarism binds men hand and foot, mind and heart.

The London *Daily Chronicle* gives the following analysis of the Army Estimates:

"The Army Estimates just issued are the most important that have been published since 1871. The memorandum accompanying them is fuller and more wordy than usual, yet it by no means explains all that the House of Commons ought to know before a shilling is voted towards the more than twenty millions which are demanded for the work of the coming year—more than twenty millions, we say, for though the present demand is for 'a net total of £19,220,500,' recurrence to the system of Supplementary Estimates to carry on the work of the year raises the sum to be spent considerably over the round twenty millions. As much as £766,000, to take the least, really over a million, is thus taken out of the ordinary to be voted as a special charge. And this is not all. There is a further future charge of no inconsiderable amount, reaching £314,000 in the last year of the century, £607,000 in the year ending 1901, £536,000 in the following year, and an 'ultimate normal' increase of £902,000 over the sums asked for this time. In other words, we are told that the country is to pay well over twenty millions sterling per annum for at most three Army Corps."

"When the present Government came into office they found the net Army Estimates for the year 1895-6 to be £17,983,800 for 155,403 men. For 1898-9 the charge is to be £19,220,500 for 180,513 men. Thus we have in three years an increase of over a million and a quarter for 25,000 men. And this naked statement is far from conveying all the facts. There was a Supplementary Estimate of £200,000 on May 4th last, and there is to be another for the half-year's Volunteer capitation grant, and there is to be yet one more, at the least, of £76,000, or thereabouts, to provide clothing, stores, and other supplies, which sum, on any reasonable principles of finance, belongs to 1898-9, and should have been voted at the same time as the men for whom the clothing, etc., is intended. By it the net increase on the Estimates for the year is made out to be only £880,000, whereas it is really, as is indeed confessed in the memorandum, at the least £1,646,000, and with its consequences considerably over £2,500,000."

The subject of "What Army Increase Means" is treated editorially by the *Herald of Peace* in a very clear-sighted way:

"The end of the long and skilful agitation has come. The Army Estimates have been issued. The Government has presented its monstrous proposals to increase the army by *twenty-five thousand* more men, and the country is to pay henceforth over *twenty millions sterling* (annually), with as much more as the Parliament can be induced from time to time to add. Once again let us remind ourselves whereto all this tends."

"An astute writer in the *Economist* some time ago said:—The armies are now so strong that the people cannot deal with them. The masses of Germany, or Austria, or Russia, or Italy, could no more defeat the armies of those countries than the army of Belgium could defeat the army of France. They are all drilled men, but they have no arms, no artillery, no store of cartridges,

and no superiority of numbers sufficient to enable them to dispense with those advantages. There are no remote provinces which can act for themselves. The soldiers are everywhere, and everywhere in irresistible force. The people see that clearly; they perceive that if it ever comes to a struggle the Kings must win, and the heart, therefore, is in great measure taken out of their devotion to Radical ideas. They think it, in fact, safer to let the Kings have their way, so long as their way is endurable, than by resisting too far, to provoke them to apply the final and irresistible argument of military force unhesitatingly exerted.

"We all see how this idea operates in Germany, where the Emperor is allowed to talk as if he were a heaven-descended autocrat, and it is just as influential in Austria, though in a different way. Everybody knows in the Dual Monarchy that there is a point at which the Emperor, patient as he is, would suspend any one of his many Constitutions, and govern a recalcitrant province through the Army, and he is, therefore, never pushed beyond that point. It is just the same in Russia, though the fact is there concealed by the willingness with which a people accustomed to autocracy accepts the Tsar's decrees as more likely to be wise than those of anybody else. If the German people attempted to control the army, or if the Austrian people resolved to 'federalize' the army, or if the Russian people tried to diminish the army, the Sovereign in either country would call upon his soldiers, and the people would be forced to shrink back visibly helpless.

"Indeed, the change goes even further than that. The people are not only more powerless to resist than of old, but they are less willing. They have all been in the ranks, have all imbibed a soldierly dislike of mutiny, and are all, therefore, as disinclined to oppose the Sovereign as soldiers are to disobey the commanding officer. They have a sense of doing wrong when they resist the 'War Lord,' or even hesitate to accept his command; a sense which when they do it, as in Germany the Socialists do, inspires them with an unnecessary, and, as it were, unnatural, brutality and violence. This new organization, under which the Army is an irresistible caste, and this new feeling, immeasurably strengthen the Kings, and induce them to maintain fearlessly their new attitude of final arbiters, without whose consent in the long run nothing can be accomplished. They may not have a complete initiative, but they have a completely efficacious veto. The German Emperor may not be able to say that a great navy shall be created, but he is able to say that the detested law of *lèse majesté* shall be retained, and shall be acted on with even increasing severity, and the people are as powerless as if they were children.

"On whatever point, in fact, a continental king is resolute to the point of fighting, his subjects must give way, or be shot down. The difficulty which stands in the way of all reform, and which makes even the mention of disarmament a thing to be treated with derision, is this, that the Sovereigns will not give up the control of their armies, and the victory of the 17th century cannot now be repeated, for the peoples cannot become strong enough to resist forces so immense; and as to the idea, so widely though so secretly entertained, that discipline may give way, that the armies, to speak plainly, may mutiny, it is unsupported by any tittle of evidence. The soldiers did not mutiny when they were much worse treated than at present. So far as appears, they hate the idea of such a course, as fatal to their own strength as well as their own

sense of professional honour. If there is one thing certain in military history, it is that ordinary men, once armed and drilled and brigaded, acquire a feeling that they are distinct from the population, develop what may be called a national life of their own, and cease to be governed by the views, or aspirations, or grievances of the unarmed people. They stand apart, responsible, as it were, to a different conscience. This has just been signally proved in France.

"The universality of conscription, has not affected this feeling in the least, nor has the shortness of modern service in barracks. The newest recruits obey as readily as the oldest veterans. There is no likelihood whatever of the populace debauching the soldiery, and just as little of any transfer of allegiance from the Kings to Parliaments. The soldiery, in fact, even in England, and still more on the Continent, dislike Parliaments, which seem to them, accustomed as they are to rapid and final decisions, to be mere talking bodies, utterly undisciplined and obeying their officers only where they happen to agree with them. The soldiers might mutiny to seat a Pretender, or to increase a military ascendancy, or to get rid of grievances in their own ranks — though these things do not now-a-days occur in well-disciplined armies — but they will not, we may rely on it, mutiny to increase the power of Parliaments, that is, in fact, to develop the authority of civilians over soldiers.

"That idea, then — the hope of practical reformers — must be abandoned. But it touches a line of fact which must be reckoned with, and behind which lurks a great danger. The conflict of modern times is really one between the masses and the classes, or more correctly between the military class and the civilian — the former being the instrument of the classes."

Is all this, in another generation, to be true of America into which militarism is making slow and insidious inroads?

### The Terrible Condition of Affairs in Cuba.

We take from the speech of Senator Proctor, delivered in the United States Senate on March 17, such sections as reveal the awful state, as seen by him, to which Cuba has been reduced by the contest which has been going on now for three years. No one who can lay claim to the least remnant of manhood can read the accounts which have come to us, which the Senator confirms, of the desolation and suffering there existing, without wishing to the deepest depths of his soul that the whole accursed system of war might be banished at once and forever from the world. Much might be said in extenuation of the United States taking up the sword to stop these inhumanities, *provided* she could do it without extending the existing ones indefinitely and committing a long series of new ones, the necessary attendants of any war. But the great crime which our country, in its present state of civilization, would commit in going to war over the state of things in Cuba, would be the giving of its support to the keeping alive of the system of war, which will always produce in one way or another just such inhumanities as now exist in Cuba. It always has done so; it can never do otherwise; there is no civilized method of warfare. Senator Proctor says:

"There are six provinces in Cuba, each, with the ex-



ception of Mantanzas, extending the whole width of the island. My observations were confined to the four western provinces, which constitute about one-half the island. The two eastern ones are practically in the hands of the insurgents, except the few fortified towns. These two large provinces are spoken of to-day as 'Cuba Libre.'

"Havana, the great city and capital of the island, is, in the eyes of the Spaniards and many Cubans, all Cuba, as much as Paris is France. But, having visited it in peaceful times, and seen its sights, the tomb of Columbus, the forts, Cabanas and Morro Castle, etc., I did not care to repeat this, preferring trips in the country. Everything seems to go on much as usual in Havana.

Outside Havana all is changed. It is not peace, nor is it war; it is desolation and distress, misery and starvation. Every town and village is surrounded by a trocha (trench), a sort of rifle pit, dirt being thrown up on the inside and a barbed wire fence on the outer side. These trochas have at every corner and at frequent intervals along the sides what are there called forts, but which are really small blockhouses, loopholed for musketry and with a guard of from two to ten soldiers in each. The purpose of these trochas is to keep the reconcentrados in as well as to keep the insurgents out.

From all the surrounding country the people have been driven into these fortified towns, where they subsist as they can. They are virtually prison yards, and not unlike one in general appearance. Every railroad station is within one of these trochas, and has an armed guard. Every train has an armored freight car, loopholed for musketry and filled with soldiers and with, as I observed usually, and was informed is always the case, a pilot engine a mile or so in advance.

There are frequent blockhouses, inclosed by trochas and with a guard, along the railroad track. With this exception, there is no human life or habitation between these fortified towns and villages, and throughout the whole of the western provinces — except to a very limited extent among the hills, where the Spaniards have not been able to go and drive the people to the towns and burn their dwellings — I saw no house or hut in the 400 miles of railroad rides from Pinar del Rio province in the west across the full width of Havana and Matanzas provinces, and to Sagua la Grande on the north shore and to Cienfuegos on the south shore of Santa Clara, except within the Spanish trochas. There are no domestic animals or crops on the rich fields and pastures. In other words, the Spaniards hold in these four western provinces just what their army sits on. To repeat, it is neither peace nor war — it is concentration and desolation. This is the "pacified" condition of the four western provinces.

West of Havana is mainly the rich tobacco country; east, so far as I went, a sugar region. Nearly all the sugar mills are destroyed between Havana and Sagua. Toward and near Cienfuegos there were more mills running, but all protected by trochas and guards. It is said that the owners of these mills near Cienfuegos have been able to obtain special favors of the Spanish government in the way of a large force of soldiers, but that they also, as well as all the railroads, pay taxes to the Cubans for immunity. I had no means of verifying this. It is the common talk among those who have better means of knowledge.

All the country people in the four western provinces, about 400,000 in number, remaining outside the fortified

towns when Weyler's order was made, were driven into these towns, and these are the reconcentrados. They were the peasantry, many of them farmers, some land owners, others renting lands and owning more or less stock, others working on estates and cultivating small patches, and even a small patch in that fruitful clime will support a family. It is but fair to say that the normal condition of these people was very different from that which prevails in this country. Their standard of comfort and prosperity was not high, measured by our own. But according to their standards and requirements their conditions of life were satisfactory. The first clause of Weyler's order reads as follows:

"I order and command, first, all the inhabitants of the country, or outside of the line of fortifications of the towns shall, within the period of eight days, concentrate themselves in the towns occupied by the troops. Any individual who, after the expiration of this period, is found in the uninhabited parts will be considered as a rebel and tried as such."

The other three sections forbade the transportation of provisions from one town to another without permission of the military authorities; directed the owners of cattle to bring them into the towns; prescribed that the eight days shall be counted from the publication of the proclamation in the head town of the municipal district, and state that if news is furnished of the enemy which can be made use of it will serve as a recommendation.

Many, doubtless, did not learn of this order. Others failed to grasp its terrible meaning. Its execution was left largely to the guerillas to drive in all that had not obeyed, and I was informed that in many cases a torch was applied to their homes with no notice, and that the inmates fled with such clothing as they might have on, their stock and other belongings being appropriated by the guerillas.

When they reached the town they were allowed to build huts of palm leaves in the suburbs and vacant places within the trochas, and left to live if they could. Their huts are about 10 by 15 feet in size, and, for want of space, are usually crowded together very closely. They have no floor but the ground, no furniture, and, after a year's wear, but little clothing, except such stray substitutes as they can extemporize, and with large families, or with more than one, in this little space. The commonest sanitary provisions are impossible. Conditions are unmentionable in this respect. Torn from their homes, with foul earth, foul air, foul water and foul food or none, what wonder that one-half have died, and that one-quarter of the living are so diseased that they cannot be saved? A form of dropsy is a common disorder resulting from these conditions. Little children are seen walking about with arms and chests terribly emaciated, eyes swollen and abdomen bloated to three times the natural size. The physicians say these cases are hopeless. Deaths in the streets have not been uncommon. I was told by one of our consuls that they have been found dead about the markets in the morning where they had crawled hoping to get some stray bits of food from the early hucksters, and there had been cases where they had dropped dead inside the markets, surrounded by food.

These people were independent and self-supporting before Weyler's order. They are not beggars, even now. There are plenty of professional beggars in every town among the regular residents, but these country people, the

reconcentrados, have not learned the art. Rarely is a hand held out to you for alms when going among their huts, but the sight of them makes an appeal stronger than words.

Of the hospitals I need not speak. Others have described their condition far better than I can. It is not within the narrow limits of my vocabulary to portray it. I went to Cuba with the strong conviction that the picture had been overdrawn; that a few cases of starvation and suffering had inspired and stimulated the press correspondents, and they had given free play to a strong, natural and highly cultivated imagination.

Before starting I received through the mail a leaflet published by the *Christian Herald*, with cuts of some of the sick and starving reconcentrados, and took it with me, thinking these rare specimens, got up to make the worst possible showing. I saw plenty as bad, and worse; many that should not be photographed and shown. I could not believe that, out of a population of 1,600,000, 200,000 had died within the Spanish forts—practically prison walls—within a few months past, from actual starvation and diseases caused by insufficient and improper food.

My inquiries were entirely outside of sensation sources. They were made of our medical officers, of our consuls, of city alcaldes (mayors), of relief committees, of leading merchants and bankers, physicians and lawyers. Several of my informants were Spanish born, but every time the answer was that the case had not been overstated. What I saw I cannot tell so others can see it. It must be seen with one's own eyes to be realized. The Los Pasos Hospital, in Havana, I saw, when 400 women and children were lying on the stone floors in an indescribable state of emaciation and disease, many with the scantiest covering of rags—and such rags! Sick children, naked as they came into the world. And the conditions in the other cities are even worse.

Miss Barton needs no indorsement from me. I had known and esteemed her for many years, but had not half appreciated her capability and devotion to her work. I especially looked into her business methods, fearing that there would be the greatest danger of mistake, but everything seems to me to be conducted in the best manner possible. In short, I saw nothing to criticize, but everything to commend. The American people may be assured that their bounty will reach the sufferers with the least possible cost and in the best manner in every respect.

When will the need for this help end? Not until peace comes and the reconcentrados can go back to their country, rebuild their homes, reclaim their tillage plots, which quickly run up to brush in that wonderful soil and clime, and until they can be free from danger of molestation in so doing. Until then the American people must, in the main, care for them. It is true that the alcaldes, other local authorities and relief committees are now trying to do something, and desire, I believe, to do the best they can, but the problem is beyond their means and capacity, and the work is one to which they are not accustomed.

General Blanco's order of November 13 last somewhat modifies the Weyler order, but is of little or no practical benefit. Its execution is completely in the discretion of the local military authorities, and though the order was issued four months ago, I saw no beneficent results from it worth mentioning. I do not impugn General Blanco's motives, and believe him to be an amiable gentleman, and

that he would be glad to relieve the situation of the reconcentrados if he could do so without loss of any military advantage, but he knows that all Cubans are insurgents at heart, and none now under military control will be allowed to go from under it.

There are—or were before the war—about 1,000,000 Cubans on the island, 200,000 Spaniards (which means those born in Spain), and less than half a million of negroes and mixed blood. The Cuban whites are of pure Spanish blood, and, like the Spaniards, usually dark in complexion, but oftener light or blond, so far as I noticed, than the Spaniards. The percentage of colored to white has been steadily diminishing for more than fifty years, and is now not over 25 per cent. of the total. In fact, the number of colored people has been actually diminishing for nearly that time. The Cuban farmer and laborer is by nature peaceable, kindly, gay, hospitable, light-hearted and improvident. One thing that was new to me was to learn the superiority of the well-to-do Cuban over the Spaniard in the matter of education. Among those in good circumstances there is no doubt that the Cuban is far superior in this respect. They have been educated in England, France or this country, while the Spaniard has only such education as his own country furnished.

The colored people seem to me by nature quite the equal, mentally and physically, of the race in this country. Certainly, physically, they are by far the larger and stronger race on the island. There is little or no race prejudice, and this has doubtless been greatly to their advantage."

## The Logic of War.

BY KATRINA TRASK.

Where is the logic of war—O ye

Who wave the flag, and who cry the cry

"We fight in the name of humanity;

Let those who have killed prepare to die!

Down with the demons who blew up the Maine!—

'The Spaniards, perchance, who Cuba have slain?'"

Alas! if they have, what then—O ye

Who wave the flag and who cry the cry?

I ask in the name of humanity;

Shall we be like them and make men die?

Shall a hundred warships, instead of one,

Reek red in the light of the rising sun?

Must the burden of infamy increase?

Shall more cruel engines with shot and shell

Drown the voice of the Prince of Peace

And make of the earth a vaster hell?

Where is the logic, the sense of war—

To do the dark deeds that were done before?

Woe to that nation which steeps in blood

Its own right hand! 'Tis easy to die—

But to kill imperils our highest good;

The Lord God rules in His Heaven on high;

Let Him be arbiter over the lands—

But for Christ's sake lift to Him bloodless hands.

NEW YORK CITY.

## New Books.

**THE COMING PEOPLE.** By Charles F. Dole. Boston and New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Cloth. \$1.

This little book of inspiring optimism is an attempt to show the actual results that are working out in the stress of modern life. It is proved by facts that the ideal and the practical so far from being antagonistic are properly one. Mr. Dole's idea of the manner in which the institutions of "the coming people" ought to be worked out may be gathered from a few selections from Chapter X.

"There are those who think that not only a new and radically different scheme must come in, but that it will come in with pangs, and even possibly the fire and sword, of a revolution. They infer this woeful prediction from the course of history, which has been characterized by frequent revolutions." "Nevertheless, the time certainly ought now to be ripe to do better than permit the terrible cost of social revolution. All history, so far from establishing precedents in favor of revolution, sets up a long series of warnings against the use of this method of attaining human ideals. It is a method that belongs peculiarly to the barbarous period. It always leaves a brood of evils behind. It is like invoking the aid of a fever in order to drive poison out of the body. The disease is attended by a succession of relapses. Even when the health is recovered, sickness is the ignorant way for getting rid of unwholesome or poisonous conditions. Intelligence would have prescribed sanitation and diet, self-denial instead of indulgence, obedience to the obvious laws of health. So in the great body politic. Our vaunted war of Independence would never have been incurred if only a few men on both sides of the sea had known what thousands of men know to-day. We had to fight to kill the slave-power, because we had not enough civilization, not to say Christianity, North and South, to cure the national disease by more intelligent and efficient remedies." "Hate, bitterness, caste, wars, revolutions, torture, innumerable death penalties, were men's childish methods of overcoming evil with evil. The idea of the divine universe sets these coarse and primitive methods aside, like the saurian monsters for which the world has no longer use." "Al-

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ready to the clear vision of intelligence and humanity they are become an anomalous and merely heathenish survival."

**HISTORY OF THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY.** By Adin Ballou. Edited by William S. Heywood. Lowell, Mass.: Thompson & Hill.

This book is a history of the founding, maintenance and final giving up of the Social Religious Community at Hopedale, Mass. It is written by the founder of that Community, Adin Ballou. He prepared the manuscript and at the time of his death left special instructions as to its publication. These instructions have been carried out by his son-in-law, Rev. William S. Heywood, through whose care the book has now been given to the public. This history of the Hopedale Community, founded in 1840, will prove of special interest to stu-

dents of sociology. Besides giving the history and inner workings of the Hopedale Community and the reasons for its final abandonment, and disclosing much of the character of the able and profoundly religious man who instituted it, its pages throw much light on the great movement which swept the country in the forties and resulted in the establishment of more than sixty socialistic communities of different types.

"It is estimated by experts that, in a fight between the Indiana and Spain's mighty ship of war, the *Pelayo*—a very fair match—with five hundred men on each side, each vessel would have about thirty killed and one hundred and twenty wounded in the first twenty minutes. This, of course, would be only the beginning." And yet we talk of going to war to stop inhumanities!

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AND He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. — ISAIAH.

But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. — JESUS CHRIST.

Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. — PAUL.

If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? — JOHN.

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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BOSTON, MAY, 1898.

No. 5.

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## A Fearful Responsibility.

The contents of this issue of the *ADVOCATE* was mostly in type before the outbreak of hostilities between this country and Spain. We had believed up to the last moment that hostilities would be avoided, although we were well aware that the course events were taking was running straight and swiftly to war. It did not seem to us possible that, so near the end of the nineteenth century, after the leading part which our people and government have taken in the movement for the abolition of war between nations, our nation would suddenly take upon itself the fearful responsibility of inaugurating a war, with all the devastation, passion, corruption and degeneration involved in it. It seemed reasonable to believe that the United States would never have another war, but would hold and strengthen its proud position as the leader of the nations towards a civilization relying for its strength on right and goodwill, and not on the soulless methods of brute force. We make no effort, therefore, to conceal our in-

tense disappointment and deep sense of humiliation at what seems to us an irretrievable mistake on the part of those to whose lot it fell to control the nation's destinies at this supreme hour.

We do not see any ground for changing the position heretofore taken in these columns. We do not mean to misrepresent anybody's motives. We certainly would not make the task of the Administration any more difficult and thankless than it will naturally be. We yield to nobody in sympathy for the suffering Cubans, nor in abhorrence of the past oppressions and the recent inhumanities practised by the Spanish colonial officials. A nation that makes bull-fights its universal pastime can not have our respect. We have said from the beginning that Cuba ought to be free, if her people desire independence; that though as yet little fitted for self-government the people of the island would never learn to govern themselves except by actually practicing self-government. But no end, however noble and desirable, justifies the use, for its attainment, of a means which is essentially inhuman and iniquitous.

We have not believed that our government would be justified, even from its own point of view as to war, in stepping off its own territory and attempting by violence, multiplied disastrous results of which are sure to follow, to right the wrongs of these neighbors about whose real character and responsibility for their own sufferings there is so much uncertainty. To do so has seemed to us the inevitable sacrifice of a large and general future good, for our own country and for the whole world, to a local and temporary good, if it should prove to be a good.

The course on which Congress has forced the too pliant Administration to enter seems to us still in the highest degree culpable, because another way was open of attaining the same end, a way on which the Administration was far along toward success.

Of the several reasons urged for going to war, there is only one that has even a show of respectability. The claim, said to have been deliberately put forth by a learned judge of Boston, now in the South, that we need a war every generation to educate the people, is unworthy of any man calling himself an American. The disturbance to our commercial and other home interests caused by the prolonged struggle in Cuba, urged by many as the real ground for armed intervention, furnishes but a paltry pretext for occasioning the wholesale disturbance, material and moral, present and future, following in the wake of war. "Vengeance for the Maine," which in the last hours, both in Congress and among the people, was more and more put forward as the ground for war, is a motive worthy only of a barbarous people,—doubly so after Spain had proposed the only method of reaching a rational conclusion as to the facts and the responsibility in the case.

There remains the one motive of humanity. With this generous sentiment of the Administration, of some members of Congress, and of a large portion of the people, we have the deepest sympathy. But the disposition, shown by many, to fly in wrath to the monstrous inhumanities of war to stop the inhumanities calling forth these feelings of sympathy for the suffering, we confess it hard to understand, when exhibited by people professing to be Christian and civilized. To say in justification, that there is no way of remedying a wrong except by committing another wrong, such as war in its very nature always is, is the purest begging of the question. That is saying that good is a weak and imperfect instrument, and must have evil to assist it. In the case before us there was another very evident way, and there would be in all cases, so far as wrong can ever be immediately righted, if there were a tithe of the readiness to find it and to suffer in carrying it out that there is to rush vindictively upon the wrongdoers and crush them to death. We do not deny that good, apparently, comes out of evil, but this is because the good God does not forsake the world, but does his own good work in the midst of the clash and destructiveness of evil purposes and evil means.

Notwithstanding our position on this matter, we can sincerely wish and pray that the conflict now on may be short, and may be productive of as little evil and overruled for as much good as possible. We

hope it may result in the freedom of Cuba and in stable and orderly government on that long oppressed and misgoverned island. We hope that it may open the eyes of Spain to the unrighteousness of her colonial methods and incite her to an internal renovation of spirit such as will render her henceforth incapable of such deeds as she has done in the past. Unless she repents soon, her day of grace will soon be over.

We cannot see, under the circumstances, how the war is to result in any good to this nation. Certain evils are sure to come to us from it. We shall incur the deeper dislike and distrust of other nations. We shall incur the deep-seated and enduring hatred of the Spanish people. We shall as a people dislike Spain more after having forced her out of Cuba than before. This animosity will weaken and retard our life for a hundred years to come. We shall be much farther along when the war closes towards the adoption of a policy of militarism with all the burdens and slavery imposed by it. We shall be more disposed to meddle in the affairs of other peoples. A policy of territorial extension, with its dangers and expensiveness, will be the almost inevitable result of the war. All our declarations about not wishing to annex Cuba will then scarcely be worth the paper on which they are written. Entanglements with other nations will follow. Our own people will feel more self-sufficient, more haughty and more warlike. Some of these evils may be avoided if the war is short. We shall sincerely hope that they may all be minimized as much as possible, for the sake of the character and honor of the nation which with all true Americans we love too deeply to wish to see its name in any measure sullied.

The war will necessarily check for a time the peace movement. But it will not permanently interfere with it. This movement is now too deep, too widespread and of too great momentum to be more than temporarily interfered with. It will move on powerfully and majestically over the world. We shall expect it to break forth somewhere in a new tidal wave after the war closes, just as it has done after each of the war periods of the century. What we fear is that its center of gravity, which has, ever since the movement began a century ago, always been in our country, may move from us never more to return. When a nation once forfeits a high prerogative which God has given it, it rarely if ever regains it.

## The President's Message and the Action of Congress.

President McKinley entered upon his peace policy in reference to Cuba with all sincerity. He believed that if Congress would follow his lead he could bring to an end the wretched condition of things there without resort to war. But from the very beginning of his administration he had the steady and often bitter opposition of a large number of members of both houses of Congress. These men were for immediate war, if Spain would not instantly yield to all the demands of our government—demands which would have been insolent in the extreme, if these Congressmen had had the making of them.

The President was fully aware that after our government, in the name of humanity or for whatever reason, had once taken hold of the matter war might at last come about. But he had determined to keep it in the background as far out of sight as possible, while he in a respectful and pacific way brought steady pressure to bear upon the Spanish government to put an end to the horrors of the Cuban struggle, and to give the Cuban people real self-government. Acting in this way, from the time he became President up to the time when he prepared his message of the 11th of April, he had secured five important concessions from Spain—real concessions, if not as complete as he would have liked. He was so certain of ultimate success that, even after negotiations had stopped, he held back his message some days with the hope of further concessions, though the belligerent men in Congress were berating him in the most disgraceful way.

At the last moment before the message went in, a sixth concession was made, that of the cessation of hostilities. This did not amount to an armistice, it was angrily said. But does anyone believe that if the President had had more time, if the war men in Congress had not virtually compelled him to turn the matter over to them, he would not have secured a real armistice, the ultimate withdrawal of the Spanish forces, and the setting up of at least an absolutely autonomous government? Six important concessions made by an independent nation, in regard to affairs on a portion of her own territory, are sufficient proof that she would ultimately have yielded everything except her suzerainty over the island, and probably that. All this could have been

brought about without battle, without even the disturbance of diplomatic relations. But all this was made impossible by the determination of Congress deliberately to shut the door to a peaceful termination of the negotiations.

After the President became convinced that Congress could not longer be restrained, he asked in his message that the power of armed intervention be placed in his hands. But he put this in such a way that, with the power of armed intervention in his hands, he could still have followed his own policy, until he had become convinced that it was absolutely hopeless. If Congress had followed the course suggested in his message, he would, there is every reason to believe, have been able to turn the cessation of hostilities into a real armistice and ultimately to have secured the self-government of the Cuban people. From their hurried, heated conduct, there is reason to believe that Congressmen had the strongest fear that he would be able in a short time to accomplish just this thing, and that therefore, being determined on war, either from the mere desire to fight or out of vengeance for the destruction of the Maine, they refused to follow him, and forced him to follow them.

It is from this point of view that the action of Congress is to be judged, and will be judged in after years. In truth, it has already been so judged and severely condemned by a large section of our people and almost universally abroad. The nation might have had peace, with the freedom and prosperity of Cuba; these men determined that war should be used for the freeing of the island, with all the attendant horrors, griefs and burdens of war. However the conflict with Spain may turn out, whether the war be brief or long-continued, whether the loss and distress be little or much, the guilt of these men will remain just the same, and the shame and disgrace will have to be borne by the nation. A good end never justifies a bad means, least of all when a good means is at hand and already working out the desired result.

It is cause for gratitude that there were a few men in Congress who saw clearly the real heart of the situation and refused "to do ought against conscience," though surrounded by hissing, howling galleries, and the still more disgraceful hissing and howling of their colleagues on the floor. These men have made themselves immortal, whatever may be

the immediate action of their constituents at home, or of the jingo newspapers which are so loud in condemning them.

What makes the action of Congress so unworthy of the nation and its history is as much the manner of its action as the needlessness thereof. A matter of the gravest moment, both for the present and the future, involving millions of money and the possible loss of many thousands of lives, with numberless other attendant misfortunes, was rushed through with the relentless haste of a lynching mob. No time was taken or allowed for discussion. Members asked for time—had to ask permission to exercise their constitutional right of speech—to express their opposition to the course being pursued. They were howled down and forced into silence. And all this in the name of humanity, liberty and independence!

If we believed that Congress, either in the matter or the manner of its recent action, represented the great masses of the people of the nation, we should greatly despair of the future of the country. We believe just the contrary. The President's policy was the policy which the people wished pursued. The President ought to have stood by it and have let Congress bear the sole responsibility of the course which it took. We refuse to believe that the spirit of vengeance or the desire for war, so apparent in Congress, were the prevailing spirit of the nation. Multitudes of men and women in all parts of the land will look with profound sadness on the spectacle of our country plunging headlong into war with Spain, when a little more patience and self-restraint might have won a great and bloodless victory for humanity.

If thou hadst known, O Congress, even thou, in this thy day, the things which make for thy honor! But now they are hidden from thine eyes!

### War in the Blood.

"War in the air." This expression has often been heard during the past weeks of excitement. It has been uttered as if it were an explanation of the extraordinary phenomenon, which we have been compelled to witness, of a great multitude in the nation shouting impatiently, almost angrily for a war of vengeance, of punishment, against Spain.

What does "war in the air" mean? Who put it there? Whence came the feverishness, the growing

conviction that war was inevitable, that it might as well be plunged into first as last? How did it happen that, as time went on, people who at first were opposed to war and talked vigorously against it, finally threw away their opposition and went over in multitudes to the side of those who were clamoring for it and seemed fascinated at the thought of it?

This was a noticeable feature of the development of events from the time of the report of the Maine court of inquiry to the time of the arrival of Consul-General Lee in Washington and the ignominious scene in the House of Representatives a little later. The intellectual and moral convictions of many persons seem to have given way under the pressure of some influence of which they could have given no account to themselves. The desire to fight, or rather to have somebody else fight, to have vengeance for the Maine, to have a vast bloody spectacle on land or sea, spread widely over the nation. People began even to talk of a righteous, a "holy" war, out of respect no doubt to their consciences which would not be altogether still. We do not include in this class many who all along believed that the United States had a solemn duty to perform in putting an end to Spanish inhumanities in Cuba. This class of citizens, whatever may be thought of their reasoning, had no disposition to glorify war, or to rush recklessly into bloodshed.

This degeneration of sentiment,—for it was nothing less,—was not brought about by the pressure of public opinion. Public opinion, at least as shown in private conversation where men spoke out their true convictions, was more opposed to war with Spain than in favor of it. This larger, better part of public sentiment was everywhere indignant at the unblushing conduct of the sensational papers and spoke out against it in tones of the severest condemnation. But as time went on, and the negotiations with Spain tarried, and war preparations increased, and the war party in Congress became more and more aggressive, the numbers of those who believed that a peace policy ought to be followed out consistently to the end and that in this way the wishes of this country in regard to Cuba might be attained, became fewer and fewer.

To say that "war in the air" brought this on is to say nothing. The truth is that it was war in the blood, sowed thick there a generation ago. One might be inclined to attribute the phenomenon to the



original animal instincts of the race, which had suddenly re-asserted themselves over all the moral gains of centuries. This original animalism does sometimes curiously come out unexpectedly in individuals, in families, even in social groups of considerable size. But it does not seize whole sections of civilized nations and throw them into one vast violent fit of brutalistic desire, when there is no sufficient motive for their action in the inciting circumstances.

When the civil war broke out in 1861, the instincts of the people were largely peaceful. The Mexican war fought beyond our borders had produced but little effect on the character of the nation, so largely was it condemned at the time and subsequently. The people born during the Revolutionary period and that of 1812 were largely gone and a new generation was living who knew next to nothing of actual war. When the civil war came on, the people of the nation, except that part of it which had been affected by slavery, went into hostilities with the greatest reluctance. The interests at stake were very great. The national unity was involved. Yet the people did not want war. They did not believe war possible in any serious way. There was no jingoism then, nothing which could properly have been called by this detestable name.

But from the firing on Fort Sumter thirty-seven years ago, for four years the entire people were filled with the excitement and frenzy of war. Sectional feeling was bitter and persistent. Hate and violence everywhere abounded. Peace principles were despised; peace men were declared to be traitors and cowards. Children drew in war at their mothers' breasts; boys and girls heard war at the family table; war flamed in the headlines of the papers; the pulpits of the nation preached war; the schools were full of war feeling. For more than a dozen years after the war closed, the passions and recriminations of the war continued, and had only in recent years begun to die away.

How could we expect the children of that time, who have now reached maturity and middle life, to fail to exhibit the fruits of that which was so deeply and thoroughly implanted in them? We are simply reaping to-day the harvest of the warlike instincts which were then created or developed. This is the secret of our recent jingoism; it is the secret of the rapid degeneration of sentiment noticed above; it explains why the younger men in the nation are so

much more clamorous for war than the older men, especially the old soldiers, most of whom have had all they want of the bloody business, into which the nation entered so reluctantly in '61.

If we could have gotten through another decade or two without war, our jingoism would have died out. Perhaps we should have been able to keep our feet from the snare of European militarism, into which we have been in so much danger of falling. But a war now, if it lasts any length of time, is sure to re-create in the people warlike instincts the peril of which the nation will have to pass through a generation hence. At the close of it we shall not be ready to disarm as we were in 1865. All sorts of excuses will be found for keeping our navy large and our army larger than it has been. We shall find ourselves much farther along in the process of the militarization of the country, with less desire and less power to stop. Whatever justification people may make for a war against Spain in the name of humanity, the dangers here pointed out are of the most serious character, and we seem in danger of going headlong into them, with eyes deliberately closed.

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### Editorial Notes.

The annual business meeting of the American Peace Society will be held in Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, 1 Beacon Street, Boston, on Monday, May 9th, at 2.30 P. M., to elect officers for the coming year, to receive the reports of the Board of Directors and of the Treasurer, and to transact such other business as may be brought before the meeting. A full report of the Annual Meeting will be given in the June number of *THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. It is to be hoped that there will be a large attendance of the members. The cause for which the Society has so long stood and labored demands unusual attention because of the peculiar crisis through which the nation is passing. The Society desires greatly to enlarge its work during the coming year, and hopes that every member, in whatever part of the nation he lives, may put forth special efforts at the present time to promote the principles of peace and goodwill in all the scope of their application. There are many persons in all parts of the country who are in hearty sympathy with the purposes of the Society, and would be glad to become members if their attention were called to its work. Will not all those who are already members make it a special duty to try to induce others to become members? All who can do so are earnestly solicited to make contributions to the funds of the Society, to enable it to distribute a much larger number of its publications.

The International Peace Congress is to be held this year at Lisbon, Portugal. A large majority of the peace societies preferred Lisbon to Turin, Italy, the other city which asked for the privilege of entertaining the Congress. The date of the Congress has not yet been fixed, but it will probably be held at the last of September or the first of October, either before or after the meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Peace Conference which is also to hold its sessions at Lisbon this year. The Peace Bureau at Berne, which was charged with the duty of arranging for the Congress, has already prepared a provisional program which has been sent out to the peace societies for suggestions. The principal subjects to be treated at the Congress are likely to be international arbitration, international law, councils of conciliation, the peace exposition at Paris in 1900, methods of influencing public opinion, etc. The Geographical Society of Lisbon, which has organized a strong peace department, and which is this year to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of Vasco da Gama's discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route to India, will be glad to see a large delegation of the friends of peace from the United States, and will, we are assured, do everything in their power to make the Ninth Universal Peace Congress a success.

We have received the following letter from E. T. Moneta, President of the Lombard Peace Union, Italy, as well as one of similar import from the Secretary of the International Peace Bureau at Berne:

"DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The impending war between your Republic and Spain is a source of great sorrow to us, for the victims it will make, and because it takes from our propaganda one of its most conclusive arguments for combating war, viz., the great example which the United States has hitherto been giving to the world by living in complete liberty and prosperity through their love of peace.

"We do hope and to this end most earnestly exhort your Society and the other peace associations of America, not to cease making the most strenuous exertions in order to avert this war, or put an end thereto as speedily as possible.

"Meanwhile we beg you to tell us what resolutions were taken, under the difficult circumstances of the present moment, in view of the combative disposition of so great a portion of your fellow-citizens.

"With our warmest wishes for the earliest possible end of the present conflict, be pleased to accept the brotherly greetings of our whole Committee.

Yours, most affectionately,

E. T. MONETA."

We assure our friends in Europe that the peace societies in this country officially, and the individual members of them, have done everything in their power to prevent the present unfortunate situation. We appreciate fully their sorrow and sympathy, but their grief cannot equal ours that the peace propaganda is being robbed of "one of its most conclusive arguments" through the course

which our country is taking under the influence of the "combative portion" of our citizens. Nothing could give us greater pain and shame than that America, blinded and misled by an unrighteous zeal for righteousness, should fall from her unique position, lose the respect and confidence of the other nations, and forfeit her leadership of the world toward genuine international friendship and peace.

The following manifesto in regard to the present war was sent out a short time ago from Paris by the International Peace Association of Journalists:

"The Central Committee of the 'International Association of Journalists Friends of Peace' entreats all the journals of Spain and of the United States of America to address to their fellow-citizens a pressing appeal in favor of the maintenance of peace. It invites the journalists of all countries to make earnest effort with their governments to the end that war may be avoided. If the press of the two worlds desires it, war, whose consequences may be frightful, will be impossible.

"Nobody doubts any longer that the arbitrament of the cannon is completely opposed to right. Therefore, a pacific solution of the Spanish-American conflict is required. That solution should be by way of arbitration; and there is no reason why this conflict may not be submitted to a tribunal composed of arbitrators named respectively by the interested parties. This solution will be singularly facilitated by the cessation of hostilities in Cuba.

"The acceptance of arbitration by Spain, far from being opposed to her dignity, will only exalt it the more. The acceptance of arbitration by the Republic of the United States will prove to universal public opinion not only its love of peace but also its good faith when it professes that its mission is one of justice and humanity."

How noble this declaration of an association of newspaper men sounds by the side of the insane ravings of many sensational, would-be patriotic papers! And American papers at that! To think of the United States and its newspapers having to be invited by a company of European newspaper men to observe peace and to accept arbitration! No humiliation could be greater! It makes one feel that the whole order of nature is upside down! Perhaps war may have to be declared against these European journalists, in order to vindicate our "honor!"

Augustine Jones of Providence, R. I., in a recent letter to the New York *Tribune*, quotes the following passage from Justice Story's "Commentaries on the Constitution," as full of suggestions at this critical juncture:

"The power of declaring war is not only the highest sovereign prerogative, but it is, in its own nature and effects, so critical and calamitous, that it requires the utmost deliberation and the successive review of all the councils of the nation. War, in its best estate, never fails to impose upon the people the most burdensome taxes and personal sufferings. It is always injurious

and sometimes subversive of the great commercial, manufacturing and agricultural interests. Nay, it always involves the prosperity, and not infrequently the existence, of a nation. It is sometimes fatal to public liberty itself, by introducing a spirit of military glory, which is ready to follow wherever a successful commander will lead; and in a Republic, whose institutions are essentially founded on the basis of peace, there is infinite danger that war will find it both imbecile in defence and eager for contest. Indeed, the history of republics has but too fatally proved that they are too ambitious of military fame and conquest, and too easily devoted to the views of demagogues, who flatter their pride and betray their interests."

It is not difficult to decide as to what sort of a "commentary" Judge Story would have written on the recent reckless and lawless haste of Congress in rushing the nation into war, and the craze for war among so considerable a portion of the people.

Replying to a Belgian lady who recently sent him a book on peace, Tolstoi reasserts his belief that the only way by which peace can be effectually promoted is by entire abstinence from participating in war, or, as he puts it, the emancipation of man from military slavery. Here is what he wrote: "The best way to attain our object is to abstain from all participation—direct or indirect—in any action relating to war; for the surest method of perpetuating the present order of things is to compound with our conscience and to fancy that sermons and pamphlets can have any real effect, while our mode of life does not correspond with our professions. The emancipation of man from military slavery cannot come from crowned heads or from scientists, or men of letters, but from religious men, whose lives are in harmony with their consciences. This can only be attained when men realize the value of human dignity; in other words, when they accept a real and religious interpretation of life." The amount of "compounding with the conscience" on this subject is something appalling. There is no other matter about which, when a time of strain and test comes, the conscience so quickly and utterly goes down.

*The New Order* is the title of an eight-page paper, now in its fourth volume, published by the Brotherhood Publishing Co., at 26 Paternoster Square, London. It is edited by Vladimir Tchertkoff, one of the Russian Doukhoborts now living in exile in England. The paper is published for the propagation of the view that war is absolutely incompatible with Christianity, and that no Christian can ever do military service of any kind, not even in the militia training. This is the view held by the twenty thousand Doukhoborts or Spirit-Wrestlers in Russia, of whose terrible persecutions by Russian officials an account was given not long ago in the *Advocate*. This, as is well known, is the view taken by Count

Tolstoi, who has made several attempts to secure the discontinuance of the persecution of the Spirit-Wrestlers. Many of the Russian Stundists also cherish the same belief. There is also a sect found in numerous towns of Southern Hungary called the Nazarenes, numbering more than thirty thousand, whose members refuse to do any military service, who have in consequence suffered great hardships. Some of the young men of the Nazarenes refusing to bear arms have been thrown into prison and some of them forced to serve in the hospitals for twelve years. Mr. Tchertkoff, in the number of *The New Order* for February, severely criticises those members of the peace societies of Europe who are willing to do military service. He thinks that this greatly neutralizes the power of the peace movement. He also condemns the position of those members of the peace societies who uphold the present armed state of Europe as the most effective way of preserving peace.

The annual report of the Liverpool Peace Society for 1897-98, made by its Executive Committee, speaks thus of the unfortunate way in which Great Britain has entered into the rivalry of armaments:

"Great Britain is no laggard in the evil rivalry which has been created. At the moment, it is the army which must needs be increased, and this is no doubt the natural consequence of the foreign policy of the present government. The constant expeditions in India and in Africa explain to a great extent why the army is now discovered to be too small. While the country allows itself to be blindly led into supporting the so-called 'forward policy,' the outcome of greed and rapacity, under the delusion that trade follows the flag, it will probably accept these continued increases in expenditure without complaint, but the Committee desires to emphasize the fact that by far the greatest part of our commerce is done with the very nations whose goodwill is usually the last consideration, and who are so constantly being irritated by our national greed and selfishness.

It is a lamentable fact that while the population of the British Isles has increased during the last fifty years by 42 per cent., the expenditure on armaments has increased 300 per cent., and this year the army estimates call for the largest number of men we have had in any year of this century, and the greatest increase ever proposed to the British army in time of peace."

The ambassadors of the six European powers, Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, presented in person the following joint note to President McKinley on April 7th:

"The undersigned representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, duly authorized in that behalf, address in the name of

their respective governments a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people, in their existing difference with Spain. They earnestly hope that further negotiations will lead to an agreement which, while securing the maintenance of peace, will afford all necessary guarantee for the re-establishment of order in Cuba.

"The powers do not doubt that the humanitarian and purely disinterested character of this representation will be fully recognized and appreciated by the American nation."

President McKinley replied as follows:

"The government of the United States recognizes the goodwill which has prompted the friendly communication of the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, as set forth in the address of your excellencies, and shares the hope therein expressed that the outcome of the situation in Cuba may be the maintenance of peace between the United States and Spain, by affording the necessary guarantees for the re-establishment of order in the island, so terminating the chronic disturbance of order there, which so deeply injures the interests and menaces the tranquillity of the American nation by the character and consequences of the struggle thus kept up at our doors, beside shocking its sentiment of humanity.

"The government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the powers named, and for its part is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own interest and unselfish endeavors to fulfil a duty to humanity by ending a situation, the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable."

After this exchange of notes no further representations were made by the powers to this government. It has been reported that much more vigorous action would have been taken by them, but for the refusal of Great Britain to join in further protest.

The President sent his message on Cuba to Congress on April 11th. In it he opposed recognition of the Masso Cuban government, but recommended intervention at his discretion to terminate hostilities in Cuba. On the 18th the House without debate by a vote of 322 to 19 passed a resolution in harmony with the President's suggestion. On the 16th the Senate, after four days debate, passed a resolution recognizing the Masso Cuban republic and declaring for immediate armed intervention. On the 19th, after a strong contest between the two Houses, the following joint resolution was passed:

"Resolved, by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

"First, that the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent.

"Second, that it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third, that the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth, that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

On the 20th the President approved the action of Congress and sent an ultimatum to Spain giving her until the 23d to reply. Immediately the Spanish Minister at Washington, Senor Polo y Bernabe, asked for his passports. The next day, before the delivery of the ultimatum at Madrid, the Spanish government handed Minister Woodford his passports, and thus all diplomatic relations between the two governments ceased. Immediately the fleet gathered at Key West was ordered, and proceeded, to blockade the north coast of Cuba. The cables have been severed and the island cut off from the rest of the world. Different vessels of the fleet have captured Spanish merchantmen and taken them to Key West. Spanish cruisers are reported to be searching for American merchantmen and to have captured one or two. Spain made formal reply to the ultimatum, stating that she considered it a declaration of war! Our government considered the breaking off of diplomatic relations by Spain a declaration of war! On the 25th, at the recommendation of the President, Congress passed an act declaring that a state of war existed and had existed since the breaking off of diplomatic relations by Spain.

A call for 125,000 volunteers was at once made by the war department, to be raised proportionally by the States. The troops of the regular army are being hurried South. War preparations are going on rapidly all over the country. A station on the north shore of Cuba is to be seized and fortified as a point from which supplies can be sent to the suffering Cubans. As we go to press word comes of the first engagement. The forts of Matanzas having fired on three of Admiral Sampson's vessels, the ships replied and in a few moments had silenced all the forts. No details are given of the loss in the forts. There were no casualties to the ships.

The first act of the war to stop the inhumanities in Cuba was the seizure on April 22 by one of the boats of our navy of the private property of non-combatants. What our government has so much condemned in the Spaniards is the maltreatment of the Cuban non-combatants. But how does this act of the navy, and several subsequent ones, differ *in principle*, from the act of the Spaniards? None of the boat's crew were injured in their persons.

That is true. But every poor tar of them would have instantly been blown into fragments, pounded into sausage, or sent to the bottom of the sea, if they had not forthwith surrendered. "Civilized warfare" does not allow, or makes a high profession of not allowing, armies on land to interfere with the private property or the persons of non-combatant citizens of the enemy's country. If our government acts consistently with its high professions of civilization and unselfishness it will at once order the navy to stop the miserable business of capturing the private property of non-combatant Spaniards on the sea, except when that property is "contraband of war." It has always been a disgrace to our government that it did not accept the declaration of the treaty of Paris in 1856 in regard to the abolition of privateering and the rights of neutrals at sea. The government has now given notice of its adherence to the Paris declaration. Why should it not go further and make war as "civilized" on the sea as it professes to have made it on the land? International law on this subject certainly deserves advancing another stage.

Since the above note was written, President McKinley, on the 26th of April, issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, by an act of Congress approved April 25, 1898, it is declared that war exists, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, A.D., 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain, and

Whereas, it being desirable that such war should be conducted upon principles in harmony with the present views of nations and sanctioned by recent practice, it has already been announced that the policy of this government will be not to resort to privateering, but to adhere to the rules of the declaration of Paris.

Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power vested in me by the constitution and the laws, do hereby declare and proclaim:

First—The neutral flag covers enemy's goods with the exception of contraband of war.

Second—Neutral goods not contraband of war are not liable to confiscation under the enemy's flag.

Third—Blockades in order to be binding must be effective.

Fourth—Spanish merchant vessels in any ports or places within the United States shall be allowed until May 21, 1898, inclusive, for loading their cargoes and departing from such ports or places; and such Spanish merchant vessels, if met at sea by any United States ship, shall be permitted to continue their voyage, if, on examination of their papers, it shall appear that their cargoes were taken on board before the expiration of the above term, provided that nothing herein contained shall apply to Spanish vessels having on board any officers in the military or naval service of the enemy, or any coal (except such as may be necessary for their voyage), or any other article prohibited or contraband of war, or any dispatch of or to the Spanish government.

Fifth—Any Spanish merchant vessel which prior to April 21, 1898, shall have sailed from any foreign port bound for any port or place in the United States, shall be permitted to enter such port or place, and to discharge her cargo and afterward forthwith to depart without molestation, and any such vessel if met at sea by any United States ship shall be permitted to continue her voyage to any port not blockaded.

Sixth—The right of search is to be exercised with strict regard for the right of neutrals and the voyages of mail steamers are not to be interfered with except on the clearest ground of suspicion of a violation of law in respect of contraband or blockade.

Under this proclamation Spanish merchantmen will not be liable to seizure when carrying merchandise of citizens of neutral nations, nor Spanish merchandise when carried in neutral ships. But the government ought to have gone much farther and entirely prohibited the seizure of private property at sea. We see that there is a strong sentiment in Congress and in the Cabinet in favor of this, and it may yet be done.

Here is the order issued by General Blanco on April 11, for the suspension of hostilities in Cuba:

"His majesty's government, yielding to the reiterated wish expressed by His Holiness the Pope, has been pleased to decree a suspension of hostilities, with the object of preparing and facilitating the restoration of peace on this island, in virtue whereof I believe it convenient to order:

"From the day following the receipt in each locality of the present proclamation hostilities are ordered to be suspended in all the territory of the island of Cuba.

"The details for the execution of the above article will be the object of special instructions that will be communicated to the several commanders-in-chief of the army corps for the easy and prompt execution according to the situation and circumstances of the case.

The following is the wording of the ultimatum which was sent to Minister Woodford at Madrid on April 20th:

You have been furnished with a joint resolution voted by the congress of the United States on the 19th inst.—approved to-day—in relation to the pacification of the island of Cuba. In obedience to that act, the President directs you to immediately communicate to the government of Spain said resolution, with the formal demand of the government of the United States that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters. In taking this step the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people under such free and independent government as they may establish. If by the hour of noon Saturday next, the 23d day of April, instant, there be not communicated to this government by that of Spain a full and satisfactory response to this demand and resolution whereby

the ends of peace in Cuba shall be assured, the President will proceed without further notice to use the power and authority enjoined and conferred upon him by the said joint resolution to such extent as may be necessary to carry the same into effect.

A new scheme is said to be on foot for the annexation of Hawaii. The project of annexing it by treaty was given up some time ago, and the friends of the movement had little hope of succeeding by a joint resolution. In fact, the subject would probably have passed quietly out of view but for the general upheaval and disarrangement produced by the outbreak of war. The method of securing the annexation of the islands which President McKinley is reported to have in mind is to seize them as a war measure, with the acquiescence, of course, of the government at Honolulu. The reason to be assigned for this "snap judgment" procedure is that the United States will have to have Hawaii as a coaling station for the Eastern fleet, which we believe is nearly three thousand miles away. We shall not believe, until we see the thing done, that President McKinley will be guilty of such a deed as this in order to carry through a cherished plan of his. Opposition to the annexation of Hawaii has steadily developed among the people, and as the war with Spain has come on it has been considered very fortunate that we have not outlying posts to fortify and defend. But "all things are lawful in war"! This may be one of the "all things," whose evil results are to be thrust on the country willy nilly.

An army chaplain, in a letter to the *New York Observer*, wrote August 21st, 1863:

"I am painfully convinced that, notwithstanding all that has been done and is doing, the tendency of our men is rapidly, fearfully downward. With some exceptions in regiments where a chaplain of right character has been permitted to labor, vice, in its most flagrant and odious forms, riots unrestrained. Such blatant and incessant profanity as I heard in travelling from Louisville, Kentucky, to Winchester, Tennessee—some 750 miles—I never had supposed possible; intemperance prevails and vice shows itself shamelessly. The causes of this deterioration are patent. War is essentially and almost necessarily a demoralizer, from the absence of all restraint exercised by the presence of mothers, wives and prattling children; from the destitution of strong religious agencies in the army, such as the church throws about men at home, and from the new and violent temptations to which a soldier is exposed—temptations that never reach him till he is thrown into an enemy's country, and against which few are able resolutely to contend."

The chaplain fails to give the real reason for the degeneration which war brings. It is not primarily the absence of restraints, such as are thrown around men at home, which accounts for the demoralization. It is the *spirit* and the *practices* of war itself. One who voluntarily enters into this spirit and silences his conscience as to these practices would not be greatly restrained from the evils

attendant upon army life if all the home restraints could be taken along with him.

*American Industries*, which is actively engaged in the movement for the neutralization of Hawaii, as opposed to annexation, had the following sensible comment in its April number:

"If the question of war were put to a popular vote to-day by the people of the United States, the result would probably be in favor of war. Should there be war—of which there now seems but little question—and a vote were taken, three months from now, or even a shorter period, the result would probably be against war and all its bloody horrors, for these are the only words which adequately describe war—a reign of bloody horrors. Men's passions are inflamed, and they thirst for blood—while the Angel of peace stands with folded wings, bitterly weeping at this appalling prospect, just at the threshold of the Twentieth Century."

Congressman Gillett of Massachusetts has introduced in the House of Representatives resolutions declaring merchant ships exempt from capture in time of war. His study of our diplomatic history has led him to introduce these resolutions as embodying the position which the United States has always taken on the subject. Ever since the Revolution, he says, our presidents have endeavored to make the practice on sea correspond to that on land. To take private property on land as booty has long been abandoned as barbarous by all civilized nations. President John Adams, in the last century, endeavored to make the nations agree that free ships make free goods. After the war of 1812, our government endeavored to provide by treaty with European nations that all private property on the sea should be exempt from capture, but it failed.

The United States, in 1856, refused to give its assent to the declaration of Paris, not because we favored privateering, but because the declaration did not go far enough and prohibit the capture of private property at sea. At the outbreak of the civil war, President Lincoln again asserted the position of the United States. Two treaties in this sense have been made by the United States, one with Russia, negotiated by Franklin in 1785, the other with Italy, negotiated in 1871. Mr. Gillett thinks that the purpose for which the United States professes to have begun the present war, as well as our constant historic effort in behalf of this principle, requires that our government at the present time should scrupulously put into practice what it has so long professed.

The current number of the *New England Magazine* has the following wise and timely word as to the duty of every "true American" to do what he can to counteract the evils with which the nation is threatened as the result of the present war:

"The war with Spain, if war with Spain there be, will soon be over; and, necessary or unnecessary, right or wrong, we believe that it will result in only good to Cuba. But the results to our own people of the great flood of bad blood, bad reasoning, base appeal, false assumption and false political philosophy which has been precipitated by the crisis will not be easily counteracted; and be it



in the midst of war, righteous or unrighteous, or when war or the rumors of war have passed, the true American will ask himself what he can do to check those things in the national thought and temper which tend to make America unfaithful to the world and to that great dawning political synthesis, that new international imperative that new sense of the obligation and the grandeur of the way of peace, whose development and supremacy are the world's hope. How does what we say and do look in the light of this hope and imperative? How truly does our patriotism point the way to universal justice, to universal order, and eternal peace? Only as we can answer these questions well can we face history and face the day of judgment.

### Brevities.

*"Inter arma silent leges." "Cedant arma togae."*

. . . The annual meeting of the Liverpool (England) Peace Society was held on the 8th of March. The annual report of the Society shows a year of earnest and faithful work.

. . . The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the International Arbitration League (founded by Mr. William Randall Cremer) was held in Holborn Town Hall, London, on the 22d of March.

. . . The Baroness von Suttner, whose well-known book, "Lay Down Your Arms," has made her famous throughout Europe and America, has just published a new story which deals with many of the evils of modern society. The title of the book is "Check to the World's Woes: a Fantasy." The story is being translated into English.

. . . Mr. Dingley of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives estimates that the war with Spain will from the very start cost us *two million dollars per day*. The civil war is still costing us *four hundred thousand dollars per day* for pensions alone.

. . . In spite of war, arbitration still continues to get in its work. Hayti and San Domingo have made arrangements, so reported, to have their boundary difficulty settled by the arbitration of the Pope.

. . . Columbia University and the University of Chicago recently debated the resolution, "Resolved, that the policy of increasing the United States navy is wise and should be continued." Columbia argued in the negative and won the victory.

. . . The public debt of Spain now amounts to fifteen hundred million dollars, exclusive of four hundred millions incurred during the last three years in trying to subdue the Cuban insurrection.

. . . The first official act of the new Postmaster-General, Charles E. Smith, was the issuance on April 26th of an order cutting off all our postal relations with Spain. This order does not affect closed mails between Spain and other countries while in transit through the United States.

. . . Since the voting of the fifty millions war emergency fund the government has added about fifty vessels to its war fleet.

. . . The Pope made many efforts to prevent war between the United States and Spain. He is reported to have said that he wished he might die before hostilities broke out.

. . . Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Cambridge, Mass., says that this is a newspaper war, gotten up by the newspapers and for the newspapers.

. . . Spain has declared her acceptance of the declarations of the treaty of Paris, except as to privateering. She reserves the right to grant letters of marque to privateers.

. . . The new war taxes are to be in harmony with the Democratic theory that taxes should be levied for revenue only. The war-tax bill is exclusively a bill for new or increased internal revenue.

. . . In order to provide for the expenses of the war, beyond what the new revenue tax will bring in, the government is arranging to issue 3 per cent 10-20 bonds to the amount of seven hundred million dollars.

. . . The relations between Bulgaria and Turkey are reported to be much strained and troops to be gathering on the frontier.

. . . The New York *Tribune* says that under the masterful leadership of the President this nation has been slow to anger and has well ruled its spirit. One might retort that under the still more masterful leadership of the jingoes and yellow journals it has been quick to anger and has not ruled its spirit at all.

. . . An appeal in behalf of peace has been made to the German nation signed by secretaries of fifty-five sections of the German Peace Society.

. . . The late great Finnish poet said that "War is hatred and murder. War is agony and death. War is falsehood and deceit. War is the exaltation of force; the humiliation of weakness. War mocks at the Divine law and tramples the human. Its banner is violence. In war man becomes a wild beast. War is brutal egotism. War is the negation of all civilization."

. . . The International Peace Bureau at Berne, the French Arbitration Society, the International League of Peace and Liberty, the Peace Society of Palermo, and

### THE WORLD ON WHEELS.

To be without a Bicycle or Sewing Machine to-day is to be wilfully deprived of the greatest inventions of the age. Bicycle riding is acknowledged by all physicians to be the most pleasant and healthful exercise indulged in. A Bicycle demands no wages, occasions no expense or trouble, and is always ready without a moment's notice to render the service required of it. A Sewing Machine once bought is a perpetual treasure and renders the work of the laborious housewife tenfold more efficient and expeditious.

In the matter of Bicycles and Sewing Machines, we call your particular attention to the advertisements of the Victor Manufacturing Co., of Chicago, Ill., appearing elsewhere in this issue. The concern is thoroughly reliable and responsible as can be ascertained by consulting any of the commercial guides. Notice their attractive "ads."

other peace associations in Europe, did commendable service in trying to prevent war between this country and Spain.

. . . Consul-General Lee left Havana on the 9th of April and arrived in Washington on the 12th, and appeared before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs the same day in reference to the destruction of the Maine, which he considered due to Spanish agencies.

. . . The Hon. William Everett of Mass., in a recent address, declared war to be "the silliest and wickedest thing man ever invented."

. . . Fourteen members of the House of Representatives and two Senators opposed and voted against the war with Mexico in 1846. Congress did worse this time.

### Correspondence.

ARLINGTON HEIGHTS, MASS., April 12, 1898.

My dear Mr. Trueblood: I thank you very much for sending so promptly the pamphlets and for your friendly letter. I am very glad to have the *ADVOCATE*, which I shall find a great source of strength. In a most delightful conversation with Mr. Howard Brown of King's Chapel last year, he said that he expected the next fifty years to bring about a spiritual development as great as the past fifty years had given us in a material way. I had hoped such a thing, but had not dared to express such a hope.

I cannot believe that we are to be overwhelmed by our sudden acquisition of marvellous material power as the Roman empire was crushed by its own vast machinery. Many evolutionists of high standing regard our times as a period of degeneration, and believe that the human organism will not be able to keep up with material progress, and must therefore suffer a setback of several hundred years (or what would be equivalent to the middle ages—the world lives faster now). It is a grave question and the growth of the military spirit and the mighty monopolies give appalling evidence in support of the dark side.

But the cessation of persecution and a host of kindred utterly new elements have given an unknown freedom to modern thought; and in this lie unknown possibilities. It is only recently that the spiritual centre of gravity has shifted. Evolution has substituted for the Garden of Eden the millennium of Christ. Perfection is in the future, not in the past. Men begin to see that money must be spent for education and not for monuments. Clara Barton's words, "Congress voted fifty millions for defence. Now I don't think it would be a bad thing to vote one million . . . for relief," can be accepted gratefully by an increasing number.

Indeed the very fact of our appalling power is to me a proof of our spiritual development. The gentle inherit the earth because the fierce destroy each other and because only the gentle can hear the whispers of God through the laws of nature.

In the very nature of things only the gentle can have mighty power; only the virtuous and noble can take part in the eternal processes of God.

When we know these things as a nation and the impregnable strength of virtue and justice are understood,

war will be classed with Spanish Inquisitions and canon with the instruments of the torture chamber.

How long? I think of every piston of locomotive and steamship, every flash of chained lightning, every helpful thought and act as hurrying on the time.

Very sincerely yours,

C. S. M.

NEW YORK, April 1, 1898.

The American Peace Society, Boston, Mass.

Gentlemen: Herewith I send you two dollars, which I understand are your annual dues for membership, but if I am mistaken kindly inform me and I shall send you any needed additional amount.

May I request you, in return, to enroll me in your list of members as one who detests war and who can be relied on to do all in his power to promote peace and brotherly feeling among men.

To be counted among those who are not afraid and ashamed to confess that they believe in the principles of your society, I shall esteem as a great honor.

Yours respectfully,

J. N. J.

### Nothing to Excuse Our Intervention.

BY MOORFIELD STOREY, ESQ.

President's Speech at the Meeting of the Massachusetts Reform Club, April 8.

*Gentlemen of the Reform Club:*

This Club never met under circumstances more calculated to create the gravest anxiety in every patriotic man than to-night, and by patriotic man I do not mean him who measures his country's greatness by the extent of her territory, the size of her armies, the strength of her fleets, or even by the insolence with which she tramples upon her weaker neighbors, but him who knows that the true greatness of a nation, as of a man, depends upon its character, its sense of justice, its self-restraint, its magnanimity, in a word upon its possession of those qualities which distinguish George Washington from the prize-fighter, — the highest type of man from the highest type of beast. It is impossible to realize that at the end of nineteen Christian centuries our country, of whose civilization we have been wont to boast, has forsaken the policy of peace with all mankind which was adopted at the formation of the government and under which it has grown great, has turned its back upon its real leaders, upon the President so lately chosen by a great majority of the people, upon the Speaker of the House, upon the experienced veterans of the Senate, upon statesmen like George F. Edmunds and Edward G. Phelps, and has surrendered its conscience and its heart to irresponsible mercenaries like Hearst of the *New York Journal*, like the conductors of the *World*, and men like these who for one motive or another are madly shrieking for war.

War is the worst of human calamities. It rarely reaches the guilty, whose acts have brought it on. It never fails to destroy the innocent and to overwhelm with undeserved misfortune men, women and children in no way responsible for the evils which it is ostensibly waged to cure. In the language of our own great general, "War is hell." As Sidney Smith said, "In war God is forgotten." Why is it that of a sudden we stand face to face with so fright-

ful a disaster as a war with Spain, involving not merely fearful loss of life and destruction of property, but the disturbance of orderly government, the demoralization of the people, the kindling of national hatred, the widespread corruption, in a word, the return to barbarous standards which war brings in its train? Why must the United States turn back the tide of civilization?

There are many influences which make for war. Some represented in high Federal office think that war will improve business and increase the gains of the rich. I cannot refrain from quoting the reply which was made to one of these last week by a Middlesex Yankee of pure blood. He was a manufacturer of woolen goods, and a dealer in wool said to him, "We want war. Just think how it will raise the price of wool, and how it will send your goods up." "Yes," was the answer, "but think how much more the dye stuff will cost. I can't afford to dye my goods in American blood. It comes too high." The man who will send others,—husbands, fathers, sons, brothers—to die, in order that his gains may be greater, must be counted with the wretches who visit the battlefield to plunder the slain. He is beneath the contempt of this Club. In the same class belong the politicians who welcome war in order that it may help their party and themselves to office, to whom men are counters who may be killed or wounded to keep them in place or power. Here also stand the journalists who think only of how they can increase their circulation, reckless of how others suffer if only their daily sales are greater. These men we need only recognize and pass on.

There is a single class who demand war and whom we are bound to treat with respect. I mean those who think that humanity demands our intervention in Cuba. These men,—philanthropists, ministers of God, kindly and conscientious people,—are inflamed by the reports of suffering in Cuba which they see in the daily newspapers, until they feel that war to end such conditions is a duty. Yet they will upon a moment's reflection themselves admit that war is not to be entered upon lightly, but only after every effort to prevent it has been tried in vain, and only when it is clear that the evils which the war will cure are greater than those which it will cause. Is a war with Spain necessary, and will it do good? These are the questions which the people must decide and which they should consider deliberately and calmly. To these I would invite your attention for a moment.

Let me first say a word to those who try to obscure the question of to-day by declamation about Alva, the Inquisition, and the Spanish cruelties of three or four centuries ago. These men speak as if Spain was an individual, who had lived a thousand years, and was to-day murdering Cubans as three hundred years ago he had slaughtered Dutchmen. If this view is sound, then we who sit around this table have burned witches, have held four millions of people in slavery, have within a year or two shot down Indian women and children, have within a month murdered a negro postmaster. It is not the Spain of Philip the Second that confronts us, but the Spaniards of to-day. We cannot punish Alva or the men who burned heretics. We are asked to kill men as little responsible for their crimes, as we are for the burning of Catholics by our English ancestors.

What then is the exact position? Close to our shores is the island of Cuba, which has belonged to Spain longer

than English-speaking men have dwelt in America. Its population is wholly Spanish or of Spanish introduction. It has a population of some 1,600,000 people. Of these at the outside some thirty thousand are in armed insurrection. They have no government that we can recognize. Recognition is seeing what exists, and the government must exist, or we cannot see it. Every one admits that the insurgents have not got what by well-established law is necessary to constitute a government that can be recognized. There is only one government on the island and that the government of Spain. It controls all but a very small part of the population, and it is the only force which makes life and property reasonably safe, which stands between civilization and anarchy in Cuba.

A war has been going on there for three years in the attempt to crush the insurrection, and as a consequence of the destruction which war causes, as a consequence of measures taken in its prosecution, there has been and is much suffering. The insurgents began by destroying crops and laying waste the country, the government followed their example, and as a measure of war ordered a part of the country people into the towns. It is probable that what we see and hear of their sufferings is grossly exaggerated. This has been a campaign of lies waged by the Cubans in the United States through the newspapers. It is impossible to believe implicitly anything that we see in the newspapers about Cuba. But let us assume that the suffering exists.

Shall we help it by bombarding Havana or Mantanzas and depriving innocent people of their homes and their means of livelihood? If the Spaniards are willing to kill these *reconcentrados*, will they let them live in their rear while we in their front are attacking them? If they are starving, shall we feed them with bombs and bayonets? Will our supplies reach them more easily over the bodies of the Spanish troops? We can add vastly to the sufferings of Cuba. We can starve the Spaniards and Cubans alike perhaps. We can sink transports crowded with Spanish peasants. We can sacrifice thousands of our own young men and desolate thousands of our own homes. We can turn what is left of Cuba into a desert, but we shall not feed one starving Cuban. We can with our fleets and armies enormously increase the woes of Cuba, but by war we can never relieve them. Our diplomatic efforts have accomplished much. Weyler is recalled, the *reconcentrados* are returned to their homes, provision is made for their relief, free government is promised. Is this a time to abandon the Christian methods which have been so successful, and to revive the barbarous practices of war? It seems an impossible crime.

Thirty-three years ago to-morrow our last war ended, and we have not yet recovered from its effects. Our disordered currency, our system of taxation, our heavy debt, our enormous pension list, our corrupt politicians and political methods, and the strong party spirit which prevents men who agree from uniting in political action, are among the fruits of that struggle. Shall we bring upon ourselves fresh troubles of the same kind, and demoralize our whole political system, simply that we may add to the sum of human misery?

But if Cuba were surrendered to us without a blow; if the Spanish troops retired, and its officers abdicated, if we won a bloodless victory, what then? We should find ourselves at the threshold of countless troubles. We

must replace the government which we destroy. We cannot leave the civilization of Cuba at the mercy of men like Gomez. We cannot stand responsible before the world for another Hayti, another Souloque or Baez. If we step into the shoes of Spain, shall we find ourselves charged with the task of suppressing the insurrection against which Spain has battled so long? The insurgents do not want our government or any government established by our bayonets. They desire the power for which they have struggled so long. Are we sure that in a few years after as many of our young men have succumbed to disease and wounds as Spain has buried in Cuba, our methods of warfare will be more humane? Or if this seems improbable shall we establish in Cuba a carpet-bag government, like those upon which we look back with such pride? Remember that when our government was at its best, fresh from the influence of Lincoln and with Sumner and his associates in the Senate, we could not give our Southern fellow-citizens, speaking our language and close at our doors, a reasonably honest government. Can we hope to succeed better with Cuba now? Shall we undertake to govern a people wholly unfitted by race and by education for self-government, when we cannot govern our own great cities?

If all these imaginings are vain, and our success is as rapid and bloodless as the most sanguine can hope, such a victory is more dangerous than defeat. In the intoxication of such a success, we should reach out for fresh territory, and to our present difficulties would be added an agitation for the annexation of new regions which, unfit to govern themselves, would be admitted to govern us. We should be fairly launched upon a policy of military aggression, of territorial expansion, of standing armies and growing navies, which is inconsistent with the continuance of our institutions. God grant that such calamities are not in store for us.

In my judgment there is nothing in the situation which excuses our intervention. Every consideration of patriotism and of humanity is against it. It will increase every evil in Cuba and in our own country of which we complain, while it will remedy none. If we are, as we pretend to be, a civilized and Christian people, let us insist that there be no war.

## Why Should We Interfere?

BY GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

As a long-time reader of *The Times*, and one greatly interested in its responsibility as a leader of public opinion, I must ask space formally to protest against its present position of endeavoring to justify a war upon Spain by this country. The principal ground urged for the intervention of this country in the affairs of Cuba and Spain is that of humanity. Will not a true conception of humanity lead us to include under its broad banner Europeans and Asiatics as well as Cubans, Spaniards no less, and surely our own citizens? Are not the true relations of the United States of America to humanity ignored by this one-sided plea for an effort to abolish a temporary condition of suffering and misery which is, alas, not too far removed from many others even nearer home? Doubtless the conditions in Cuba are horrible and painful and a sad reproach on the efficiency of the government there, but are not the conditions which enabled lynching parties in Ohio and South Carolina and other States to go un-

punished even more of a reflection upon our self-governing communities? The many crimes and atrocities in Turkey and other lands are strong appeals to our love of humanity, but, as I believe, very properly this Government has so far acted on the sound principle of attending to its own most serious problems and not wasting its energies on more distant ones.

The country is aroused to a supposed responsibility for the righting of wrongs in Cuba. Is it not time that there were held up to the mind and conscience of our people the true mission which for a century and more this Republic has measurably accomplished, and of which it will make sad wreck if it now undertakes to shed the innocent blood of its own citizens to endeavor to right another's hideous wrong? I believe it would be a grievous wrong to its highest mission.

The plain peoples of the world have during the life of this Republic come to look upon her as the true leader in the cause of humanity. Why? Mainly because of her unexampled career of progress, and because of the possibilities for material prosperity and advancement which her avoidance of war complications made so manifest. Millions of the working masses have looked, and should still look, to this country for the accomplishment of the universal hope in humanity's advance. Has not one of the most notable movements of recent years been the widespread activity of labor organizations throughout the world in behalf of arbitration as a substitute for war? They realize that war is always waged finally at the expense of the toiling millions, who not only pay the taxes, but who also give of their sons' and brothers' blood, which they rightly think too sacred to shed. Can a nation's honor be more sacred than that of the individual who once fought duels to maintain it? And we have abandoned the practice. Is it not a monstrous thing to have the struggle for freedom from military despotism espoused by this country with a prompt threat of war, and not one suggestion made of enlisting the moral sentiment of the world by a proposal to have a peaceful adjustment of the issues involved made by submission to disinterested parties?

We boast that a people should be allowed of their own free will to decide by a majority vote as to the form of government they prefer, and yet instead of proposing that a plebiscite be had in Cuba under the supervision of neutral officials to be by agreement designated by various nations it is proposed that the insurgent portion of the population be recognized, without any consideration for the views of the other and probably more numerous as well as more influential residents of the island of Cuba. Surely some voice should be lifted now to protest against such a course as contrary to every sound principle of government.

It is urged that the conduct of the war on the part of Spain is brutal; but all war is brutal, necessarily so, and one of the important elements in all successful war is the forced suffering of non-combatants. What do sieges and blockades mean but the enforced suffering, even to death, of non-combatants as well as the fighting forces? Is it not proposed that the United States shall promptly blockade Cuba in case of war? Will not the suffering caused be in essence the same as that of the reconcentrados? And, again, are not our own people to be considered? Will not our soldiers and sailors suffer and die, and their relations and friends? Is only physical suffering to be considered? Is it not in fact an essential element of the

higher civilization we boast of that the mental, psychic and spiritual suffering of mankind is of even more moment than the physical? Are not, most properly, the affections given first consideration? What hearts will be wrung, yes, have already been, in anticipation even, of mothers and sisters who have experienced some of war's horrors!

A reference to the experience and practice of the Northern army in connection with the guerrilla warfare during the civil war will suggest very close approximation to conditions now existing in Cuba. Ask testimony of those who lived along the path of desolation left on Sherman's march to the sea, which it may be well to remember.

Again, if the United States shall become responsible for driving the present Spanish government out of Cuba on the ground that it has failed to make peace throughout the length and breadth of the island, will we not become morally responsible to the world for the peace and prosperity of Cuba? And may this not involve us in a bitter, straggling war corresponding possibly with our Indian wars, which have been long continued, with the added horrors of the diseases of torrid climates?

Is there not much reason to fear that many of the insurgents are at heart opposed to all law and order and against the protection of property? Shall we not be obliged before the world to protect the property of citizens of Cuba who may doubt, as I am told many do, the capacity and intentions of the insurgent forces? Is this not an appalling possibility? We should not commit ourselves to the bringing forth of a crippled child such as the present Cuban Republic would surely be if recognized in its present feeble stage.

The really humane method for accomplishing Cuban self-government is by a properly authorized plebiscite and a thoroughly debated constitution and form of government, to be deliberately established thereafter. It may in the present condition of affairs be very properly our high privilege to use our ablest diplomatic power and all of our moral force to negotiate such a result, free from bias by reason of the international supervision which ought to be in due time obtained for it. Let Congress delegate to the President the full responsibility and ample time to complete such negotiations, and at once evidence our faith in the power of peaceful methods and moral force by desisting from our preparations for war. — *From the New York Times of April 6.*

### The Presidential Policy and the Congressional Policy.

The *Boston Herald* of April 13 contained a most admirable editorial suggested by the President's message on Cuba and the action of Congress in reference thereto. No more just and vigorous arraignment has been made of the policy of Congress which has caused the President's policy to fail, and led the nation straight on to an unnecessary war. We quote as follows:

"If these latter (jingo congressmen and jingo newspapers) could have their way, war would be declared within twenty-four hours, with the result that we should plunge into a fight for the attainment of ends which we can gain equally well without sacrificing a single life. It is a well-known principle in physics that though a sharp strain applied to a bar of iron may break it in two, by the

gradual application of power the same bar can be twisted into the shape of a corkscrew without being fractured. This example illustrates the difference between congressional and presidential policy. The former proposes to plunge recklessly forward, and involve the nation in a war, the consequences of which no one can predict, while the latter wishes to make the influence and power of the United States felt by a steady, irresistible pressure, which, while never snapping the bar of peace, will turn and mould the problem into that form best calculated to serve the highest interests of the American people.

"One after another, the various forms of resistance which Spain has put up have been changed or crushed out of shape. At the alleged wish of the great powers of Europe and the Pope, an unconditional armistice has been declared in Cuba; but this action is the outcome of the President's policy, for if it had not been for American urgency, the Pope and the European governments would never have thought of offering their mediation. In the same way, the offer of complete autonomy to Cuba is a concession made to meet American wishes, and added to this is the official statement that Spain is willing to leave her responsibility for the destruction of the Maine to any disinterested tribunal, and pledges herself in advance to make whatever amends or restitution such a tribunal shall consider to be her duty. All this has been gained without war, and, if necessary, more can be gained by the pursuance of the same policy.

"On the other side, what are we asked to do? To declare war, proclaim the independence of Cuba, and send our war vessels to bombard Havana and destroy the Spanish fleet, each of these having at its masthead a flag bearing the motto, 'Remember the Maine.' In view of the present situation, such a policy can only be defined as pure barbarism, a drop not from the nineteenth century to the twelfth, but from the ways of a civilized community to the manners of the people who make up the tribes inhabiting Central Asia and Central Africa, where war is resorted to for the pure love of fighting. Spain has made concession after concession to us, in a way which must have been intensely humiliating to her government and her people, and, instead of making the least acknowledgment, we propose to stamp upon and kick her for the mere brutal desire of obtaining a more palpable revenge. We are counselled to do this because she is so weak that she cannot hurt us, even if she tries to strike back. For downright, abject baseness, it would be difficult to find a parallel to this proposal in the world's record during the present century. It would certainly bring us down to the level of Spain in the worst atrocities that have ever stained her career on the island of Cuba.

"But are not the Cubans to obtain their independence? Certainly, they should have it if they want it. But no congressional orator, no jingoist newspaper, and not even a member of the Cuban junta, has ever shown by anything approaching conclusive proof that a majority of the Cuban people desire independence. Because, out of its 1,500,000 inhabitants, some 30,000 men have maintained for nearly three years a destructive, but unconquered, insurrection, does not prove that a majority of the people of the island are in sympathy with them or support their political wishes. It is well known that almost all of those who represent the business interests of Cuba are opposed to independence, not because they have any fondness for

Spanish government, but because, with the fate of Hayti and San Domingo before their eyes, they have a profound distrust of the civic ability and disinterested public spirit of the leaders of the guerilla force which has succeeded since 1895 in holding the Spanish army at bay. Like the Afghans, the Cuban guerillas have proved themselves to be splendid fighters; but like the Afghans, they may be entirely wanting in the qualities needed to carry on a democratic form of government. If Cuba is to be independent, she should be so by the free wish of a majority of her people, and in the absence of that popular mandate, we cannot afford to play the part of the tyrant, and, possibly, force the great majority of her people into a form of government to which they are thoroughly opposed.

"In the case of the Maine, which is looked upon both at Washington and elsewhere as our strongest issue, what have we to fight about? Our adversary comes to us, and says: 'I will make any reparation for my responsibility in this matter that any impartial tribunal shall consider adequate.' What more can Spain do than this? One feels as if one were addressing a tribe of wild Indians in assuming that such a proposition would not be accepted. What does its repudiation and a declaration of war on the basis of 'remember the Maine' imply? Neither more nor less than that the boasted humanity and civilization of the American people is simply a thin veneer; that, in spite of education and religious training, we still cherish the savage instincts of our prehistoric forefathers; that with us a bloody feud is to be cherished and developed, no matter how contrite and submissive our adversary may be, until each life that we have lost has been paid for and avenged by the destruction of ten, twenty or one hundred of the lives of innocent men, who to our frenzied imagination represent the enemy. This is maintaining national honor! This is exhibiting to the world an heroic determination, and this is what it is proposed to substitute for the policy which President McKinley has laid down! If this murderous method is adopted, it will imply a moral debauch on the part of the American people which will leave its stain upon their national record through the lives of all those who are now numbered as American citizens."

### A Peaceful Settlement with Spain.

BY JOSIAH W. LEEDS.

Deploring the present tendency of her sex "to rush in and compete with men in all professions and avenues of business," the poetess, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, is reported as saying that, as a corrective of this condition, she does "not know of anything that would be as wholesome as war. A war would put the masculine woman in the background, and would once more imbue the men of the nation with that virility that they seem so much in danger of losing. A nation can go to seed by becoming too gentle. A war therefore would bring about a needed reorganization of society."

Unfortunately, we tried this business — this wrong way of disposing of a difficulty — over thirty years ago, with quite the contrary of a beneficent effect on society. A variety of things did go to seed, and have we not these years been reaping a sorry harvest of intemperance, covetousness, impurity, venality in many shapes, marital divorce, love of sport, Sabbath breaking and many other

evils that war against the soul? Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, the well-known writer, taking a very different view of the calamity of a war, has just made the following public protest:

"What a spectacle! A Christian Nation threatening to declare war, unnecessary, unjustifiable, unrighteous war, on Holy Week, and plotting butchery on Easter Day. The veriest Furioso in Congress must hang his head before this shameful and untimely sight. We have a Christian statesman at the head of our Government. Extend to him at least the simple courtesy yielded in the commonest commercial transactions. Grant the President thirty days to meet the call of the crisis. He will settle this trouble without slaughter. Give him a chance. Let him have time to save us from a national blunder and disgrace which history would never forget to record against us."

Hannah J. Bailey, National Superintendent of the Department of Peace and Arbitration of the W. C. T. U., has earnestly appealed for a peaceful settlement of our controversy with Spain. Ella P. Martin, of West Grove, President of the W. C. T. U. of Chester county, in a private letter says:

"It is well known that our organization stands for peace, and nothing short of a memorial from the fountain head (the National officers) would avail much at this crisis I think, while it would be in accord for each and all to lift their hearts in prayer at home that our leaders may have the wisdom of many."

Bishop Potter, of New York, in a sermon referring to the crisis, the President's position of righteous restraint, and what ought to be ours, said:

"To-day he stands for that for which, as an ambassador of the Prince of Peace, it is my duty to plead — a peaceful settlement of the difficulties which are to-day confronting us. Over against him there are others who are clamoring for war: I presume that every criminal, every inmate of a jail or prison, every lounge in a bar-room, every one of that evil brood that haunts dark places and plans dark deeds, is with such. Are you? Where ought a God-fearing people to stand to-day? What are you saying to your representatives in Congress, beset as they are by noisy agitators and by men of sordid motives, or by partisans eager to magnify a quarrel with another nation into a ground for a foolish and unnecessary war, and to make partisan capital out of their clamor for blood? Some of these representatives are telling us of what they have heard from their constituents. What have they heard from you? Do you honestly believe that at this hour there is any wrong that may not be righted, any oppressed people that may not be speedily fed and succored, without our flying at the throats of those with whom to-day we have a controversy, like so many bullies in a prize-ring?"

Dr. Greer, also of New York, in concluding a fervent discourse on the same theme as the above, and our duty to sustain the President in his stand for peace, said:

"Such a man, I say, is needed now. Such a man, I hope, I think, we have; who, with a lively sense of the responsibility, grave and awful, that is placed on him, is doing what he can — God in heaven help him. May all the people help him to minister unto peace and to stay the plague and stop the scourge of war!"

Dr. Joseph Silverman, in the Temple Emmanuel, New



York, having spoken of the sentiment of honor contended for in this controversy, and of those other things at stake, as humanity, prosperity, human lives, liberty and justice, added:

"Can we contend for these higher ends without resort to arms, without the shedding of blood? The trial is hard. We cry 'Peace! Peace!' but there is no peace. The beat of the drum is heard, and there stand the cannon ready to bombard. Still we do not give up the hope and the prayer for peace. Let the nations of the world intercede; let us call for arbitration. Let America set the example. Now is the great opportunity to illustrate the value of arbitration. Let a great royal court be called of the important military Powers of the world, and let all questions in dispute be submitted. It may take months to determine the result. In the mean time let there be a truce, and all the ends of justice and humanity will be served. Let America and Spain arbitrate their differences, and, as God lives, I believe the same ends that are now sought by war will be gained by honor and peace."

Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, speaking at Boston, thus certifies to a few of the deterrent things that must make up the cost of finishing this dispute in the barbarous old way:

"First, let us realize what war is. 'War is hell.' That is the word not of a Quaker, but of a great and brave general who knew war. War brings with it the unloosing of the passions of men, vengeance, hatred, deceit, plunder, slaughter, fire and sword, the groans of the wounded, the widow and the fatherless, poverty, wealth by gambling and stealing, demoralization in high places, taxation of the poor, neglect by thousands of the arts of peace, the glorification of the savageries of war. There will be heroism and sacrifice, but at what cost of National character."

Shall we listen to responsible testimony bearers such as these, or to rabid jingoes, and to the 'yellow journals' which exploit prize fighting in times of peace, and cry out for honor, power and glory at prospect of war with another nation? — *Chester County (Pa.) Times*.

### Why Senator Hoar Voted Against Recognizing the Cuban Republic.

During the debate in the Senate on April 17, Senator Hoar gave the following statement of the reasons why he could not vote for the resolution recognizing the independence of the so-called Cuban republic:

MR. HOAR: "Mr. President, I cannot give my vote for this resolution upon its final passage, for several reasons, which I desire to state.

"First, it contains an affirmation contrary to the fact when it affirms that the republic of Cuba is now free and independent, in the face of what I conceive to be the fact, in the face of the declaration, as I understand it, of the person high in command in the troops of the insurgents, who has declared he could prolong the struggle to obtain that independence for twelve years.

"Second, it undertakes to take from the executive his constitutional power — a power affirmed by every executive from the beginning, a power affirmed by our great authorities on constitutional law from Alexander Hamilton down to the senior senator from Alabama (Mr. Morgan), who, within three years, and I think also within three hours, has strongly reaffirmed that that power be-

longs to the executive, and cannot be constitutionally exercised by Congress."

MR. MORGAN: "The senator from Massachusetts is mistaken in quoting me. I do not care about correcting it now, but at a later day in the session I will try to point out to the senator, as I have done heretofore, that he mistakes my statement on the subject."

MR. HOAR: "Very well. I have read in the Record within a short time a declaration of the senator from Alabama which I so understand. Well, whether I am mistaken in imputing this particular opinion to my honorable friend or not, I am not mistaken in saying that he is a high authority on constitutional law, and in coupling his name with that of Alexander Hamilton as entitled to the respect of his countrymen I hope he will not rise to correct me again.

"Mr. President, I cannot vote for the joint resolution because it introduces, and I believe was meant to introduce, discord and divided counsels in what ought to be the act of a united country.

"I cannot vote for it, because it undertakes to direct, contrary to all our legislative precedents, a co-ordinate branch of the government, the executive, ordering him to proceed at once, when his constitutional and legal duties are defined by the constitution, and not by the law-making power.

"I cannot vote for it because it is contrary to the courtesies which prevail between the legislative and executive, and undertakes to take from the discretion of the executive what ought to belong to him under the constitution itself.

"I will not vote for it, because, if it pass, and the government of Cuba be now free and independent, the forces of the army of the United States on Cuban land and the navy of the United States in Cuban waters must be under the command of the insurgent leader, or their presence there is a war against him.

"Gentlemen have tried, by refined and deluding arguments, to torture a sentence of the President of the United States, separated from its context, into a suggestion that possibly he might be expecting to make war upon these insurgents. And yet — you cannot escape from it — you are undertaking, in your eager passion, to do something which will be unpleasant to those of your associates who support the President.

"You are making an affirmation, I repeat, which will put the army and the navy of the United States under the command of Maximo Gomez the moment they get into Cuban waters or on to Cuban soil, or their presence there is war upon the recognized and established government of the country which you say is his.

"I will not vote for it because it violates international law, and thereby in this great transaction sets the sympathy of the nations of the world against us.

"Mr. President, I am not alarmed or disturbed because in the vote I am about to give I am to encounter the dissent of an excited, inflated and angered majority. I am old enough to remember another transaction to which this is a parallel:

"In the beginning of the Mexican war, a war in regard to which the feeling of the people of the United States was deeply stirred, it was attempted to coerce the minority in the two Houses of Congress by putting into the law which provided for raising troops, and supplying them, a preamble, 'Whereas, war exists by the act of Mexico,'

and some weak Whigs of that day, fearing that their action would be unpopular, bowed the knee and affirmed by their votes what they knew and believed to be an untruth. Fourteen members of the House of Representatives, with the approval of Henry Clay, voted against that lying preamble, and to his immortal honor be it said, the great commoner would have his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth rather than to utter, by an affirmative vote, what he knew to be an untruth.

"The men who yielded in that hour of weakness and of temptation returned to their constituents. One of the most eminent and brilliant citizens of my own state, who was afterward speaker of the House, went home to a doom of defeat and popular disapprobation. The men who recorded their votes on the side of truth in the face of that excited majority are known to-day in our political history as the immortal fourteen.

"I am willing to trust myself, my reputation, my political character, with the people of Massachusetts when I stand up here and vote against what I know, or think I know, to be untrue."

### A Peace Army and Navy.

Mr. F. P. Williams of Montclair, N. J., in a recent letter to the *New York Tribune* suggests a novel method of preventing war. After referring to arbitration and Henry George's plan of preventing war by doing away with national debts and by direct taxation paying all bills as they are made, Mr. Williams suggests a plan for preventing actual hostilities which we will let him explain in his own words:

"The only other plan for preventing warfare, I believe, is a plan that would in all probability be effectual in the present crisis, if it could be put into operation.

They say that a leader appears in every crisis—that with the hour comes the man. Let us suppose that a man had been born who was destined to be the means of averting warfare in the present crisis, after all methods of diplomacy had failed.

His education would have been begun years ago. In early childhood, from the lips of loving parent or teacher, he would have heard the story of that Wonderful Counsellor who by His life and by His death taught men the lesson of peace on earth. And down deep in the young heart would have been born the belief that the best of all lives to live, and the best of all deaths to die, is the life that is lived and the death that is died for the cause of peace. As he grew in years, and as his understanding deepened, he would have listened in amazement and horror, as men preached the doctrines of patriotism in pulpits consecrated to the religion of Christ; and then he would have taken up the work that he had been appointed to do.

He would have taught that to be a follower of the Prince of Peace is to be raised far above patriotism to a level where all men are regarded as brothers, and where the shedding of human blood is known as murder, whether it is done in private encounter or whether it is done in warfare. He would have unfurled the white flag of peace—that flag which is able to inspire men with far higher courage than was ever inspired by any national emblem. He would have called for volunteers to gather under the standard that he had uplifted, and his call would have been answered. For strange as it may seem

to patriots, it is nevertheless true that men have lived and men are living now, who, although they could not be forced by all the governmental power on earth to take the life of a fellow-man, would gladly lay down their own lives to save the lives of others. The army and navy of peace would have been raised, and under their leader would have been ready in the event of the opening of hostilities, to place themselves between the opposing forces, and to say to the combatants: "Shoot, if you are resolved to do so, but it is through our bodies that your bullets will pass; we are ready to lay down our lives in the cause of peace." Would the guns be fired? Would any human being, civilized or semi-civilized, fire a shot that must pass through defenceless fellow-creatures before it could reach the enemy?"

The trouble about such a plan as Mr. Williams outlines would be the impossibility, under present conditions, of putting it into operation in any crisis. Besides this, if the friends of peace were as interested in their cause and as active in promoting it as they would have to be to organize a peace army in time of peace, they would reduce the belief in war so rapidly that there would soon be no armies for them to throw themselves between. There are enough people who pretend to believe in peace, to make war impossible in civilized countries after a single generation, if they were not so half-hearted and indifferent about the subject. A little peace talk, a few ejaculations against war, just on the eve of hostilities, when one has not opened his mouth on the subject for ten years, cannot be expected to accomplish anything. Peace is the greatest of all doctrines, and ought to be taught and preached "without ceasing," just as we are taught to pray. *Et cetera.*]

### PEACE SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

The American Peace Society, 3 Somerset St., Boston, Mass., Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary.

The Universal Peace Union, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., Alfred H. Love, President.

The Christian Arbitration and Peace Society, 310 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., Frank P. Smith, Secretary.

National Association for the Promotion of Arbitration, Washington, D.C., Belva A. Lockwood, President.

Peace Department of the N. W. C. T. U., Winthrop Centre, Maine, Hannah J. Bailey, Superintendent.

The Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Ind., Daniel Hill, Secretary.

The South Carolina Peace Society, Columbia, S.C., Rev. Sidi H. Browne, President.

The Illinois Peace Society, 200 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill., Edward Coale, Holder, Ill., President, Allen J. Flitcraft, Cor.-Secretary.

The Pacific Coast Arbitration Society, Monterey, Cal., E. Berwick, Secretary.

The Connecticut Peace Society, Mystic, Conn., Christine V. Whipple Clarke, Secretary.

The Rhode Island Peace Society, Providence, R. I., Robert P. Gifford, Secretary.

Friends' Peace Association of Philadelphia, 140 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa., William F. Wickersham, Corresponding Secretary.

Arbitration Council, 1224 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., Geo. May Powell, President.

The Women's International Peace League of America. Mary Frost Evans, President, East Providence, R. I., Christine V. Whipple Clarke, Secretary, Mystic, Conn.

### New Books.

**CHRIST REFLECTED IN CREATION.** By D. C. McMillan, New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price 25 cts.

This daintily bound booklet of seventy-seven pages is one of the "Quiet Hour" series published by the Fleming H. Revell Co. The spirit of the booklet is beautiful and elevating. We quote one passage:

"While it is not given to man to obtain more than a glimpse into the unknown, it is possible to see that, with love, confidence and innocence as the universal law, with charity and helpfulness supreme, and selfishness forgotten, the distribution of the fruits of the earth would assure a constant abundance to all of God's children; and the human mind under the purifying influence of innocent affection would find in the happiness of mankind a picture of heaven that would need nothing to complete it but a release from our physical structure of that part of ourselves which alone is invested with life; and as we note the restraints, the repetitions and force of habit in the making and upbuilding of men, and the rapid and potent effect of principles in the developing and molding of nations and civilizations, we feel our weakness to-day to measure the advances possible toward human perfection in the future, or to say how near even humanity may attain to that standard which prepares it for a union with the Godhead through which it becomes 'perfect in one.' Christ is with us to-day, present in the Spirit of Love and the Law, which, though unwritten and not spoken in words, yet speaks to and through the heart, and throbs the being and moves the soul of man. It is the well-spring of all good. It finds expression in words only in deepest travail, at critical moments, in times of greatest emergency and saddest adversity, when in the feebleness of our nature, truth bursts the bounds of all restraints and a voice higher and purer than man's brings out of darkest chaos a vision of loveliness and harmony, which makes clear the way of right."

### Habitual Criminals in Iowa.

The *Omaha Bee*, as quoted by *Public Opinion* has the following interesting statement as to habitual criminals in Iowa:

"The debate in the Iowa legislature on a bill for a law to punish habitual criminals more severely, brought out some statements suggestive if not startling. The number of convicts at the two Iowa penitentiaries has greatly increased in recent years, and in ten years there has been an eighty per cent increase in crime throughout the state. The cost of criminal prosecutions is correspondingly great, the total for the state having been \$445,000 in 1890 and \$586,000 in 1895. Investigation shows that there are in the Iowa penitentiaries convicts serving fourth, fifth, sixth, and even as high as eleven, terms. Under the present laws these habitual criminals cannot be permanently retired from circulation, but the courts can only sentence and re-sentence them for short terms. In view of the fact that the increase of crime in Iowa is

greater than in many other states where other conditions are substantially equal, the conviction is forced upon Iowa legislators that habitual criminals from other states flock to Iowa to secure the benefit of lax laws. The bill mentioned proposes that this shall no longer continue, but that hereafter a third conviction for a felony shall be for a term not less than fifteen years, and that persons habitually given to petty crimes shall be sentenced to terms of not less than five years. Habitual criminals in Iowa and elsewhere certainly demand more rigorous treatment. The purpose of punishment for crime is to prevent repetition by reformation or otherwise. When it becomes evident that there is no possibility of reformation of the individual the state has the unquestioned right to restrain the criminal permanently."

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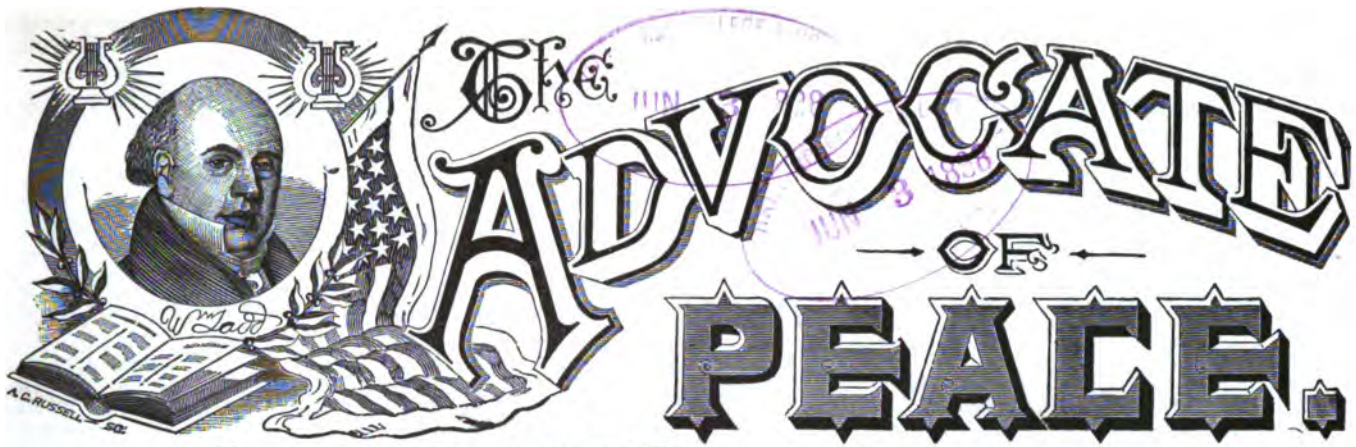
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**PAX MUNDI.** A concise account of the Modern Peace Movement. By T. K. Arnoldson, of the Swedish Parliament. Translated by P. H. Peckover. 70 cts.

The *Outlook* says that the country "goes to war with extreme reluctance and with hatred of the barbarous method of settling disputes deep in its heart. It goes to war with sad deliberation and in a judicial spirit." This may be true of the *Outlook*, other excellent journals, the President and a good many people of the country, but exactly the opposite is true of the men and the journals who have "rushed" the nation into war. It is all sport and "business" for them.

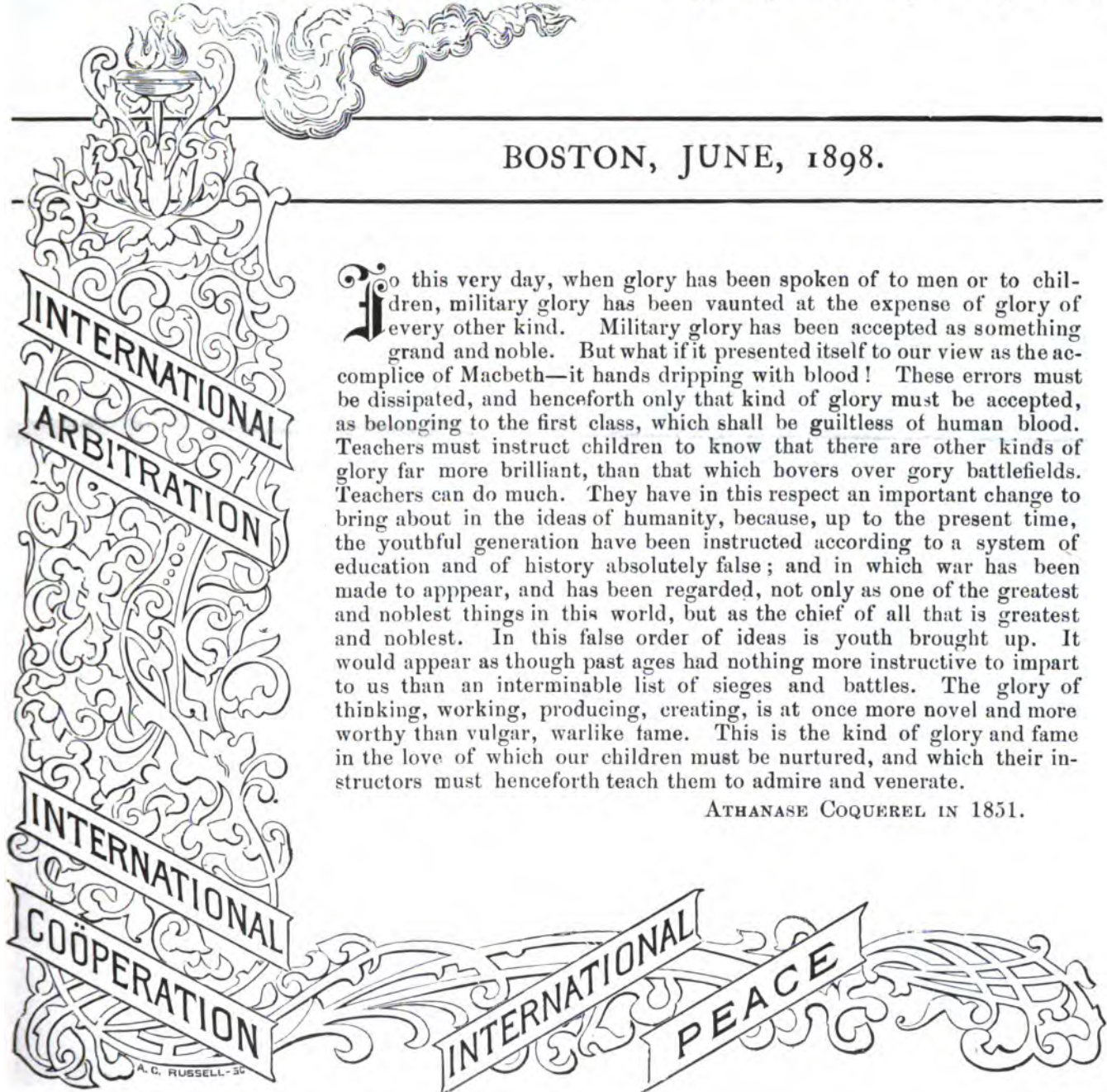




BOSTON, JUNE, 1898.

To this very day, when glory has been spoken of to men or to children, military glory has been vaunted at the expense of glory of every other kind. Military glory has been accepted as something grand and noble. But what if it presented itself to our view as the accomplice of Macbeth—it hands dripping with blood! These errors must be dissipated, and henceforth only that kind of glory must be accepted, as belonging to the first class, which shall be guiltless of human blood. Teachers must instruct children to know that there are other kinds of glory far more brilliant, than that which hovers over gory battlefields. Teachers can do much. They have in this respect an important change to bring about in the ideas of humanity, because, up to the present time, the youthful generation have been instructed according to a system of education and of history absolutely false; and in which war has been made to appear, and has been regarded, not only as one of the greatest and noblest things in this world, but as the chief of all that is greatest and noblest. In this false order of ideas is youth brought up. It would appear as though past ages had nothing more instructive to impart to us than an interminable list of sieges and battles. The glory of thinking, working, producing, creating, is at once more novel and more worthy than vulgar, warlike fame. This is the kind of glory and fame in the love of which our children must be nurtured, and which their instructors must henceforth teach them to admire and venerate.

ATHANASE COQUEREL IN 1851.



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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## Conscience and Patriotism.

We have been witness in the last few weeks in this country to an extraordinary moral phenomenon which promises no good to the nation. Before the war broke out there were three classes of views among the citizens of the country. One class of people believed, or claimed to believe, that war was the only right way of proceeding with Spain. They would have nothing else but the sword and shell, slaughter and desolation, to punish the Spaniards for their sins and to avenge those who perished with the Maine. To these we do not refer. They have been at least consistent, whatever their character and motives may have been.

Another class of persons believed that the relief of Cuba and reparation for the destruction of the Maine might be attained by pacific means, but that, if the pacific policy failed, war, horrible and barbarous as it is, would be justifiable in order to put an end to the inhuman condition of things near our

doors, brought on by a war cruel in character and of long duration. The extraordinary moral phenomenon to which we allude has not been among this class of persons, who have at least been consistent in their position.

A third class of our citizens, and by no means a small class,—in parts of the country a very large class in fact,—believed that the United States, considering its political character, its professed international policy of friendly neutrality, its record in the arbitration movement, its high duties to civilization of a new, pacific type, would be abandoning the essential principles of its national life and committing a crime against civilization, if it went beyond its own territory and plunged into the barbarities of war in order to remedy the barbarities brought on by war in Cuba. The reasonings and declarations of many of these were of the strongest, noblest, truest kind. We are glad to know that a portion of them have kept their faith in the hour of trial.

But what do we see on the part of many of them? "Now that we are in it," now that what they declared to be national debauch, iniquity, crime, is actually being committed, they have deliberately swallowed their professions, abandoned the categorical imperatives of conscience, and gone headlong into support of the very thing which they were denouncing as essentially wrong. We have respect for those who, from the beginning, out of generous considerations of humanity, believed the war to be justifiable, however erroneous we may hold their position to be. But what shall be said of those who, out of fear of being called unpatriotic or considered singular, have turned the light within them into darkness, and gone straight-a-way to uphold and shout for what to them is wrong?

Patriotism is a grand and noble thing, when rightly understood. But no man is a patriot, in any

worthy sense, who treads down his judgment and his conscience, and goes with his country to do what he is solemnly convinced is iniquitous. No such unconscientious service can ever promote the welfare of the nation. Men who thus belie their own moral nature can never be depended on to help lift the national life and conduct to higher levels. To proceed as these men have proceeded is to proceed on the theory that the government is infallible that its behests are always to be obeyed and its policies followed, that it is above conscience and God. Surrender at this point is the final and fatal surrender of that personal liberty of spirit and loyalty to truth and duty on which all progress in civilization rests. The great weakness in our national life, in the life of every nation, is found just here, in the lack of sufficient men and women who will sacrifice everything, even life itself, rather than be false to principle, even under the government's lead.

If patriotism means not only love of one's country, and desire and earnest effort to promote its welfare and to keep it in the paths of righteousness and truth, but also absolute and unquestioning obedience to all its governmental demands and subservience to all its policies, then patriotism becomes one of the deadliest and most ruinous of tyrannies. Unfortunately, that is the kind of patriotism too many people have. "It was all wrong, but we must stand by the country. It was a wicked thing to enter into, but now that the country is in it, we must be loyal to the country and help to fight it out. It will be condemned hereafter by all impartial historians and good future citizens, as a great national sin, but now that the government is involved in it, it would be treason to hold aloof," and so on. That is the way a slavish patriotism reasons and turns wrong into right. This has often been the cry in the past, but, thank God, there have been those whose souls could not be cried into silence and disobedience, into subservience to wicked laws and evil undertakings, and thus the nation has been rescued from one evil after another. These have been the great and the true patriots of the nation, and their like is what we need to-day, to carry our great and beloved country up to heights of purity and strength and honor which few even of the best patriots of the past foresaw.

What the country needs above all else is a patriotism full of conscience and always guided by an

enlightened conscience. Then, even though men differ in judgment, they will be able to instruct one another and unitedly to instruct and guide and save the nation. Patriotism without conscience will ruin any land.

### Vengeance and Violence.

There are few people who can keep their souls up to a high level while taking part in any way in war. No matter what the purpose of the war, actual hostilities and preparation for hostilities arouse the lower and baser side of men's nature and in most men overwhelm, for the time, in considerable measure, the better principles and habits by which their lives are ordinarily governed. This fact is being conspicuously brought out in the present war. The nation professed to go into the war in the name of Christian humanity, but hostilities having begun, humanity is largely lost sight of and the watchword of the war has become a watchword of vengeance, "Remember the Maine!" It is seen and heard everywhere, in the newspapers, on the multitudes of buttons and badges which are hawked and sold in the streets, on advertising notices, in the war conversation and war speeches which are heard on all hands in public and in private. Even before hostilities began, it was much on the lips of the Congressmen who forced the war upon us. Sampson's gunners at Matanzas, when the big shells were playing havoc with the forts, amused themselves by shouting, "Take that for the Maine!" The marines at Manila went into the fight to the watchword, "Remember the Maine!", which was shouted from ship to ship until the whole harbor rang with the hoarse cry. Men on the sidewalks shout with glee to the soldiers starting on their sad and perilous task, "Remember the Maine!"

In the Boston morning papers, this May 17th, is the report of a speech made last night before a large gathering of professed Christian people by a distinguished Massachusetts State Senator, in which the same spirit is shown in a most unblushing and vaunting way, as if vengeance were the sum of all the Christian virtues. After sharply taking to task a minister of the gospel of mercy, forgiveness and love, for being faithful to his Master and warning his hearers not to be carried away by the vindictive cry, "Remember the Maine!", this Christian Senator had the conscience to say that "every American living ought to be thankful because, for the dead bodies of those Americans lying at the bottom of Havana harbor, there are dead Spaniards lying in Manila harbor." How does this differ from the ancient semi-barbarous teaching of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth?" How does the spirit of this American Christian Senator who wants a dead Spaniard for every dead American differ from

that of Gambetta when at the close of the Franco-German war he sought to inspire in the minds of his fellow countrymen relentless hatred of the Germans by saying: "Revenge! Think of it always speak of it never!", except that the Massachusetts Senator wants it spoken of as well as thought of?

It would be difficult to credit the newspaper report of this Senator's speech, were it not of a piece with what is being uttered all over the nation. In a recent issue of a daily so-called reform paper published in another State,—a paper which favored peace until war was actually on, a column was given to war songs. One of the songs ran thus:

"The Stars and Stripes our oriflamb,  
The Maine our battle cry,  
We'll swift avenge our shipmates' death,  
Spain execrate at every breath,  
And fight her till we die.

"We'll double shot each bellowing gun  
And tinge the ocean red;  
Rain down upon Spain's vaunted fleet  
An avalanche of iron sleet,  
And pave their decks with dead."

In a late issue of the Minneapolis *Times* a writer, after preaching in the name of Jesus Christ a sermon on "righteous wrath," as if righteous wrath and the spirit of vengeance with its bloody horrors were the same thing, lets his true spirit out in such utterances as "Remember the Maine!", "Let the cannon roar!", "To the butchers their just deserts!" The achievement of Dewey and his "glorious fighters" he considers "enough to stir the blood in the statue of any patriot and make him dance in glee." Does this writer persuade himself that the meek and lowly Jesus, who "when he suffered threatened not," if he had been standing on the hills overlooking Manila harbor, and hearing the hoarse cries of vengeance and seeing the huge shells killing, mangling and burning to death hundreds of those for whom he died, would have "danced in glee?"

We are charitable enough to believe that much of the seeming vengeance and vindictiveness manifesting themselves throughout the land are superficial and the result of temporary excitement. But even thus they are unworthy of a people making such high claims to Christian virtue and humanitarian feelings. One would think that all professed Christian people who believe the war to be justifiable, would at least look upon it as a dreadfully sorrowful necessity to be wept over rather than to "dance in glee" over.

Along with vengeance goes violence, of course. The example set by Congressmen on whom the war spirit had settled, and who flew at each other with clenched fists uttering angry epithets and hurling big law-books at each other, has been followed in many places. We should say rather that the same spirit is producing like fruits in different places. In one of our large cities excitement ran so high that a

man who ventured to speak out his conscientious convictions in behalf of peace was killed on the spot. In another place some small boys acting out the war with Spain fought so desperately that some of them were badly wounded and one of them killed. From a lady in Chicago we learn that the children of 38th and 39th streets, inflamed, by the talk which they heard, with hatred against Spain, engaged in many skirmishes about the stock yards, and finally grew so exasperated that they lined up to the number of hundreds with old tin cans, sticks and stones, and fell to fighting like trained soldiers. Though only about twelve years old such was their desperation that many faces were covered with blood and the first attempt of the police to separate them was ineffectual. Finally a patrol wagon was called, and after a desperate struggle in which one boy was shot in the leg, forty of these young Spanish-haters were loaded in the wagon and driven off to the police station.

This is doubtless an extreme case, but there have been many essentially like it. Sunday school boys of eight and ten double their little fists and declare their wish to kill a Spaniard, to kill all the Spaniards, who, they say, are so mean that they all ought to be killed off the face of the earth.

How can it be otherwise? The newspapers of the country are full of fiery and vindictive talk, and of pictures of war-scenes, of war-ships, bursting shells, blown-up forts, hideous pictures of Uncle Sam leaning upon big cannon, letting loose the dogs of war, knocking and kicking Spaniards off the globe, etc. Men and women talk passionately against the Spaniards, teachers fill the minds of young pupils with flaming ideas of the "righteousness" and the "glory" of war for the "honor" of the nation, preachers indulge in vehement declarations of the necessity of punishing Spain in the name of the Almighty. What wonder that in the children of the nation, and in many of older years, self-restraint disappears, tenderness, kindness and forgiveness are forgotten, and the spirit of hate and violence is everywhere strong! The money cost of a war, the destruction of life and property, are bad enough; but they are as nothing compared with this moral retrogression, this recrudescence of barbarism and animalism—the penalty which the nation is paying and will have to continue to pay for a long time to come, because of its failure to follow "the better way."

We are glad to know that there is another spirit in the land. Its voice is nearly hushed now because of the raging of the storm. But because of the trial and the sorrow through which it is passing, it is gathering strength, we hope, and clearness of vision, and wisdom and courage, for more earnest and faithful activity when its hour comes again. The war will come to an end, the voice of vengeance and violence will be hushed, and their spirit will some day

die out, but "of the increase of His government, and of peace there will be no end." Let this be the watchword and the watch-thought of all the peace-makers over whom alone the blessing of the Highest is pronounced.

### An Anglo-American Alliance.

Of the projects, policies, schemes and what-not talked of in connection with the present war is the proposal of an Anglo-American Alliance. Two speeches in England, one by Lord Salisbury the other by Mr. Chamberlain, have given world-wide prominence to the subject.

We are frank to say that we do not like the manner in which the subject has come up, nor the idea lying behind the proposal, at least not as conceived by the British Premier and his Colonial Secretary. Nor do we believe that any considerable portion of the American people will take to it, when they understand the real nature of the proposal. The colonial policy of Great Britain has brought her in all the Eastern half of the world into conflict with all the other great European powers, and into isolation. She has gotten herself heartily hated by these powers. Her difficulties with them at the present time are of a serious and threatening character, and the times look very gloomy to most Englishmen.

Now, Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury are the foremost representatives of the English "forward policy"; the former the most rabid advocate of it. Native races and the rights of weaker peoples, or of any other peoples for that matter, are nothing to him provided he can strengthen the stakes of Greater England and seize and hold more territory and glorify himself. British diplomacy, in its struggle with Continental diplomacy, has of late been beaten at important junctures and is threatened with further defeat.

What more natural under these circumstances than that these British leaders should hasten to take advantage of the situation created by the Spanish-American war to try to draw the United States into formal alliance with Great Britain. It is a move whose selfishness is but poorly concealed. The purpose of it on their part is to strengthen the power of their country and enable her to go on with her schemes regardless of the other powers. It does not grow out of any particular love for this country.

That there is a deep and growing attachment of the English people, of the nation as a whole, for our country, we recognize, and with the greatest pleasure. But this feeling has not found its expression heretofore through Mr. Chamberlain and men of his type. Their making themselves its spokesmen at the present moment naturally awakens suspicion, and no American or real American-loving Englishman ought to allow himself to be deceived

by the fair words of the charmer. We are of those who believe that England and America ought to draw closer and closer together in all friendly and peaceful coöperation. For this we have labored and prayed. These two great countries are appointed of Providence to move side by side in promoting the progress of the world. They ought long ago to have had a permanent arbitration treaty between them. It is one of the great sins and blunders of responsible men in our country that we have not such a treaty. In their commercial relations, and in other ways, they ought to come much closer together than they have yet been.

It is because we believe this so strongly that we are totally opposed to any union between them based on selfish greed and brute force, and in opposition to the rest of the world. The watchword of a closer union between them ought to be, not Anglo-Saxondom against the world, but for the world. We shall be delighted at any deeper friendship between the two countries which may result even from the present war. But as for an alliance which shall mean combinations of great fleets and armies, and opposition to the rest of the world, we can conceive of no greater Anglo-Saxon mischief. The result of such an alliance would be immediately to drive the other great powers into each others arms, and instead of a Triple and a Dual Alliance and European militarism we should soon see two great hostile world alliances and an enormous and fatal world militarism. Anglo-Saxondom would deserve the fate of Sodom if it should be guilty of such a crime against humanity.

The effect in Europe of Mr. Chamberlain's speech has been exactly what might have been expected. It has aroused universal opposition and in many places intense indignation. The indignation would grow into the hottest passion and hatred, if there were any real danger of such an alliance being formed. In this country these English speeches have awakened the greatest interest, but the spirit manifested has been a sober and cautious one, for the most part. The sentiment of the country has spoken itself everywhere in favor of a better understanding, a deeper friendship, a wider coöperation, but a formal alliance in the ordinary sense of that term has met with little favor. Curiously enough a few papers and some of the men of jingo proclivities, whose dislike for Great Britain has hitherto missed no opportunity to express itself, have hastened to declare themselves in favor of the proposed alliance. Visions of great navies and armies, of gigantic conflicts, of "creation" at war, have swamped their consistency and inflated their jingoism beyond all national limits. It does not need to be said that the professional military men, particularly of the navy, have shown a "warm side" for the alliance. The reason is perfectly clear.



What the two nations need is not an governmental alliance, not any fettering of their freedom by military bonds, but a larger friendship, a truer confidence, a more perfect coöperation along all peaceful lines, the absence of jealousy and distrust, the forgetting and forgiving of bye-gones. Such a life as this will strengthen them and make them a mutual support to one another as no alliance of force could ever do. It will awaken no hostility on the part of the other nation. On the contrary, it will provoke a similar spirit among them toward one another and toward the English-speaking peoples. Anglo-Saxondom can thus be an infinite blessing to itself and to all the rest of the world. If John Bright were still living this is the voice we should hear from Birmingham.

### Editorial Notes.

The editor of the London *Herald of Peace* has a word of highly appreciated commendation of the course followed by the American Peace Society during the present crisis. It says:

"The attitude of the American Peace Society in this great crisis is admirable. We congratulate Dr. Trueblood on the calm and high tone of the last (April) issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and its superiority to the spirit of the hour. The position is a difficult one. It is not easy to make it clearly understood that the Peace Society, either in this country or America (and the two societies are practically identical in basis and constitution), cannot be a political partizan. It exists for a definite object, and in proportion as it is partizan it is disloyal to its own purpose, and so far ineffective. Whereas, if it be true to itself, to its mission, and to the truth for which it testifies, it cannot fail until that has failed. If it becomes the mere repeater of party shibboleths, its work is ended, for that can be done better by other organizations more distinctly political. Political parties and their policies are temporary and fluctuating; the cause represented by the Peace Society is that of the King, and is eternal."

An appeal has been made to the country for the immediate raising of a large relief fund to be spent by the American National Red Cross, for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers during the war. The friends of peace have always been among the foremost to hasten to the relief of those suffering from war. The Red Cross movement was originated by a man who desired to see war abolished, and who, meanwhile, wanted every possible relief and comfort brought to those suffering from its ravages. We need not, therefore, urge our friends to respond to this call, knowing that they will do so of their own accord, according to their ability. Contributions may be sent to the treasurer of the General Committee of the American National Red Cross, Mr. T. D. Tappen, President of the Gallatin National Bank, New York City. Auxiliaries to the Red Cross work are being formed in many places.

The Red Cross is to carry its work of mercy onto the sea. The "Solace," an ordinary passenger steamer, has been fitted up for this work. It will follow the destructive war fleets operating about Cuba, and whenever there is a naval engagement, great or small, within its reach, it will gather the wounded from the ships and the drowning from the water. Spain has been informed of the character of the ship, which will carry no guns and will care for the wounded and drowning of both fleets alike. The "Solace" has a corps of surgeons, apothecaries, nurses and attendants. It is supplied with medicines, bandages, antiseptics, —everything, in fact, to make it independent of the land. The saloon of the vessel has been changed into an operating room with first-class appliances for surgical work. Eight hundred tons of fresh water are carried in the hold and serve as ballast. An apparatus for making artificial ice is also on board, as also one for turning salt water into fresh water. Swinging beds, made as comfortable as possible by means of springs, are provided, and there is an elevator for carrying wounded men on cots from one deck to another. One part of the vessel is isolated, for those who have contagious diseases.

We all rejoice in the service which the Red Cross renders in saving from death and from much suffering those who have been mangled in battle. It is a work eminently humane and Christian. But how hideous and inhuman war itself seems viewed alongside this work of love and mercy! It is probable that more than fifty millions of dollars have been spent by the Red Cross since its organization. Multitudes of people contribute to its support who will do nothing to support the movement for the abolition of war. Some day the grim incongruity will dawn upon men's minds, and then they will lay hold in solemn earnestness of the work of bringing to an end the whole ghastly business of war, a work inconceivably greater and more blessed than the great and blessed work of the Red Cross.

Much has recently been said, with great show of righteousness, about the sufferings of the non-combatants in Cuba, as if what has been going on there were unknown in what is called "civilized" warfare. Here is an account from a book recently published by a survivor of Grant's Last Campaign, which shows how non-combatants suffered in what has been considered the most righteous war in our century, our civil war:

"They all (the refugees) lived in discomfort. All were utterly poor. It seemed that they were too poor to ever again get a start in life. Their features were as expressionless as wood, their eyes lustreless. I talked to many of these women. All told stories of murder, of arson, of blood-curdling scenes. One told me that before the war she and her husband owned a mountain farm, where they lived in comfort. One day her husband was shot dead as he stood by her side in the door of their

house. She buried him in a grave she dug herself. She and her children tended the crops. These were burned shortly after they gathered them. Then her swine were stolen, and her cows and horse driven off. Finally her oldest son, a boy of fourteen, was shot dead at the spring, and her house and barn were burned in broad daylight, and she and her children were left homeless and without food on a desolate mountain-side. Long before this woman had finished her story she rose to her feet, her face was white with intense passion, her eyes blazed with fire, and her gaunt form quivered with excitement as she gesticulated savagely. She said that if she lived and her boys lived, she would have vengeance on the men who had murdered her husband and son, and destroyed her home. As she talked, so talked all. These women were saturating their children's minds with the stories of the wrongs they had endured. I heard them repeat over and over to their children the names of men which they were never to forget, and whom they were to kill when they had sufficient strength to hold a rifle."

Take the word war to pieces and spell it out in the direct deeds which it commits and the indirect deeds which are always the product of its spirit, and it is always essentially the same, with its endless variations of crime and misery. It can never be otherwise.

Prince Bismarck, as nearly all Continental Europeans, holds the United States responsible for the present war with Spain. In a recent table talk at his home at Friedrichsruhe, he is reported to have condemned the war outright as due to American provocation. He thinks the whole course of our country, in the matter, has been insincere; that the result of the war cannot be wholesome either to America or to Europe; that the United States will be forced to adopt an intermeddling policy, leading to unavoidable frictions; that the abandonment of her traditional peace policy will lead necessarily to her becoming a military and naval power. The main regrettable fact about the war he considers to be America's change of front which means retrogression of civilization.

This opinion, even though coming from a European source, is none the less valuable. It is the opinion held by very many of the best of our American people, whose greatest grief is that our country has deliberately thrown away the greatest opportunity that ever came to it, and hence can never be again, in the eyes of the world, what it has been in the past. Not the least of the misfortunes of the war is the loss by us of the high respect and confidence of Europe hitherto shown us. The feeling in Europe against us does not come really from European sympathy with Spain and the condoning of Spanish misrule and cruelty, but from disappointment that our country has seemingly broken down in its leadership in ideas and methods which were expected by Europeans themselves, tired as most of them are of the great militaristic course which is upon them, to ultimately bring relief to them from their crushing burdens. Chauvinistic Ameri-

cans may affect not to "care a snap" for European opinion, but this fact, instead of relieving the situation, only makes it the more unpromising. Why talk of these things now, we are asked. Why, for the very evident purpose of keeping as many eyes as possible open to the evil plight into which we have fallen, in order that the forces of recovery may be as numerous and vigorous as they can be made, when the days of destruction are past and the moment for them to reassert their sway comes. Something of the nation's former standing may be recovered. How much, will depend upon the post-bellum faithfulness of the tens of thousands of friends of peace whose silence and inactivity before the war left the war-making elements to push their schemes unmolested.

It is announced that the tribunal which is to adjust the British-Venezuela boundary dispute is to meet in Paris next winter. The case of Venezuela has already been laid before the members of the tribunal and that of Great Britain will be presented in July. The agent of Venezuela before the tribunal will be Dr. Jose Maria de Rojas. He will be assisted in the conduct of Venezuela's case by Ex-President Harrison, as chief counsel, and by Ex-Secretary of the Navy Tracy and Mr. S. Mallet-Prevost, former Secretary of the Venezuelan Commission, as assistant counsel. The four members of the tribunal provided for by the treaty of Washington in 1897, have chosen the distinguished Russian international jurist, Professor de Maartens, as the fifth member of the court.

Something of the enormous and growing burdens of war preparations upon the peoples of Europe may be vividly realized from what F. Marion Crawford has recently said about taxation in Italy. Mr. Crawford, who was born in Italy and owns property there, says that he himself pays, in national, provincial and commercial taxes, 42 per cent upon the assessed income of a few acres of land. On the assessed rent of his house he pays something over 23 per cent. The tax on incomes in Italy is 13½ per cent. There is no limit of estates, real or personal, below which taxation is not applied. In this way he accounts for the enormous immigration from Italy in recent years, which has diminished the farming population and thus crippled agriculture. Immense areas of land have been confiscated by the government for overdue taxes, and under existing circumstances no one would be willing to take these lands even as a gift. Such a condition of things Mr. Crawford considers incipient national bankruptcy.

Loudly as these facts speak, the leaders of no nation pay the least attention to them, so blinded and hardened are they by the war-god. There is no end to the millions that are voted without the least hesitation, when the cry of war necessity is raised. The real interests of the

people, that is, of the country, come in for no consideration at all.

Justin McCarthy, M. P., who is so little of a peace man that he does "not know whether there is a peace society in England at present," has nevertheless, as many of his compatriots in authority have not, some Anglo-Saxon common-sense left in his head. He is not disposed to regard with favor some of England's colonial military enterprises. In a recent article in the *New York Independent* he thus speaks of the Nile expedition and the "wiping out" of the Dervish army by Sir Herbert Kitchener's forces:

"But I do not find myself able to get into any actual raptures over the event. I do not quite know what we are to gain by getting to Khartûm, and I find that most of those who rejoice over the opening of the way there know just as little as I do myself. I do not believe that one Englishman in ten thousand has the faintest idea of what our rulers mean by opening the way to Khartûm. I know that the English public have never been consulted on the subject, and that not one man in ten, even in the House of Commons, has any clear idea as to the real object of our policy in Southern Egypt. Therefore, I find myself a little out of tune with the general rejoicing, and I cannot help thinking of the brave fellows, officers and men, who died to accomplish this triumph, and of their lamenting families at home; and I have not yet had explained to me by any competent authority what are the precise benefits which compensate the nation for this sacrifice of gallant lives. . . . I have often thought of late how much we miss the clear voice and the strong influence of a man like John Bright, who could stand up in the face of a whole impassioned country and condemn a war — any war — which was not shown to be just and necessary. There is no voice now in England like that of Mr. Bright — no voice coming from a really great orator, who ventures to stand up for the gospel of peace. So far as I know, the pulpits of the English State Church have not much concerned themselves of late years about that gospel of peace. Now we get into a war, no one knows why — a war of which all we know is that it certainly is not a war of national defense; and when our brave soldiers win a victory, we are bidden to rejoice; and if any one expresses the slightest doubt as to the occasion for the joy, he is at once set down by the majority of his acquaintances as a Little-Englander, or an Irish Nationalist, or some equally objectionable person. Perhaps the time may come when the memory of Prince Bismarck will be less honored by thoughtful and impartial men for his triumph over Austria and over France than for the noble declaration which he once gave forth, that the Eastern Question was not worth to Prussia the blood of a single Pomerania grenadier."

The trouble in England, as in this country, is not that there is not some great national orator like Bright to lift up his voice against "unjust and unnecessary wars," but that the multitudes of ordinary men who believe that wars are wrong do not lift up *their* voices in favor of peace. The influence of John Bright for peace is dying out in England because the small orators everywhere in the

nation do not do in their sphere what he did in his. If every man who really believes that war is unholy and abominable would seriously take in hand his six nearest neighbors, the goddess of peace would get to her throne much faster than she does.

The death of William Ewart Gladstone has removed from the world the man who in important respects was the foremost man of his time. His long and eminent service in political life, the strength, purity and simplicity of his character, his oratorical greatness, the breadth of his scholarship, the depth, sincerity and fervor of his Christian life, the nature of the causes which he espoused, all combined to give him a distinction falling to the lot of few men in any age. Mr. Gladstone cannot be said to have been a man of original principles and measures. He was a conservative opportunist, though his opportunism usually went to the side of right and good, which he advocated with great power and sincerity. During his earlier life, the peace movement, as advocated by Cobden, Bright and Henry Richard, did not appeal to him very strongly. He had much to do, however, with the development of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, though he always manifested a certain caution about the subject, even in his speech on the Cremer resolution in June, 1893. Since then the subject, which has in recent years so rapidly come to the front, seems to have constantly taken deeper and deeper hold of him, and during his last weeks the wish for the peace of the world was one of those most continually uppermost in his mind. We cannot forbear to mention in this necessarily brief note what seems to us one of the very greatest acts of statesmanship ever done by Mr. Gladstone. This was his stopping the war with the Boers in South Africa, after the defeat of the English forces in battle, purely on the ground that England was in the wrong and ought not to prosecute the war another step. He ventured, in doing this, to brave the dislike of the English public, which was enthusiastic for the war and not likely to take his act kindly after the humiliation of a British defeat. But, to his lasting honor, he did what was right, and it would be greatly to the credit of statesmen and cabinets everywhere if they would follow his example in similar cases. An unrighteous war can never be made righteous by prosecuting it until victory comes, and no nation can save its honor by continuing to do a wicked thing.

We had not been able to get a copy of the resolution in favor of arbitration passed at the Congress of Mothers recently held in Washington, until the moment of going to press. It was with some difficulty that the subject got any consideration. But the friends of peace in the Congress, supported by the president, insisted that the subject, so germane to the work of women, should not be

crowded out, by reason of the crisis through which the nation is passing. The Countess di Brazza, who represented the American Peace Society as a delegate in the Congress, as well as the Peace and Arbitration Committee of the National Council of Women, of which she is Chairman, did splendid service in helping to hold the Congress true to the high cause of peace in its international as well as in its social and domestic aspects. The resolution is as follows:

"Resolved, that the Second Congress of Mothers proclaims its belief in the brotherhood of man, and that it recommends the settlement of all national and international difficulties by mutual agreement or arbitration, as between the brothers of one universal household."

The French Peace Bureau was founded in December, 1896 and entered upon its work at 6 rue Favart, Paris, in January, 1897. The object of the Bureau is to serve as a bond of union between the peace societies in France, between these societies and the International Peace Bureau at Berne, and in general to promote the peace propaganda. The report of the work of the Bureau for the first year is before us. It covers a pamphlet of twenty-four pages. The Bureau has given its chief attention to the promotion of peace ideas through the general press. It republished the "Appeal to Educators of Youth," prepared by the International Peace Bureau, and sent this to eighty French educational periodicals. Some French papers of a general character have put themselves at the service of the Bureau. The Bureau has commenced the collection of a library of peace literature, both for loaning purposes and for reference.

Hon. Henry U. Johnson of Indiana introduced into the House of Representatives on Monday, May 9th, the following joint resolution for the neutralization of the Hawaiian Islands:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered to appoint three commissioners to meet a like number of commissioners appointed on the part of each of the governments of Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Austro-Hungary, Italy, Japan and China, to meet at the city of Washington at as early a date as may be practicable, the said commissioners to formulate and consider, and report to their respective governments a plan for the neutralization and independence of the Sandwich Islands and the prevention in the future of any nation taking possession of said islands, either directly or indirectly.

That the sum of \$—be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the said commission."

The plan for the neutralization of Hawaii has been discussed in private circles for some years, but this is the first effort made to secure Congressional action on the

subject. The strong opposition in both branches of Congress to the scheme of annexation is likely to awaken serious attention to the Johnson resolution as outlining the only method of dealing with the Hawaiian problem in a manner to solve it for all time. It is thought by some that the participation of the United States in the neutralization of the Sandwich Islands would lead to our becoming involved in "entangling alliances" with the nations of the old world, but the advocates of neutralization believe that this is the only way to prevent the Hawaiian problem from bringing us into entangling alliances of a very serious nature.

While we object as seriously as the stoutest advocate of the Monroe doctrine can do to the United States involving herself in any sort of military alliance with the nations of Europe, or with any other, for that matter, we believe that every interest of humanity requires that she should cooperate with them along all peaceful lines. If our country should invite all the great powers to join her in taking such a step as this, it is almost certain that a favorable response would be given, and thus a great step in the way of friendly and purely peaceful international cooperation would have been taken. The Johnson resolution deserves the most careful consideration on the part both of Congress and the people at large.

We take from the *Philadelphia Times* of May 9th, the following note describing an interesting movement among the children of Philadelphia recently set on foot by the Universal Peace Union of that city:

"Yesterday afternoon a meeting was held in Washington Hall, Fourth and South streets, to inaugurate a movement which, it is believed, will result in a very marked beneficial effect among the youth of the neighborhood. The meeting which was under the auspices of the Universal Peace Union, was called for the purpose of organizing the young people, both boys and girls, into small bands, with the object of instilling into their minds the principles of peace and social order, so as to make of them good and useful citizens.

The president of the Peace Union, Alfred H. Love, presided and explained to the three hundred or more children present the object for which they had come together. The Rev. Amanda Deyo, of Dutchess county, New York, also made an address, after which fully half of the children enrolled their names as members of the bands. Others who were present and assisted in the work of organization were Dr. Moses Stearn, the originator of the movement; Thomas J. Whitney and Mrs. Whitney, P. B. Hall, Dr. Sarah T. R. Eavenson, Miss Jane Weedon and Miss Frances Gibson Smith.

The children took hold of the idea very enthusiastically, and it is Dr. Stearn's idea to train them into a realization of the advantages of arbitration in the settlement of their disputes; and through them to reach their parents. The next meeting will be held at the same place on the second Sunday in June."

In his recent address on the Development of the Re-

sources of the Southern States before the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Edward Atkinson spoke thus of war and the militarism of the day:

"In prehistoric times men supplied their wants as the beasts did, by rapine and violence. In these modern days few nations have yet risen above the level of the beasts. Hence war or the preparation for war is the leading occupation of the people of Central Europe. *War is hell.* Militarism, such as rules all Central Europe, is the development of hell upon earth.

Wars of religion (God save the mark!) are over, but the threat of war, owing to the desire to attain the sole control of trade, still degrades nations that are called Christian. The passive war of the military castes, seeking to maintain privileges which are no longer coupled with duties, is ruining nations. If our standing army and navy were equal in ratio to population to those of France and Germany, it would number over nine hundred thousand men. That is about the number in our railway service. Our power of production is plus the nine hundred thousand men in our railway service. The power of production of France and Germany is minus the nine hundred thousand who are wasting their lives in camp and barrack and bringing the people to inevitable bankruptcy, on the lead of Spain which is bankrupt, while Cuba has been desolated through ignorance or neglect of the simplest principles of commerce. We have been free of militarism, let us keep so; then our national taxes may remain as they now are—less than half in money those of the lightest taxed nations in Europe; less than a third in ratio to our greater product."

### Brevities.

Any persons having copies of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for March of this year, and not wishing to preserve them, will confer a great favor by sending them to this office.

... The Fourth Annual Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration meets, by invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., on the first, second and third days of June. A large number of persons have accepted invitations to the Conference. A report of the proceedings will be given in the July number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

... The Congregational Mission at San Sebastian, Spain, has been removed across the French border to Biarritz, on account of the war.

... The United States Sanitary Commission, an organization of private gentlemen, spent during the Civil War, in money and supplies, about twenty-one millions of dollars in the relief of wounded and sick soldiers.

... What a fine-looking thing is war! Yes, disguise it as we may, dress and feather it, daub it with gold, huzza it, and sing swaggering songs about it, what is it nine times out of ten but murder in uniform — Cain taking the sergeant's shilling. — *Douglas Jerrold.*

... Overgrown military establishments are under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are particularly hostile to republican liberty. — *George Washington.*

... The law of nations is naturally founded on this principle, that different nations ought in time of peace to do one another all the good they can, and in time of war as little harm as possible, without prejudicing their real interests. — *Montesquien's "Spirit of Laws," Vol. I., chap. 3.*

... The present debt of Great Britain, nearly all due to wars, amounts to \$3,200,000,000.

... The best model is traced by Fenelon, in that sentence which paints his heart: "I prefer my family to myself, my country to my family, mankind to my country." — *Hildreth's "Bentham on Legislation," Vol. II., page 221.*

... Mr. George T. Angell, President of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, has received a letter from the United States Quartermaster-General, assuring him that animals severely wounded in battle will be promptly and mercifully killed.

... During the Franco-Prussian war, thirteen million dollars were contributed to the Red Cross Society for its work, and in the Russo-Turkish war, over seventeen millions. Will some one tell us how many millions, or half-millions, or quarter millions, have been contributed in a whole century to the still more noble work of preventing war?

... The Annual meeting of the London Peace Society was held on Tuesday evening, May 17th. We shall hope to have some account of the meeting for our July number.

... The war has interfered seriously with ocean travel, as much as fifty per cent. in case of first-class passenger traffic. It is not all a matter of fear of the Spaniards, from whom there is not the least danger as the steamers are all carrying foreign flags. The threatened derangement of the "purse" because of the war is an equally powerful motive for keeping people at home.

... War from the private soldier's or sailor's point of view is at best a dull, coarse, squalid business, — a dreary monotony varied by infrequent spasms of intense exertion, excitement, horror, and exultation or dejection. — *President Eliot.*

... The expenditures of the government are now exceeding the receipts by nearly one million per day, and the excess is expected to be greater as the volunteers are brought into service.

### Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society.

The Seventieth Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society was held in Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, Boston, Monday, May 9th, at 2.30 P.M.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine, President of the Society, was in the chair.

Rev. Charles G. Ames invoked the divine blessing upon the Society and its work, upon the country, and upon

all mankind, that righteousness and peace may come to prevail.

Georgia B. Birdsall was chosen Secretary for the meeting, and the records of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

Secretary Trueblood presented to the meeting, and read parts of, letters received from a number of members expressing regret that they could not be present, and declaring their continued interest in the work of the Society.

On motion, a committee of three was appointed by the chair to bring forward names of officers to serve the Society for the coming year. The committee consisted of Rev. Charles G. Ames, Rev. S. C. Bushnell and Mr. William E. Sheldon.

The General Secretary reported that all of the persons chosen to official positions at the last annual meeting had accepted their appointment.

The reports of the treasurer and the auditor were then read. The treasurer's report showed that the sum of \$5946.06 had been received during the year, and \$5834.14 expended, leaving a balance of \$111.92 in the treasurer's hands, with unpaid bills to the amount \$1177.13. Offsetting this the treasurer had in his hands a one thousand dollar railroad bond.

On motion the reports of the treasurer and the auditor were received and placed on file.

Secretary Trueblood explained that the estimated income from all sources for the coming year would fall at least fifteen hundred dollars short of what was needed to carry on the work of the society as extensively as at the present time. Members were invited to make such contributions as they were able to do, to remember the Society in their wills and to induce their friends to do so.

The report of the Committee on nominations was presented by Mr. Bushnell. It was accepted and the persons named were by unanimous vote elected to the several offices. The names of George Foster Peabody of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens of Portland, Me., were added to the list of vice-presidents, that of Rev. W. E. Barton, D.D., to the Board of Directors and that of Moorfield Storey, Esq., to the Honorary Counsel. (The full list is found on page 122.)

The annual report of the Board of Directors was then read by Secretary Trueblood. Remarks upon the report and upon the condition of the country at the present time were made by several members.

Mr. L. H. Pillsbury explained how he became interested in the peace cause and the work of the Society years ago. He thought that if peace principles would be right in the millennium they were right now and ought to be upheld even if one had to stand alone.

N. T. Allen believed that if President McKinley had

been given time he would have brought about a peaceful solution of the whole Cuban trouble. Congress was to be condemned for its haste. Peaceful negotiations are always slow and cannot be hurried.

Mrs. G. A. Gibson spoke of her recently awakened interest in the cause of peace, through listening to an address by Secretary Trueblood, and said that the cause should have her continued support and coöperation.

Rev. C. B. Smith expressed his appreciation of the report and regretted that the funds of the Society were not such as to justify a much larger extension of its work, through lectures in the schools and colleges, etc.

Mr. Paine admirably summed up the nature of the work of the Society, as not so much consisting in efforts by petition and otherwise to prevent war in times of great excitement and passion, as in constant education of the public sentiment and conscience of the nation. Only along this line was there any real hope of success. (The report of the Directors is given in full below.)

The question of resolutions was raised. It was considered best not to attempt to formulate any resolutions at this time, but to let the report of the Directors, broad and comprehensive as it was, speak for the Society.

The meeting, which had been an interesting and enthusiastic one, in spite of the cloud of war under which it met, then adjourned.

## Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society.

*Mr. President and Members of the American Peace Society:*

The Seventieth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society is herewith respectfully submitted.

Since our appointment at the annual meeting last year we have endeavored as far as possible with the resources at our command to prosecute the work for whose promotion the Society has so long labored.

### MEETINGS OF THE BOARD.

The Board has held five regular meetings during the year, at intervals of two months, no meeting being held in the month of July. The meetings have been generally well attended. Aside from the general subjects which the Board has always under consideration, matters of peculiar concern have the past year come before us, which have given rise to serious discussion and to such action as the special circumstances seemed to call for.

### PERIODICALS.

Our monthly publications, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and the *ANGEL OF PEACE*, have both been continued under the editorial care of the Secretary. The interest taken in both these papers has been good, and their circulation has been actively promoted by a number of peace-workers in different parts of the country. The *ADVOCATE* has been sent, as heretofore for some years, to the reading rooms of all the universities and colleges,



law schools and theological seminaries of the country, to several hundred Y. M. C. A. rooms, to a number of public libraries, to many ministers, teachers, etc. All the funds available have been used for this purpose, and very much larger amounts could have been most profitably spent. Much remains to be done in putting the paper into the hands of persons whose influence would be exceedingly valuable if it could be brought actively to support the cause. We are convinced that the real friends of peace are more numerous than is sometimes supposed, but many of them have never become acquainted with the movement in its organized form, and as yet have not actively associated themselves with it. It is most desirable to reach these and to secure their active coöperation. The members of the Society in different parts of the land can do much by calling the attention of such persons to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and inducing them to become members of the Society or subscribers to the paper. We earnestly recommend this course to all the members.

#### GENERAL LITERATURE.

Since the last annual meeting we have added to our general literature Kants' "Perpetual Peace" in a new translation, and three letter leaflets suited for children and young people. We have kept in stock, for sale and for free distribution, supplies of more than thirty different kinds of pamphlets, leaflets and reports, treating of practically all the phases of peace and arbitration. We have also sold and distributed gratuitously many copies of standard peace works, as Sumner's "True Grandeur of Nations," Dymond's "Essay on War," the Baroness von Suttner's "Lay Down Your Arms," etc. "Christian Martyrdom in Russia," a new book recently published in London, giving an account of the dreadful persecutions of the non-resistant Doukhoborts in the Caucasus, we have also added to our stock. The demand for peace literature, especially fresh documents, reports, etc., has been good.

#### PUBLIC WORK.

Members of the Board, as well as other members of the Society, have been actively engaged during the year in furthering the peace propaganda by means of lectures, sermons, articles in the newspapers, speeches at various society and club meetings, private efforts with individuals, etc. President Paine and Secretary Trueblood went with a Committee of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference in November to have an interview with the President and the Secretary of State in the interest of the revival of the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty. Two other members of the Mohonk Committee, Mr. Samuel B. Capen of Boston and Hon. Philip C. Garrett of Philadelphia, are also members of the American Peace Society. The Secretary, in addition to his editorial and office duties, has during the year given a number of public addresses, which have resulted in awakening much interest, in the addition of a number of members to the Society and of new subscriptions to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Several new members have also been added through special efforts of members of the Board.

#### THE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

Members of the Board and other members of the Society, at the invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, attended and took part in the Third Annual Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, held in June last. The

Conference was one of great interest, lasted three days, and was attended by about one hundred and fifty persons, who had been specially invited by Mr. Smiley. The discussions, which were able and interesting, centered about the unratified Anglo-American Treaty and the subject of a permanent international tribunal, on which strong emphasis was laid by the Conference. The general feeling of the Conference, while tinged with disappointment over the defeat of the treaty, was one of great hopefulness. A full stenographic report of the proceedings edited by our Secretary, was published by the Conference, and distributed to the number of ten thousand copies.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS AT HAMBURG.

The Eighth International Peace Congress was held at Hamburg from the 12th to the 16th of last August. This Congress was in many respects the most significant peace gathering ever held. It was the first of its kind held in the German Empire, where the peace movement had begun to take hold of the people scarcely six years before. There were present more than two hundred delegates representing societies in seventeen nations. More than twenty of the leading German cities were represented. The Congress was given a cordial welcome by the officials of Hamburg, and extended daily reports of its proceedings were given in the papers of the city. The Congress was marked by an unusual degree of enthusiasm. At the public meeting held on the evening of the opening day in the largest hall in the city it was estimated that not less than four thousand people were present. Secretary Trueblood went as the delegate of the American Peace Society to this Congress. He was received with the greatest cordiality and respect, made one of the vice-presidents of the Congress, and took part in the discussions and deliberations. This Congress, held as it was in the chief commercial city of the continent of Europe, was looked upon by all present as marking a distinct and encouraging epoch in the history of the peace movement.

#### THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE.

Prior to the meeting of the Peace Congress at Hamburg, the Interparliamentary Peace Union held its Eighth Annual Conference at Brussels from the 8th to the 12th of August, under the presidency of Mr. Bernaert, speaker of the Belgian House of Representatives. The subjects treated by the Conference were an international court of arbitration, treaties of arbitration, especially the Anglo-American treaty, the allaying of international differences, and special arbitral conventions. We need only recall that this Interparliamentary Union now has over fifteen hundred members, with groups in all the European parliaments. Hon. S. J. Barrows attended the meeting at Brussels, the first of our Congressmen to attend the Conference since 1889 when it first met at Paris.

#### THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The Annual meeting of the Institute of International Law was held at Copenhagen beginning on the 26th of August. The Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, in welcoming the Institute, referred to the growing interest in the work sought to be promoted by it, namely, the establishment of fixed common rules of procedure in international relations and the substitution therein of law in the place of passion and violence. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Goos, a member of the state council.

## GROWTH AND WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

Many new peace societies have been organized in Europe within the last twelve months, and one in this country, in Chicago. A list of the Societies published by the Peace Bureau on the first of March last shows more than four hundred such organizations, including branch societies now working in Europe. Many of these Societies are small, but a few of them are large, that at Hamburg, which is only three years old, numbering a thousand members. They are all composed of earnest and capable men and women, and in many places their propaganda is carried on, in the midst of great difficulties, with a devotion and self-sacrifice which might well be the envy of some of our older organizations. Fifteen papers devoted exclusively to the subject of peace are now published in Europe, in seven different languages. The peace societies in this country have not been remiss in their duty during the critical events of the year. They have all spoken out in a clear and vigorous voice in behalf of a policy of peace as not only right for the nation to pursue but as more sure in the long run to secure the permanent ends of liberty, justice and order both for our own land and for others near or far away. Our own society has been strengthened during the year by the addition of a considerable number of new members. On the 22d of February, in accordance with a vote of the Peace Congress, a general peace manifestation was made, in which a considerable number, though not all, of the peace societies took part.

## THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU.

The International Peace Bureau at Berne has done its work efficiently during the year, serving as a means of speedy intercommunication between the peace societies, and of executing the enactments of the Peace Congress. Under the direction of its efficient Secretary, Mr. Ducommun, it is collecting and arranging a valuable library of peace literature. Secretary Trueblood was in August last reelected a member of the Commission of the Bureau.

## PEACE SUNDAY.

The observance of the Sunday before Christmas as Peace Sunday still continues. Though it has not been possible to secure anything like a general observance of the day in this country, owing to the impossibility of communicating with all the hundred thousand ministers, and for other reasons, yet the day was so kept this year by many ministers and Sunday schools. In England much more regard for the day was shown in the churches. It is fair to say that in this country, in time of peace at any rate, the subject of peace receives increasing attention from time to time by the pulpit. One could wish that the whole body of religious teachers of the country had gone deep enough into the inmost spirit of the gospel to make it proof against the clamorous calls of war.

## CASES OF ARBITRATION.

The year has not been one specially marked by important new cases of international arbitration. There has been substantial progress, however, along this line, mostly in work on cases already referred a year ago.

The Venezuela Commission has chosen its umpire, Professor Maartens of Russia, and has been working diligently in the examination of documents relating to the disputed boundary.

The Behring Sea Damages Commission has finished its work and awarded to Great Britain the sum of

\$473,151.26. This amount has not yet been paid, but provision for its settlement is now under consideration in Congress and the appropriation will doubtless be made before Congress adjourns.

The arbitrators in the case of Great Britain and Portugal over the Manica frontier have rendered their decision awarding Great Britain three-fourths of the territory in dispute.

The Delagoa Bay Railway arbitration has made progress, the experts sent out by the Swiss arbitrators having recently made their report, the whole case being thus put into shape for speedy solution.

The Anglo-French Commission appointed sometime ago to determine all the disputed matters of boundary between the French and English colonies in West Africa have been at work during the year, but have not yet concluded their labors, which have been rendered more difficult by reason of fresh complications in those regions.

The treaty between France and Brazil referring to arbitration the dispute over the French-Guiana boundary has been ratified, and the difference is in a fair way to be early disposed of.

The arbitration between Great Britain and the United States of Colombia over the matter of the construction of a railway in the territory of the latter has made progress.

An arbitration is in progress between Great Britain and Belgium touching the expulsion of one Mr. Tillett, a British subject, from Antwerp.

A dispute between Great Britain and Germany over claims made by the Denhardt Bros., of Southeast Africa, has been referred to an arbitration commission.

Peru and Bolivia have referred a territorial dispute to the arbitration of Spain; Costa Rica and Colombia a similar one to the decision of the President of France; Hayti and San Domingo a like dispute to the judgment of the Pope.

A dispute between France and Germany in reference to their possessions in the "Hinterland" of Toga, in West Africa, and one between Japan and Hawaii touching immigration have also been referred to arbitration for adjustment.

This is not a bad record for a year of wars and rumors of wars. It proves that the spirit of reason and fairness, of patience and considerateness, has already won a strong footing in the relations of nations to each other, and that international hate and violence, strong and aggressive as they still are, are steadily, if more slowly than we could wish, being driven back into ever narrower limits. The number of these cases also demonstrates, more powerfully than any abstract argument can do, the pressing necessity of a permanent international tribunal to which all such cases may go as a matter of course, without the endless parleyings, the uncertainties and the delays attending the present arbitral methods.

## ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION.

There has been no apparent progress in the matter of an Anglo-American treaty. William Randall Cremer has been to this country again in its interests. So has a prominent English clergyman, Dr. Berry. The Mohonk Committee above referred to found President McKinley heartily in sympathy with the project of arbitration treaties with other countries. He expressed himself strongly in his annual message and promised the committee to do all in his power to promote the subject.

But the subject has for the moment dropped out of sight, owing to the various absorbing political complications, internal and external. It is thought that the treaty will be promoted by the friendliness which Great Britain is showing this country in its present conflict with Spain. However this may be, there is little that can be done toward reviving the treaty until the return of peace.

#### END OF THE GRÆCO-TURKISH WAR.

We are glad to be able to say that the war between Greece and Turkey, which had just broken out at the time of our last annual meeting and threatened to spread the flames of war widely in Europe, was of only brief duration. Through the intervention of the powers Turkey was prevented from continuing her conquest of Greece, and Crete has been put into the way of securing practical freedom, a thing which the powers had already determined upon and would certainly have been secured without war but for the passion and haste which precipitated hostilities.

#### THE ENGLISH COLONIAL WARS.

Among the deplorable events of the year has been the fierce and bloody contest of the British with the mountain tribes on the northwest frontier of India. This conflict, which according to accumulated British testimony has grown out of British aggression upon the territories of these independent tribes, has already been productive of much loss of life and great suffering. It is expected that the fighting will be renewed with the coming of spring and that there will be further destruction of life and property and further burden of taxation to be borne by the natives, on whom the whole cost of the war has been so unjustly and cruelly laid by the home government. If Anglo-Saxon civilization is not to be visited with the just judgments of heaven and fall ultimately from the high place which it holds and over which it boasts so loudly, it cannot too speedily throw off the spirit and the practices which lead to these incessant slaughters of the native races.

On the Nile, England has again entered on a "forward policy," the purpose of which has been openly declared to be the possession of a section of Eastern Africa the whole length of the continent. This means violence, bloodshed, hate, the tyranny of might, the absence of all the finer Christian virtues, for no one knows how many years to come, in the conquest of those regions which Livingstone, the noblest of explorers, believed could be won to civilization without the drawing of a single sword.

The situation in South Africa is not so threatening as it was a year ago, but the peace which exists there is a very unstable one, as will always be any peace which results only from the counteraction of the forces of selfishness, greed and violence playing against one another.

#### THE POWERS AND CHINA.

The situation in the Far East is such as to awaken the gravest fears that a long period of conflict is coming attended possibly by war of colossal proportions and the direst character. Germany, Russia and France seem deliberately to have entered upon a policy of encroachment upon Chinese territory, utterly regardless of the rights of the Chinese,—a policy limited in its execution only by their power and their fear of one another. Great Britain, which at first stood aloof and protested in the name of right and of free commerce, seems at last to have surrendered and joined the rest in the purpose to take all

of the Chinese territory which she can seize. The sudden appearance of the United States in the Philippine Islands, as the result of war, increases temporarily and possibly permanently the complication and criticalness of the Eastern situation. It is useless to attempt to forecast the outcome. But these movements of the nations in the Far East indicate very clearly that the policy of international malevolence and aggression is not soon to be abandoned, unless there comes a very radical change in the public sentiment which makes and supports governments.

#### THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN ARMAMENTS.

European armaments continue to grow and to add to the burdens already so heavy on the people. Russia is making a large increase in her navy. France is increasing both her army and her navy. The German Emperor has at last carried his will in the Reichstag and Germany enters for the first time upon extensive naval development. England is steadily adding to her vast fleet of war vessels, and is just now enlarging her army. Japan is racing to overtake the rest, and even China, which moves in no other direction, is moving along this line. What is the end of it all to be?

#### THE WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

It is with profound regret that we have to record that war has broken out between our own country and the Kingdom of Spain, over the condition of affairs in Cuba. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, in common with many agencies throughout the country, we did what we could to prevent an appeal to the bloody arbitrament of war. Sympathizing, in common with all humane men and women, with the sufferings brought on by the long continued and utterly barbarous war in Cuba and desiring to see the desolation and woe speedily come to an end, we believed it right for our government to use its fullest moral influence to bring about the pacification of the island. The pacific policy which the President had entered upon to bring about this result had our hearty approval. At our regular meeting on the 28th of March we sent a message (afterwards published in the *Advocate of Peace* and in the press of the country) to him expressing this approval, and also declaring our belief that if this pacific course were patiently followed a while longer it would, in view of Spain's disposition to make concession after concession, result in the cessation of the war and in the freedom of the Cuban people. We greatly regret that this wise policy, the successful issue of which would have been a triumph to civilization rarely paralleled in history, was not supported by all in authority and followed out to the end.

Now that war is on, and nothing more can be done in the line of our previous efforts to prevent it, we hope and pray that it may speedily end, that it may be overruled for as much good as possible to Cuba, to the other Spanish colonies, and Spain herself, and that the evils always resulting from war may be as few and small as possible to our own country and the rest of the world. These evils—the decline of the religious spirit, the lowering of the standard of morals, the perversion of the public taste, the impairment of literature, the arrest of educational and philanthropic work, the derangement of business, the re-creation of warlike instincts and of love of war and its glamour, the increase of violence and disrespect for law and order, the distraction of the people from their true and abiding interests, the de-

velopment of a spirit of speculation and corruption in business circles, the advancement of the military classes over civilians, the strengthening of the already dangerous jingo elements in the nation, the sharpening of the restless desire to enter upon a policy of territorial conquest and meddlesomeness in international affairs, the increase of national pride and boastfulness, and of dislike and distrust of foreigners who may happen in any way to disagree with us, the temporary blocking of the movement for larger international friendship and coöperation—these evils, in part or in whole, in greater or in less degree, are sure to come, nay, are already coming upon us in a way to awaken the deepest concern of all truly good and patriotic citizens. Even while the war is still going on, it is the duty of all the members of this Society, nay, of all good men and women everywhere, whatever they may think individually about the righteousness or unrighteousness of the war, to do their utmost, in season out of season, to prevent these evils from perverting and debauching the public spirit and thus imperilling the mission of the nation. Something in this direction can be done even in the midst of the clash of arms, when the multitude of thoughtless people are making holiday over the crushing and humiliation of the Spanish nation. When the war is over, the friends of peace will need to redouble their efforts in every direction.

#### THE OUTLOOK.

The events through which we are passing, through which the world is passing, make it perfectly plain that the spirit, the false ideas, the habits of thought and life, the political methods, out of which war springs, are by no means conquered. The true friends of peace are those who not only see the strength and promise of their own principles, but who estimate at its full the might of the enemy against whom they have to contend, and who divine their task accordingly. We would not, however, counsel fear and discouragement. There is every reason to be brave and hopeful. The gain to the cause of peace, social and international, since the American Peace Society was organized seventy years ago, has been enormous. The check to the cause occasioned by the present war, and by the jealousies and conflicts in other parts of the world, can be only temporary. The movement has grown too strong and is too deeply rooted in the love, the intelligence and the better instincts of a growing body of people throughout the world to suffer any permanent check. It may be that, from the reaction produced by the desolations and horrors of the conflict now going on, the movement is to break out with increased volume and power after the war is over, as it has done after nearly all the war periods of the century. Surely the present is no time to grow faithless or cowardly. The cause of peace and goodwill on earth is the cause of God and of man, and every true friend of the race may well count himself honored to labor, to sacrifice and if need be to suffer in order to advance it a little further toward complete realization.

#### DEATH OF MEMBERS.

In closing, we have to record with sincere sorrow the loss which the Society has sustained during the year by the death of a number of highly honored members. Prominent among these were Dr. J. H. Allen, a faithful and honored member of our Board, Dr. L. H. Angier, whose devoted service in the Society had extended over a period of thirty-four years as a Director and Vice-Presi-

dent, Hon. George S. Hale, a distinguished member of our Honorary Counsel, a man who was a personal embodiment of the spirit of goodwill and peace, and Frances E. Willard, who had been for some years a Vice-President of the Society, and whose name suggests all that she was as an unsurpassed advocate of human good. To these must be added a number of persons in different places, less known to fame, but each and all having done efficient service in helping to bring in that better day when love, justice and liberty shall reign and wars shall cease to the ends of the earth.

With reverent thankfulness to God for the grace and strength for service which he has granted us during the year, we respectfully submit this report.

On behalf the Board of Directors,

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, *Secretary*.

Boston, May 9, 1898.

## The Song of the War-Fiend.

BY ARTHUR B. DU SOIR.

Ha! ha! Ha! ha! for the feast of blood,  
For the carnival of gore,  
When men shall fight, by day and night,  
And slay on sea and shore.  
"Kill, kill!" "Kill, kill!" is my order shrill,  
And the mind of man is mad;  
And the angel of Grace doth hide her face,  
And the soul of Peace is sad.

The powers of hell will aid me well,  
As I fiercely rise from sleep:  
Riches and skill shall obey my will,  
The harvest of Death to reap.  
The joys that Peace in a hundred years  
Has earned, in a day I'll take;  
I'll gaily scream as the cannons gleam,  
And a million hearts shall break.

Yet what care I for the widow's cry,  
Or the orphan's feeble wail?  
When the ocean tide with blood is dyed  
And the fire sweeps hill and dale.  
And little I care for the mother's prayer,  
When her son lies cold and stark,  
For deep is the death from the blasting breath,  
When the war-dogs wildly bark.

And glassy eyes shall gaze at the skies,  
Mute lips to Heaven appeal;  
And the likeness of God be crushed to the sod,  
'Neath the tramp of the war-fiend's heel.  
Ha! ha! Ha! ha! for the feast of blood,  
For the carnival of gore,  
When men shall fight, by day and night,  
And slay on sea and shore. —*London Echo*.

## In War Time.

A SERMON PREACHED IN THE CHURCH OF THE DISCIPLES,  
BOSTON, APRIL 24, 1898.

BY CHARLES G. AMES, D.D.

"When ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, be ye not troubled; for such things must needs be. . . . Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there will be earthquakes in divers places, and there will be famines and troubles. These are the beginnings of travail."—MARK xiii. 7, 8.

With words like these did Jesus prepare his disciples to look with calmness on earthly scenes of violence and confusion. If we have been instructed in his school and have caught his spirit, we shall contemplate worldly events

from a point above the world, — not from indifference, but in confidence that, when the waters roar and are troubled and the floods lift up their voice, there is above all a Power mightier than the proud waves of the sea. Then comes a hint of the great hope that all these convulsions are "the beginning of travail," the mighty birth-pangs of creation groaning in its struggle to produce a diviner race of men, the true sons of God.

Wars and rumors of war! "Such things must needs be," says Jesus. Why must there be wars and fightings? James, the kinsman of Jesus, finds their origin in the activity of the lower range of human passions, which recognize no restraint of moral law. "It must needs be that offences will come; but woe to the man by whom they come!" And woe to the nation which is dragged into war by immoral or non-moral forces within itself! But when a nation engages in war to defend its own existence, or from pure promptings of sympathy with outraged and helpless neighbors, heaven and earth must see the case in a very different light. And so must the most ardent non-resistant. There are wars and wars, though all are to be classed with earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and other evils, whose outcome may yet be for good.

I speak to those who wish and seek the welfare and happiness of all mankind, — those whose love of country makes them long to see the United States foremost in the procession of human benefactors, and who therefore cannot witness without grief and shame any single step of public policy aside from the open path of reason, fairness and equity.

In a conflict between our own imperfect civilization and the cruel, blood-sucking barbarism of belated mediævalism, surely no American can wish for the triumph of the arms of Spain. If the wretched condition of Cuba is due in part to the atrocities of the insurgents, and still more to the murderous military policy of the Spaniards, we are to remember that the whole horrible situation is the outcome of a system of oppression, plunder and misrule, which has been going on for four hundred years.

According to my reading of recent history, it had become urgently necessary for the United States to intervene. So long as our intervention was along the lines of diplomacy and friendly protest, — firm and with little menace, — I believe the Spanish government was gradually yielding to the moral pressure brought to bear by our wise President. He seems to have acted in the spirit of Washington, who in his Farewell Address used these words: "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and not too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

The present Spanish prime minister, who is avowedly liberal, had seemed disposed to meet us half-way. Hence his offer to give to Cuba a form of self-government as complete as that of Canada; to suspend hostilities, and hold a friendly parley with the insurgent chiefs; to stop the policy of starvation; and to submit the question of responsibility for the destruction of the battle-ship "Maine" to impartial arbitration. If we could have waited a little longer to test the sincerity of Sagasta's professions, it may be that our only remaining ground of complaint would have lain in Spain's very natural reluctance to relinquish her last American possessions, over which her flag has waved ever since the days of Columbus.

But, for reasons which are not quite apparent, the bare possibility of a peaceful settlement was exceedingly irritating to a very active and pushing party in both Houses of Congress; and with reckless haste they have forced through the resolutions for war in a form most certain to exasperate and inflame the spirit of a nation which, even in its degeneracy and decay, is the proudest and most sensitive in Christendom.

Against a policy of haste and violence many citizens have joined in a patriotic but unavailing protest. Perhaps, after the painful suspense of recent weeks, we may even experience a certain relief in knowing the worst. At any rate, our present part is to accept and endure and hope. And, as John Weiss says, "an accomplished fact takes its place in the order, against which it is sacrilege to rebel." Now that the die is cast, we have no choice but to abide by the result, whether we like it or not.

To abide by the result, — what does that mean? Not that we are to pretend to approve what we regard as wrong or foolish; not that we feel bound to say that Congress has acted wisely in overbearing the moderate counsels of the President; not that we are indifferent to a vast backward lurch of our own nation, or to those unspeakable injuries to ourselves and others which we invite and inflict. But we cannot recall or undo the past. We must face the present, and deal with the facts as they are. Says Burke, "The situation of a man is the preceptor of his duty." With the actual outbreak of hostilities the situation has changed. Our present inquiry is, What is our duty in time of actual war? Our first need is to understand.

Events are our teachers: they are methods of divine revelation. In a black night I have walked safely along a perilous path by the guidance of flashes which came from the very clouds which made the darkness. Even the lurid light of war may reveal to us our way and our work.

We are finding out how far the world is from a state of Christian grace. We are finding out what we are and where we are, what kind of statesmen we have and what kind of people they represent, what evil possibilities there are in journalism, and what kind of civilization we live in.

If we cherished the notion that wars had become impossible, we are learning our mistake. We have heard the yell for revenge, the howl for blood. We have heard curses on all forms of international arbitration. We have heard shouts of delight over the prospect of a naval contest that should redden the waters where for more than eighty years the commerce of the world has ridden in safety. We have been told by public men that war is a good thing to keep a nation wide-awake and to make business lively. And we have heard talk of a "holy war."

"A holy war" is a taking phrase, very welcome to the popular ear and easy to put in circulation. But was there ever a war which did not set up for itself that high pretence? Who will confess to an unholy war? Not the Spaniard! At this moment, when thousands of our heroic young men are hastening to offer their lives to our country's cause, we know that other thousands, equally brave and loyal, are rallying to the standard of a queen who abhors the idea of shedding their blood or ours, and that an impoverished nation is on its knees crying to Heaven for victory over a prosperous and powerful foe, whose forces outnumber theirs four to one.

The passion for vengeance is not a holy passion. The

willingness to inflict injuries, even on a malignant enemy, is not holy. The indiscriminate plunder of non-combatants is not the work of saintly men. And what shall we say of the greed of contractors, the ambition of officers for promotion, the schemes of politicians for popularity and partisan success, and the new hope of pushing the country into vast expenditures so as to compel a debased coinage and the indefinite issue of paper money? Influences such as these have been noisily, viciously, odiously active; and they make it easy to play upon that half-animal impulse within us all which readily palpitates at the sound of a drum.

It is necessary to refer to the past activity of these evil forces because they are still active, and because there is danger that they will dominate the conduct of the war and work still greater mischiefs after the return of peace. It is in the face of difficulties and dangers like these that we must seek an answer to the question, *What is our duty in war time?*

As patriots and as friends of mankind, we should not waste our energies and break our hearts in a useless protest against the war which is actually upon us. *Our immediate business is to take care that civilization shall receive from the war the least possible damage.* When the firemen are satisfied that a burning building must be abandoned to its fate, they turn all their energies to the saving of other buildings and to preventing the spread of the conflagration.

While the war rages, we must serve the country by doing our best to keep its spirit and policy at the highest and most honorable level, to ward off incidental mischiefs and tie the hands of mischief-makers, to pour balsam into the wounds that are sure to come, and to work for such results as may promise a minimum of evil and a maximum of good. These general statements can be made very practical. Let us study the situation more closely.

The worst effect of a state of war is not in the waste of life and property: it is in the impairment of the quality of the population. This damage is done largely by inducing an unwholesome excitement, which distracts the people from attending to their true and permanent interests, and ravel out those results of intellectual and moral culture which are gained with so much difficulty. Attention and force are turned from higher things. We lose our heads and our hearts.

Public taste becomes perverted. We are fascinated by every item of war news, true or false. Unscrupulous journals willingly magnify and distort facts and rumors, and even invent whatever tales or versions may keep the people eager for more. There is little room for the nobler literature, for quiet culture and growth. Art and science are at a discount. Who cares that fifteen millions of children are at school, when a war-ship bids a merchant vessel stand and deliver the cargo just purchased at our own wharves?

War lowers all moral standards. "Amid arms the laws are silent." Is the Holy Ghost also silent? Who can listen to "the small and inward voice" when all the air is vibrant with the sound of blows given and taken? Now will men do shameful things: they will give way to greed, falsehood, passion; they will grow familiar with the idea that it is right to hurt and kill; they will delight in the misfortunes of those from whom they differ, at home as well as abroad.

Domestic life suffers. The means of living are wasted.

Men live less quietly with their families. They drink more. The saloons reap a harvest. Heavier burdens are laid on the hands and hearts of women. The boys break away from restraint. The girls are exposed to a coarser companionship.

Education suffers. The excitement reaches every school-room. A fourteen-year-old lad writes me from the West that in the history class they can talk of nothing but the war, and that the passing of a regiment filled the town with excitement.

Religion suffers. The appeals of spiritual truth, the message of God, can get no serious hearing. When we are at strife with our human brothers, we do not care to be reminded that we have all one Father. Every good work goes harder. Already we read of a falling off in contributions to the missionary treasuries and the benevolent societies. The pulpit itself is sorely tempted to say what excited and angry men wish to hear; and they do not wish to hear a blessing pronounced upon the peace-makers.

The whole process of citizen-making is arrested or perverted. At the end of the war we find that the country has a baser population, and that new difficulties are in the way of good government. In nation, state and town, we shall pay a higher price and get a poorer article. Politics will be more corrupt than ever. Business methods will be more crooked; for the battles of competition will be fiercer and more unscrupulous.

In fighting for liberty and humanity abroad, we run a sad risk of impairing liberty and degrading humanity at home. In a time of general excitement and disturbance, and when the attention and energies of the people are largely absorbed in resistance to foreign dangers, bad men find their opportunity, and take advantage. The body politic, too, is in a feverish state, and is predisposed to every form of disease. An epidemic of crime there is sure to be, and this will fill the soil with seeds of future crime.

To what human agency shall we look if not to the Church, for the influences and activities that are to counteract the dreadful evils that attend and follow a state of war? Everything for which the Church stands is threatened with impairment: everything for which it prays and labors is imperilled. But the same lurid light which shows our dangers shows also our grand opportunity. Let us still pursue the inquiry: What is our duty in time of war?

1. We must take care of our own souls, — of our moral and spiritual interests. "The good life does not suffer itself to be interrupted," said the noble Roman emperor. We cannot afford to go wrong because others do, nor to lower our standard at the bidding of a spurious patriotism. We must not catch the evil infection of the time: we must maintain our purity and peace of mind, our sweetness and serenity. We must keep our souls free from the crimes that are sure to be committed, and our garments clear of the blood that is sure to be guiltily shed. Who does not honor Whittier's brave, weaponless soldier of peace?

"The Quaker of the olden time,  
How calm and firm and true,  
Unspotted by its wrong and crime,  
He walked the dark earth through!"

I realize that we are all helplessly involved in the meshes of corporate responsibility, and that we can by no means



wholly separate ourselves from participating in national acts and policies. And I speak with innermost tenderness and respect toward those who, from a high sense of duty and devotion, are volunteering for service on land or sea. I know, also, that it is possible to take on one's conscience the awful responsibilities of helping to carry on a long and bloody war without yielding to one unkind or ungenerous impulse toward the public enemy. Glad as I was and am for the triumph of the Union cause, I have never ceased to be sad over the woes inflicted upon our Southern countrymen. And, while I shall rejoice in every victory of our country's flag, I shall be a sincere mourner for every dead Spaniard as for every dead American. Are they not equally my brothers in the family of God?

2. We must protect society against interruptions and injuries to its better life. For a long time all public-spirited men and women have had their hearts and hands full. They have been kept wakeful and watchful by large demands for reform and improvement. There are many precious interests to be cared for, many serious problems to be settled, many young and promising movements to be pushed to maturity and success. Every family has its own affairs to look after. Without redoubled vigilance, every community will suffer and fall behind in its business, its industries, its civil order, and its virtue.

3. We can coöperate with the President in holding public opinion and public attention to the single purpose of delivering and pacifying Cuba, if, indeed, such pacification is possible. I have said that the object of the war on our side is capable of a high and honorable construction. I willingly believe that the great mass of our people regard it as a duty, as well as a necessity, — a duty to the great future, as well as a necessity of the present, — to break the cruel arm which holds Cuba in shameful bondage, and to extinguish the last vestige of Spanish power in the western hemisphere.

But there are men with Cuban bonds in their pockets who may soon come forward, and demand that our government enforce collection of their coupons. Schemes of conquest and annexation already loom in the background. And many are more than willing to push the war beyond its avowed limits by inflicting needless injury and humiliation upon Spain, and leaving her a permanent and dependent cripple among the nations, a burden to the world. We should thus make ourselves responsible for strangling the young and hopeful elements — our natural allies — which are seeking to bring that ancient kingdom into line with modern progress.

Let our government do itself the honor to restrict its use of force to the accomplishment of its own declared purpose, — a purpose which all the world may yet approve. The less said about revenge, the better for our national reputation and character. Is it seemly that our seamen should kill other seamen, in hot blood, for a crime in which they had no more part than we? And who has commissioned us to punish the present generation of Spaniards for the crimes of the Inquisition three hundred years ago, or for the cruel expulsion of the Jews, or for the horrors attending the conquest of Mexico and Peru? The cup of Spanish iniquity may be full; but let us be careful that we do not add to our own.

The Hebrew prophets recognized the purpose of an overruling Providence in dashing one nation against another for the punishment of great crimes; but they

also recognized the fact that the punisher would surely be punished in turn for any arrogance, cruelty, or injustice.

In the matter of privateering the President guards our national honor by refusing to follow the ugly example of Spain. Why should he not go a step further? Why not prohibit our navy from seizing and appropriating private property on the sea, as our armies are prohibited from seizing it upon the land? The thievish desire to share the plunder of non-combatants is not thought necessary as a means of promoting the enlistment of soldiers. Why should we thus corrupt our marines? Or, if it is wise policy to disable an enemy by striking at private commerce, why should we not also pillage warehouses and mercantile establishments? Has not the time come to incorporate one more humane and just article into the code of what is curiously called Christian warfare?

4. Even amid the clash of arms, if our Christianity and philanthropy are anything but an empty, mocking pretence, we must keep up a firm remonstrance against the passion for fighting and the readiness to resort to it or to threaten it on all occasions. We cannot innocently suppress this remonstrance because it is denounced as untimely. We must indeed postpone for a time the demand for disarmament; but, as we love our race and reverence God, we must renew that demand, and press it steadily, till America heads the procession of the race toward that better day when the nations shall learn war no more.

The fact is, the jingoistic bluster of recent years has demoralized and debauched the public mind. There has been a growing fondness for brutal conflicts; and popular feeling contemplates the sacrifice of life with shocking levity.

Even the waste of our capital is a very serious matter. With a show of virtue, we are called upon to put aside all merely mercenary considerations; to impose vast and crushing burdens upon the industry of the future; to fling into a bottomless pit the material resources whose accumulation has been slow and toilsome, and whose preservation is vitally related to human welfare and progress. To waste money is to waste more than money. It is to waste all the precious things which money might help us to procure for the protection and comfort of women and children, for the improvement of domestic life, for the culture and enrichment of minds and hearts, for the building of a better social order. Every war puts new difficulties in the way of solving those economic problems which will not let us sleep, and plants dynamite under the foundations of society.

We go into this Cuban business with loud professions of zeal for liberty and humanity. Do we know of any worse foes to liberty and humanity than the great armies and navies of the world? On one hand is militarism, with its never-satisfied demand for more men and guns, more fortresses and ships, more slaughter and savagery. On the other is the movement toward international arbitration and universal brotherhood. Which is the growing point of enlightenment and humanity? Is it found in the appeal to force, or in the appeal to reason? Shall the blood-and-iron monarchies of the Old World gaze across the Atlantic, and ask with mocking wonder of the young and boastful American republic, "Art thou become as one of us?"

We have seen that the motives and the methods leading up to the present situation have been a mixture of wisdom and folly, virtue and vice. In the conduct of the war itself

we are sure to witness the same mixture. But we may look on this piece of passing history as only one more episode in the long, sad, glorious process by which good is educed from evil.

War is justified only on the plane of semi-barbarism; for it represents human nature in a low state of development. With the advance of intelligence it appears stupid and senseless. With the advance of virtue it becomes hideous and wicked. Since war comes only when reason does not come, and since it can be made impossible only by the growth of reasonableness, why should we not continually seek to promote that growth by working all the agencies of intelligence, justice and goodwill? Whatever other voices are on the air, the Church alike in peace and in war must keep up her testimony against all hatred and unrighteousness, her calm reliance on truth and love as the greatest powers in the world. For the Church represents the unity of mankind and the sacredness of all souls and bodies. She must never falter when iniquity abounds. She need never fear that the gates of hell will prevail. Even when "the blast of war's great trumpet shakes the skies," she still lifts up her unending song of peace and goodwill, her unending prayer that God's kingdom may come and his will be done on earth as in heaven.

### Origin of the Peace Department in The Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

BY H. W. B.

Hannah W. Blackburn, of Zanesfield, Ohio, a minister in the Friend's Church, at the State Convention of the Ohio Woman's Christian Temperance Union held in Kenton, Ohio, June 10, 11 and 12, 1885, presented the subject of Peace and requested that a department of Peace and Arbitration be created, and added to the existing lines of work. Her request was granted, as will be seen by reference to page 54 of the minutes of that convention. Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge was president at that time.

Hannah W. Blackburn was appointed Superintendent of the new department. After presenting the cause to the unions of the State, soliciting an interest in the peaceful arbitration of national differences and the establishment of a Congress of Nations for the adjustment of international differences, she offered a resolution to the State Union Convention, held in Springfield, Ohio, Oct. 4-7, 1887, to the effect that the ensuing National Convention be requested to add a peace department to its lines of work. This was carried, and Mrs. Henrietta L. Monroe who was then president of the Ohio W. C. T. U. was commissioned to bear the request to the National Convention. Frances E. Willard was present when the resolution was adopted by the Ohio W. C. T. U. Therefore when preparing her address for the coming National Convention she gave the kindest endorsement to the cause. She said: "The W. C. T. U. of Ohio, foremost in all good works, has already arranged for a new department in the interest of peace. This is strictly germane to our work, for nothing increases intemperance like war, and nothing tends towards war like intemperance. . . . We women must organize for peace, ere the nations will learn war no more." Mrs. Monroe presented Ohio's request, and on November 22, 1887, a department was created by the National

W. C. T. U. at Nashville, Tenn., called "The Department of Peace and Arbitration." Hannah J. Bailey of Winthrop Centre, Maine was elected Superintendent. At the request of Hannah W. Blackburn, in 1889 the "World's W. C. T. U. Department of Peace and Arbitration" was created. In each step in the introduction of this department, in the State, National, and World's W. C. T. U., the Holy Spirit evidently led, and blessed the effort. And this line of work has been serviceable in promoting harmony in the ranks of the W. C. T. U. and in maintaining that purity and peace of which the white ribbon is a symbol. The key note is "peace in the heart and home, in the church and State." Hannah J. Bailey is also the World's Superintendent of this department, and in her own generous and inimitable way is annually gaining trophies for the cause. This department teaches that "there is a love which takes precedence of love of Country, which is love of humanity," and opposes the Boy's Brigade and military drill in young people's societies and in schools and colleges.

The time has come for mothers to declare "Neither shall they learn war any more." The humble instrument in the introduction of this work, now in the retirement of home as an invalid, rejoices in hope of future peace for the world, although the war clouds hang low over our country to-day.

Zanesfield, Ohio.

### PEACE SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

The American Peace Society, 3 Somerset St., Boston, Mass., Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary.

The Universal Peace Union, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., Alfred H. Love, President.

The Christian Arbitration and Peace Society, 310 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., Frank P. Smith, Secretary.

National Association for the Promotion of Arbitration, Washington, D.C., Belva A. Lockwood, President.

Peace Department of the N. W. C. T. U., Winthrop Centre, Maine, Hannah J. Bailey, Superintendent.

The Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Ind., Daniel Hill, Secretary.

The South Carolina Peace Society, Columbia, S.C., Rev. Sidi H. Browne, President.

The Illinois Peace Society, 200 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill., Edward Coale, Holder, Ill., President, Allen J. Flitcraft, Cor.-Secretary.

The Pacific Coast Arbitration Society, Monterey, Cal., E. Berwick, Secretary.

The Connecticut Peace Society, Mystic, Conn., Christine V. Whipple Clarke, Secretary.

The Rhode Island Peace Society, Providence, R. I., Robert P. Gifford, Secretary.

Friends' Peace Association of Philadelphia, 140 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa., William F. Wickersham, Corresponding Secretary.

Arbitration Council, 1224 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., Geo. May Powell, President.

The Women's International Peace League of America. Mary Frost Evans, President, East Providence, R. I., Christine V. Whipple Clarke, Secretary, Mystic, Conn.

## New Books.

**THE CRUEL SIDE OF WAR.** With the Army of the Potomac. By Katherine Prescott Wormeley. Cloth, 210 pages. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This book, beautifully bound and printed in large type, consists of letters written by Katherine Prescott Wormeley from the headquarters of the United States Sanitary Commission during the peninsular campaign in Virginia in 1862. The letters were first published under the title, "The Other Side of War." In the present edition the title has been changed to "The Cruel Side of War," which is more intelligible, if not quite so unique.

The author does not attempt to give the general work of the Sanitary Commission, but sets forth in a personal record of its earlier labors the story, not elsewhere told, of how it began, and under what circumstances it first carried on its heroic work.

The letters are written with great naturalness and simplicity. In the earlier ones, there is a certain freshness and gayety. As time goes on, however, and the author finds herself in the sad, dreary work of assisting in caring for the innumerable sick and wounded, in spite of her efforts to "put away all feeling," sadness and agony of spirit force themselves into her writing. While she feels that, owing to the greater care of the wounded, "war is not as dreadful as it once was," yet "it is overwhelming to think of" its awful ravages. She sees "the worst, short of the actual battlefield, that there is to see." She contemplates a great battle with a "nightmare feeling." But one must read the letters through in order to feel the full force of the terrible tragedy through which she with others was passing, and the heroic and self-denying efforts of the men and women who were doing everything but the impossible to make the cruel side of war less cruel.

The "Cruel Side of War" was not written as a peace book, but no one who has been dazzled by the glamour of war can read it without having some of the scales fall from his eyes.

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"It is a pity that more of us cannot cultivate the two-fold way of looking at things," writes Edward W. Bok in the June *Ladies' Home Journal*. "There would be less friction in life if we did,

and sweeter sympathy, kinder understanding, and broader and fuller living. The fact is that we never reach the dignity of true living unless we do learn this all-important lesson. And that it may be cultivated admits of no doubt. It is simply a question of schooling ourselves not to condemn generally what individually does not happen to be to our taste. If, for example, we prefer brown as a color there is no reason on earth why we should condemn the taste of anyone who preferred to wear green. What the vast majority of us need is to be a little more self-poised, more judicial, more willing to see good in the tastes of others, although they do not please our own particular fancies. If we all thought alike, read the same books, saw the same plays, wore the same colors, this would be an exceedingly uninteresting world.

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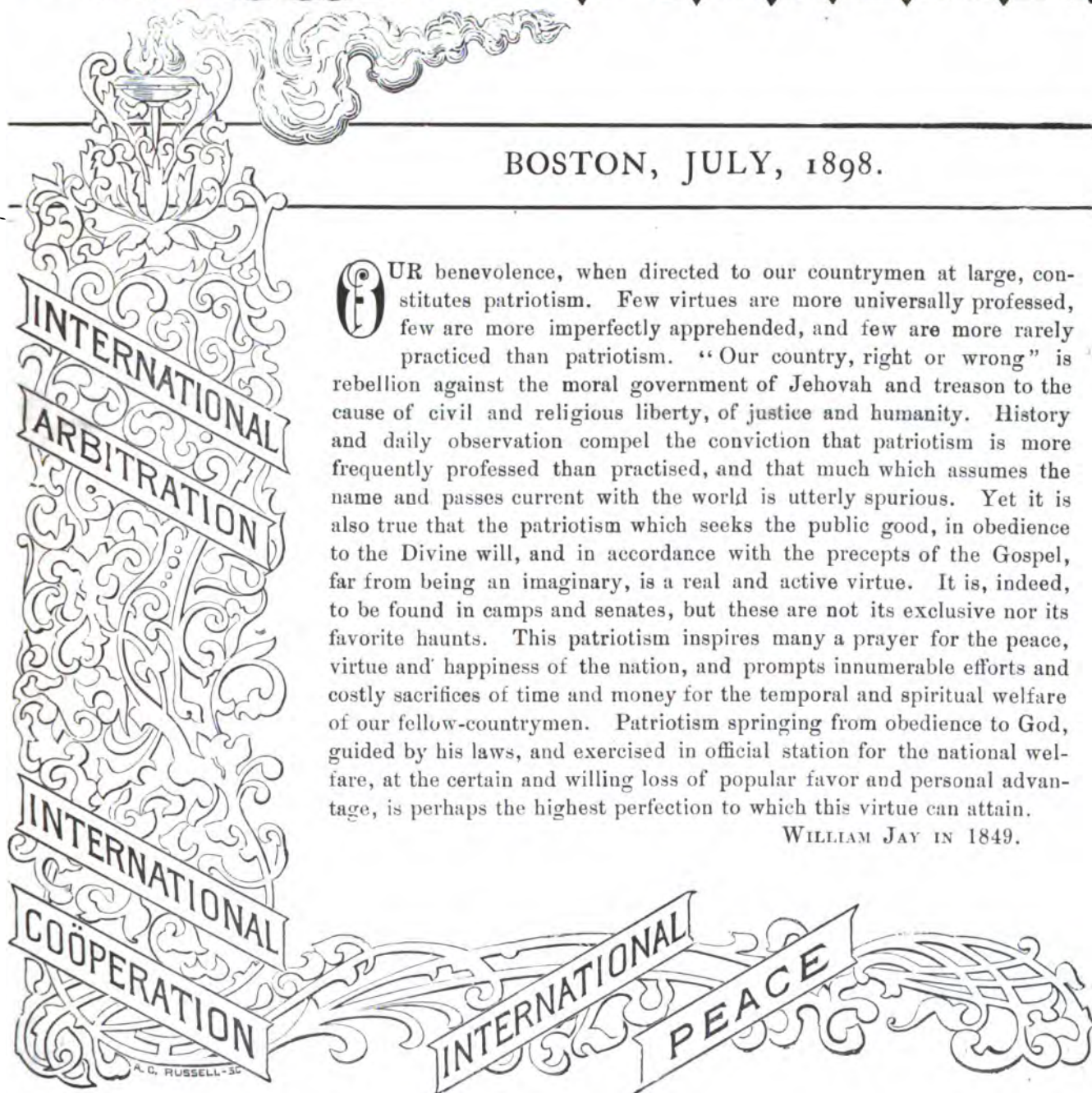




BOSTON, JULY, 1898.

**O**UR benevolence, when directed to our countrymen at large, constitutes patriotism. Few virtues are more universally professed, few are more imperfectly apprehended, and few are more rarely practiced than patriotism. "Our country, right or wrong" is rebellion against the moral government of Jehovah and treason to the cause of civil and religious liberty, of justice and humanity. History and daily observation compel the conviction that patriotism is more frequently professed than practised, and that much which assumes the name and passes current with the world is utterly spurious. Yet it is also true that the patriotism which seeks the public good, in obedience to the Divine will, and in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, far from being an imaginary, is a real and active virtue. It is, indeed, to be found in camps and senates, but these are not its exclusive nor its favorite haunts. This patriotism inspires many a prayer for the peace, virtue and happiness of the nation, and prompts innumerable efforts and costly sacrifices of time and money for the temporal and spiritual welfare of our fellow-countrymen. Patriotism springing from obedience to God, guided by his laws, and exercised in official station for the national welfare, at the certain and willing loss of popular favor and personal advantage, is perhaps the highest perfection to which this virtue can attain.

WILLIAM JAY IN 1849.



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# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

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## Becoming a Great Power.

From much that has been recently said one would imagine that the United States has hitherto been one of the weakest, most unknown and most insignificant nations on the face of the globe. We have suddenly become a great power, it is said. We have just become self-conscious. We are putting off our swaddling clothes. We are crawling out of our isolation. Providence has forced us out of our shell. Henceforth the world is to know that there is such a place as the United States. We are to have hereafter a hand in all the world's affairs.

Amused, amazed, puzzled at these vauntings, we have wondered, speaking "after the manner of men," what our Fourth of July orators for the last fifty years would have thought of them; or the men who crushed the British fleet in 1812; or the men of 1823 who let all Europe know that there was a spot in the western hemisphere called the United States of America; or the group of men during the sixties whose word was heard round the world, at

whose utterances the greatest powers of the Old World stood uncovered with the utmost respect. What would have been thought of these recent prattings by the men who went after the Barbary pirates, or the men who chased the Mexicans towards Mexico City, or those who discovered the Sandwich Islands and opened the ports of China and Japan to the commerce of the world? What would the many ministers and consuls, now deceased, who have represented us in all quarters of the globe and seen the stars and stripes everywhere respected as the symbol of a new civilization, or the long line of statesmen and distinguished citizens who have declared for a hundred years that the mission of America was to show a new order of greatness to the world—what would all these have thought and felt if they had been told that just at the end of the century their descendants and successors, on the occasion of the destruction of a weak and antiquated fleet by a small contingent of American vessels, would have been shouting and writing that hitherto the United States has been a baby weakling practically unknown and unfelt in the world, that just now, while at war with a decaying, helpless country, for the first time she has come to a consciousness of her strength and her world-wide mission?

These utterances would be worthy of no attention were not the situation so serious and were they not indulged in by many of the leading men and a large number of journals both secular and religious, of which one might expect something different.

Every citizen of the United States ought to want to see his country truly great, and exerting the widest and most powerful right influence everywhere. But has this country had no greatness? Has she exercised no influence on the world? Every one who has any appreciation of the history of the last hundred years knows that the United States has exerted more real influence in the uplifting

of humanity than any other nation, that she has been isolated only in the geographical and in the military sense, that she has been known in every remotest corner of the earth, and that the character of her institutions, of her national life and of her pacific international conduct has been more powerful for good than all the armies and navies of all the world.

The circumstances under which we hear all this strange talk about self-consciousness, greatness, imperialism, taking a hand in all the affairs of the world, make it clear that another conception of greatness is forcing itself forward. The standard which these New-Americans are insisting that we should adopt is not the standard by which we have hitherto measured ourselves. The wisdom of the fathers is thrown to the winds. Washington is suddenly dethroned. He was a good counsellor of babes, but not of grown up, "self-conscious" men. We are asked to break with our whole past, to tear out the roots of the great tree of our national life, to plant a new tree of foreign origin. Just at the moment when the American ideal was becoming overmasteringly potent, we are urged to abandon it. The European models are held before us—the great powers, the armor-clad powers, the meddling, mischief-working, entangled powers. We must now go in and do as they do. We must say "Hands off!" or "Hands on!" as suits our purpose.

It is true, we are to do all this in the name of liberty, of justice, of peace—which we are to *force* upon the world. We must hold the territories taken in war, a war undertaken solely to rescue a suffering people near our doors. But no matter about our promises; war absolves us from all obligations to keep promises. The peoples of these territories can not be trusted to govern themselves. We can not give them up to any other nation. That would endanger the peace of the world. For the sake of peace and the promotion of good government, with the "consent of the governed," we will keep them! We shall have to have a large navy and one-knows-not-what-else to do all this. But our destiny is calling us to be *great*—like England and Russia. We have got out now into the great currents of the world, and we must put on "full steam ahead" and rush on over the torpedoes through narrow channels, into unknown harbors, against the wild and rocky coast of Old World politics. Providence has forced us out of our littleness,

out of our quaint old moral ideas; He has given us a great victory on the other side of the globe; He has clothed us with dynamite to promote his kingdom of love and peace; let us stay on the other side of the globe, and go everywhere, and be *great*!

The pity of it is that this ambitious policy, put forward by men who know no greatness except that of physical power and glory, has blinded the eyes of many who know that our true and enduring national greatness is moral and not physical—that it has been so and always will be so. They wish to see that which is best in our civilization take possession of the rest of the world, and despairing of the slow processes of growth and development they imagine that there is some short cut by which the desired end may be quickly and forcefully reached. They forget that three thousand years of history teach, beyond almost all other national lessons, that the temptations of great power, even when the attempt is made to use it to promote good ends, are parctically irresistible. Every government that has ever been, under no matter what pretext, led away by the lust of power and physical greatness, has sooner or later gone to wreck.

It will be easy at the present time, under the peculiar circumstances, for the United States to enter upon this dangerous course. The illusions of the moment are very great. It will require great firmness and courage, as well as clear and cool deliberation, to resist the temptations which are pressing. The fascinations of might are tremendous. Fitzsimmons in the slugging ring can draw more cheap and noisy attention in an hour than ten thousand preachers of righteousness in a lifetime. There is no doubt that the United States can win a quick and world-wide fame in the arena of might and territorial aggrandizement. All the world can be made to stand in awe of her. But if she undertakes this she will "have her reward." The degeneration of her life and character will be unescapable. All her high professions of promoting liberty and justice abroad will be lulled to sleep by the irresistible attractions of the temporary splendor of might and its conquests. She will stand at last locked arm in arm, limb in limb, like a giant, with the other world-giants of force, a "splendid spectacle" according to the flesh, but shorn of her moral and spiritual power and of her capacity to promote the great ends of right, justice, liberty and peace, for

which she is bidden by these blind counsellors to sally forth round the globe.

We are glad that a reaction against this craze of "greatness" has already set in. It has come none too soon. It will be well for us if the nation can be even yet saved. It will require the immediate and persistent efforts of every man and woman who has any clear eye for the country's future good and usefulness and honor. The danger is all the greater because the results of a false course are comparatively far off. Let all who see them "cry aloud and spare not."

"Righteousness exalteth a nation." The exaltations of ambitious might may be swift and superficially grand, but their end is destruction. The nature of things is against them; the great interests of humanity are against them; whoever attempts them will ultimately go helplessly down with them; that is the lesson of the centuries, for governments as well as for individuals.

### "Gentle Sentimentalists."

The New York *Sun*, in its issue of June 7th, makes merry at the expense of what it is pleased to call the "gentle sentimentalists" who met in arbitration conference at Lake Mohonk on the first, second and third of June. After reading the editorial, one knows not which to do rather, whether to blush with a sense of the lowest humiliation at the patronizing spirit of the writer, or to give way to a feeling of pitying astonishment at the colossal ignorance and intellectual dulness which he naïvely exhibits. The article would be unworthy of the attention of any serious man were it not found in what purports to be an intelligent and sensible newspaper. Here is some of the *Sun's* light:

"It's a queer time for plans of international arbitration. The war between the United States and Spain is a striking evidence of the futility of international arbitration, except in comparatively picayune matters, or where one of two nations at controversy is really willing to yield to the other. When the feelings of either nation are strongly stirred, as the feelings of Americans were by the long misrule of the Spanish in Cuba and by the destruction of the Maine, the talk of arbitration is preposterous. . . . It may be taken for granted that so long as a majority of the American people retain their common sense they will not submit any really important matter to arbitration. If any vital interest of the United States is menaced seriously, it must be protected by the strong hand. There is no other sure way of protecting it. A claim of

right cannot be sacrificed to the chances of arbitration, which at the best is a mere lottery."

The article then goes on to say that an altruistic nation would be driven to the wall, that arbitration in the case of many strikes is a "hopeless humbug," that in the present state of society "international arbitration, save in the matter of unregarded trifles, must remain a foppery and a toy," that the discussion of the question of arbitration is likely to have as little effect upon the policy of nations as would be that of the question, "Do the inhabitants of Mars shave?"

The writer of these profound sentences seems to be perfectly innocent of the fact that arbitration had been in use in the settlement of international disputes for fifty years before it was applied to strikes, to "bakery or shoe shop" questions. He knows nothing of the large number of cases of strikes where it has not been a "hopeless humbug," but a magnificent success. He has never heard of the splendid thirty-years' record of the Chicago Board of Trade in settling labor disputes in this way. The corruptions of New York and its Board of Mediation and Arbitration have blinded him to the existence of the Massachusetts Board of Arbitration, and others of like kind, which have had almost uninterrupted success, and stand in the highest honor. No one has told him that during this century more than a hundred important differences between nations, covering every ground of dispute, have been settled by the "lottery" of arbitration tribunals. He would not believe if told, that the United States has been a party to fifty of these settlements; or, to save himself, he would declare, with sublime composure, that in all these instances "the American people had not retained their common sense."

How refreshing to Washington, Hamilton and Jay it would have been to have been told by this New York luminary, which Bayard Taylor would probably have called a "black sun," that the three questions which they submitted to arbitration under the Jay treaty, at a time when the feelings of the nation were "strongly stirred," were "picayune matters"! Or to Grant, Sumner, Hamilton Fish, E. Rockwood Hoar and the United States Senate, to have learned from the same source that the four disputed matters referred to in the Geneva tribunal were "unregarded trifles, fopperies and toys." The *Sun* man was probably only a baby at that time, if he was born at all, and is to be pardoned for not knowing that the "feelings" of the nation were "stirred," as they have almost never been stirred, by these "unregarded trifles," whose settlement required the "toy" sum of more than twenty millions of dollars. For these and more than two score other cases of the settlement of "picayune" disputes by the "hopeless humbug" of arbitration, we

refer our unsentimental friend to Professor John Bassett Moore, of Columbia University (now in the State Department), whose pamphlet on the subject he can doubtless get at the expense of a street-car ride to the upper part of New York City, only a little way from the *Sun's* office.

The *Sun* pretends to believe that a claim of right cannot be trusted to arbitration, but must be enforced by "the strong hand." The whole history of arbitration condemns this position. This history proves beyond question that international claims of right can be even more safely entrusted to tribunals of arbitration than claims of right in civil life can be entrusted to the courts of law. The failure of justice in the case of the former is comparatively less frequent than in the latter. The *Sun's* position would require it to give up our whole system of civil law, which in principle is essentially the same as that of arbitration, and go back to what the Germans call the "law of the fist." By this law of brute force, according to the *Sun's* doctrine, claims of right would not be sacrificed! There is no lottery about the "law of the fist!" Might makes right! The nation that gets whipped is always in the wrong! We confess that, rather than subscribe to a doctrine as materialistic and immoral as this and be found in the company of those who are not ashamed to avow it in this enlightened age, we should infinitely prefer the companionship of the "mugwumps and college professors who profess to believe that the loss of the Maine was a proper subject for arbitration."

Through what wisdom the *Sun* knows that "a country conducted on the altruistic plan would soon be driven to the wall" we cannot imagine. The experiment has never been tried. It will be time enough to pronounce it a failure when it has once or several times been tried and found a failure. The *Sun's* definition of altruism is a little extravagant, manufactured evidently for the occasion. A true altruism and a true egoism always go together. A nation might be genuinely altruistic and yet give all the attention necessary to its own affairs and interests. No nation can, in fact, rightly care for its own interests that does not show a sincere and unselfish regard for the interests of other nations.

"A queer time for plans of international arbitration"! While the *Sun* was uttering this luminous sentence, no less than fifteen cases of international dispute, some of them of long standing and of the most irritating character, were under consideration by arbitration tribunals. The subject is one of perennial interest. One must be thoroughly skeptical about the whole matter of arbitration and entirely ignorant of its history and workings, to consider any time "a queer time" for seeking to promote it. The friends of arbitration are not opportunists. Their sense of duty, however modified by circumstances, is not dependent on "times and seasons."

It arises out of principles as enduring as civilization itself.

"The reasonably distinguished and generally amiable gentlemen" and ladies "who aired their views of arbitration at Lake Mohonk" are not ashamed to be called "gentle sentimentalists." It is a very good title, though written in scorn, like the one which Pilate put upon a certain cross. They all believe that the world is moved by *sentiment*. They believe in *gentleness* as one of the greatest of the virtues—in fairness, in considerateness, in self-control, in regard for the rights of others, in reason, in justice, in the supreme principle of love, and they believe in these virtues for nations as for individuals. They do not believe in arrogant selfishness, in disregard of others, in hate and greed and violence and murder, either for individuals or for nations. They do not know whether the inhabitants of Mars shave or not. They leave the discussion of all such curious questions to the wise newspapers which suggest them. But there is a Mars here on earth, about whom they know something. They know that he has never shaved; that his beard and hair are long and tangled and clotted with blood; that he rages and storms in fury, and treads down and destroys men, women and children, without mercy. On him, with the New York editor's permission, the amiable Mohonkers and their like propose to lay hands. They mean to cut off the beard in which his strength lies; to give him increasing doses of "gentle sentimentalism" until some afternoon, when the *Sun* is setting, he shall go to sleep never to waken more.

### The Mohonk Arbitration Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference on International Arbitration was held, by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, on June first, second and third, at Lake Mohonk, N. Y. Considerable doubt had been expressed as to the propriety of attempting to hold an arbitration Conference while the war with Spain was in progress. Many felt, on the other hand, that it was a very opportune moment, and that Mohonk would be untrue to itself and to the ideas and purposes for which it stands, if it should fail to hold the conference, and thus confess that the cause of arbitration is not one of principle and perennial interest but only one of temporary expediency. This view Mr. Smiley took, and called the Conference, which he expects to continue from year to year until a permanent organized system of international arbitration is a realized fact.

When the Conference assembled, the absence of a number of persons who had taken a leading part in former conferences was noticeable, as was also the presence of a number of new men and women. Prominent among those absent were Ex-Senator



Edmunds, the president of the Conference last year and the year before, Hon. Robert Treat Paine and Dr. Edward Everett Hale, both kept away by sickness, Hon. Samuel B. Capen, chairman of the Business Committee last year, Edwin D. Mead, secretary last year, Hon. George S. Hale (deceased), President Merrill E. Gates, John Arbuckle, Rev. Charles F. Dole, Gen. John Eaton, Edwin Ginn, Dr. H. A. Hazen, Judge W. L. Learned, Rev. B. Fay Mills, Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Hon. Charles R. Skinner, Judge J. H. Stiness, President James M. Taylor, etc. Much regret was expressed at the absence of these and others. Of the new men present for the first time we noticed Dr. Josiah T. Strong, of New York, Hon. W. L. Scruggs of Atlanta, one of the counsel for Venezuela in the pending arbitration with Great Britain, Herbert Welsh and Clinton Rogers Woodruff of Philadelphia, President Seelye of Smith College, Chancellor McCracken of New York University, Professor Seligman of Columbia, President Potter of the Cosmopolitan University, Hon. W. J. Coombs of Brooklyn, Bishop Andrews of New York, Professor William C. Wilkinson of Chicago University, Judge Cowing and Francis Forbes, Esq., of New York, Rev. George E. Horr, Jr., of Boston, Rev. C. B. Smith of West Medford, Mass., Isaac Clothier of Philadelphia, Mr. E. P. Platt of Poughkeepsie, etc.

Col. George E. Waring of New York was chosen Chairman of the Conference, and presided with great ability and fairness. His task was a somewhat delicate one. Mr. Smiley decided, after taking counsel with others, to exclude the war entirely from the discussions, not to allow any direct criticism of either the United States or Spain or any direct argument of the righteousness or unrighteousness of the conflict. It might have been thought, and was thought by a few, that this limitation would take the life out of the Conference and make its deliberations mere platitudinous disquisitions. This did not prove to be the case. The discussions were thoroughly interesting. The course taken probably saved the Conference from going to pieces, as there were strong differences of opinion among the members, which only the rigid rule adopted kept from breaking out into exciting altercations. The many indirect references to the war showed how powerfully the subject was pressing upon all minds. There were only one or two serious transgressions of the rule, and these met with little sympathy in the audience. The discussion being confined to the positive merits of arbitration and the great principle of human brotherhood lying back of it, the treatment was unusually searching and earnest, and many people left the Conference stronger friends of the cause than when they came.

There were two sessions of the Conference each day, morning and evening. The afternoons were

given up to riding, driving and rowing, at the expense of the generous host, who never seems so happy as when he sees his guests happy, except when he is engaged in doing good by means of the Conferences, at which his delight rises to the highest point.

The opening session was given to a general consideration of the work of the Conference, to the history of arbitration and principles underlying it. Then were treated in order at the following sessions, the subjects of arbitration in general, a permanent tribunal, arbitration with Great Britain, and methods of promoting arbitration. Addresses were made by President Seelye, Herbert Welsh, President Raymond, Chancellor McCracken, Dr. Faunce, Professor Seligman, Dr. Meredith, President Potter, Judge Earl, Walter S. Logan, Judge Cowing, Mr. Coombs, John I. Gilbert, W. Martin Jones, Everett P. Wheeler, Bishop Andrews, Professor Bracq, Professor Wilkinson, James Grant Wilson, Dr. McArthur, Dr. Strong, President Warfield, Dr. Bradford, Professor J. B. Clark, Mr. Scruggs, Rev. George E. Horr, James Wood, Dr. Charles L. Thompson, Dr. T. L. Cuyler, and Benjamin F. Trueblood. With one or two exceptions the addresses were not over fifteen minutes in length, and most of them under ten. They covered a wide range of thought.

One of the most interesting features of the Conference was an open parliament at the fifth session at which five-minute speeches were made on the subject of "methods of promoting arbitration." Many took part in the discussions and we have rarely seen more packed into short speeches than was done on this occasion. Some of the speakers were Francis Forbes, Dr. J. N. Hallock, Dr. Charles H. Payne, Rev. C. B. Smith, George May Powell, M. H. Bright, Dr. Mains, Mr. E. P. Platt, and two ladies, Mrs. Emily U. Burgess and Miss Sarah F. Smiley, whose pointed and graceful speeches were received with much favor.

The Business Committee, which was continued to serve as an executive committee through the year, consisted of Prof. J. B. Clark, chairman, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, Hon. John I. Gilbert, Hon. W. J. Coombs, Herbert Welsh, President E. D. Warfield, Dr. Josiah T. Strong, and Benjamin F. Trueblood. The Secretaries were Dr. H. K. Carroll of the *Independent* and Martha D. Adams of Boston. Joshua L. Baily of Philadelphia, who has served as treasurer of the Conferences from the beginning, was reappointed to that position. Reports were sent to the country each day through the Associated Press by Mr. Bright and Dr. Carroll who served as a press committee. It was decided to publish ten thousand copies of the stenographic report of the Conference, as was done last year.

On the whole, this Conference was one of the

most successful every held in this country, and we believe its influence will be wide-reaching and lasting. We give below the declaration made at the closing session.

### **Platform of the Fourth Annual Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference.**

In a spirit of loyalty and devotion to our country, and in the conviction that the duty of good citizens requires them to devote their best energies to the service of that country, the Conference urges upon the government of the United States that whatever is possible may be done to mitigate the sufferings of war, and to render their future occurrence improbable.

We rejoice at the progress which the cause of arbitration has made during the past year. In the following cases, several of which have been for the first time submitted during the year, controversies between nations have been under consideration by tribunals of arbitration, namely:

1. Great Britain and the United States, in the case of the Behring Sea damages claim.

2. Great Britain and Venezuela, over the celebrated question of boundary.

3. Great Britain and France, over various questions of boundary in Western Africa.

4. Great Britain and Portugal, over the Delagoa Railway dispute.

5. Great Britain and Portugal, over the Manica frontier.

6. Great Britain and Belgium, over the expulsion of an English subject, Mr. Ben Tillett, from Antwerp.

7. Great Britain and the United States of Colombia, over a matter of a railway built by British citizens in the territory of the latter.

8. Great Britain and the United States, over the Alaskan boundary.

9. Great Britain and Germany, over the claims of the Denhardt Brothers in Southeast Africa.

10. France and Brazil, over the French-Guiana-Brazil boundary.

11. France and Germany, over a question of boundary in the Hinterland of Toga, in West Africa.

12. Bolivia and Peru, over a boundary dispute.

13. Hayti and San Domingo over a question of boundary.

14. Costa Rica and Colombia, over a territorial dispute.

15. Japan and Hawaii over the question of immigration.

16. United States and Canada have just agreed to submit to a commission all questions in difference between them.

Experience of the sufferings that war must cause, not only to those engaged in actual hostili-

ties, but to their friends at home, and of the injuries caused by war to many of the great interests of life, emphasizes the importance of the negotiation of treaties between nations, by means of which wars may be averted, so that all possible matters of difference that can be made the subject of adjustment by tribunals of arbitration may be adjusted in that way.

The Conference renews its recommendation that an International Court be established, to be always open for the settlement of differences between nations. To this end it urges that a treaty be made with Great Britain, providing for the establishment of such a court, for the settlement, primarily, of differences between that country and the United States, but to which court any nations desiring so to do may resort.

And it urges that, when the proper time shall come, the government of the United States should ask for a conference with other nations of the civilized world, for the purpose of considering the establishment of an International Court, and an agreement upon certain rules by which it should be governed.

### **Editorial Notes.**

There will be no issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* during August. Like all other hardworking concerns its nerves need a little rest, and so it will take a month's vacation. The number for September will be a double number. We shall give our readers in that number several more of the speeches delivered at the recent Mohonk Arbitration Conference, a small instalment of which we give in this issue. By September we hope—even against hope—that the war may be over and that the cause of peace may break forth with greater strength than ever and may go forward "by leaps and bounds" to new victories. Meantime, let all its friends everywhere be faithful to the great and lasting principles which they have espoused. Even now, "out of season," much of the most effective kind of work may be done.

The final stage of the Behring Sea arbitration was reached on June 16th, when Judge Day, Secretary of State, delivered, in his office at Washington, to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, a draft drawn on the treasurer of the United States for the sum of \$473,151.26, as payment in full of the sum awarded Great Britain by the joint commission appointed, under the provisions of the treaty organizing the Behring Sea tribunal, to determine the damages due to Canadian sealers. Thus ends one of the most important arbitrations ever undertaken between two great nations. The history of the diplomatic correspondence leading up to the agreement to submit the question to arbitration, of the organization and work of the Paris tribunal, of the subsequent efforts

to secure the protection of the seals from destruction, and of the appointment and work of the damages commission, is a long one, covering more than a decade. It will be remembered that primarily the question in dispute, while arising out of the matter of the destruction of the seal herd, was whether the United States had exclusive jurisdiction over Behring Sea, a vast expanse of water about one thousand miles in diameter. On this point, the decision of the Paris tribunal was against the claim of the United States, and rightly so, as is now almost universally granted. The decision is likely to settle for all time the question of jurisdiction on the sea beyond the three-mile limit. The fixing of the damages to be paid to the Canadian sealers was incidental to the main question. The whole matter has now passed into history. We have no doubt that hereafter the Behring Sea arbitration will be looked upon as one of the greatest triumphs of reason and fairness in international affairs. Along with the Alabama case, it will be a standing answer to the ignorance and the sneers of those who assert that nations do not submit important matters to arbitration. It proves that submission of disputes to settlement in the forum of reason is not in the least a sign of weakness, but a sign of strength. The Behring Sea question has been handled from the beginning by some of the ablest men in the two nations. Every feature of it has been analyzed with the greatest critical analysis. Every position taken by either party has been contested with the utmost vigor. And when the matter is over, both nations feel that they are greater in each other's eyes and in the eyes of the world than they were before. There are no foreign critics anywhere to charge them with mean and dishonorable conduct. There will be no aftermath of bitter feeling and desire for revenge. The handing of the check by Judge Day to Sir Julian Pauncefote was in itself a very simple affair. We hear of no ringing of bells, or firing of guns, or parades in the capital on account of it. But the whole of our civilization was there, summed up in that simple transaction—reason, justice, law, goodwill.

The true friends of peace in Great Britain, — we mean those who understand the real nature of peace and the grounds on which alone a true peace can be established, — are almost all opposed to the much-talked-of Anglo-American Alliance. The *Herald of Peace* says:

"We should have absolute sympathy with the agitation for an Anglo-American Alliance, if there were not behind it this idea which is associated with most alliances — that of mere domination. What is advocated under this sounding title and plausible plea is a supremacy of race. Let the English-speaking peoples be united, we are told, and they could dictate to the world. Why should they? Would there be any guarantee that their supreme will would be always just and right? They would only, we are again told, have to say to wrong in any part of the world 'Cease!' and there would be an

end of it. Would there? And would they always say the word, or be inclined to say it? If so, what of the others who had to obey? Freedom is as dear to one race as another, and as much its birthright. And what of the peace of the world so secured? And of the method of securing it? There is not only the right end to be thought of, but the right way of reaching it. We believe in permanent and universal peace as we believe in to-morrow's sunrise, but not as the result of an Anglo-Saxon alliance. Let us clear our minds of cant. Peace by war, peace by an alliance based on force, and imposing its will by its superior, 'irresistible' force, is a contradiction, and so impracticable." . . . The idea that peace is to be secured by an alliance flaunted in the face of those against whom it is directed, is about as wise and rational as the principle of modern statesmanship that peace is to be secured by preparing to fight. . . . Let the two great Christian nations join hand and heart to apply their Christianity, and to maintain righteousness by right-wise methods, and we should have some hope of peace following from their union; for peace is the work of righteousness. But to prate about a union that is to command peace, and to dictate it to the rest of the world is simply to provoke the taunt of hypocrisy; to propose it in the name of practical and responsible statesmanship is both foolish and wicked."

*Concord*, the organ of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, combats vigorously the idea of the proposed Anglo-American Alliance, as a specious and dangerous thing, while with all other friends of peace it desires to see greater friendship and community between Great Britain and this country. It claims that some of the best minds in Great Britain are opposed to such an alliance. We wish they all were; it ought to require nothing but a little Anglo-Saxon common sense to see the folly and danger of such an alliance. In addition to its editorial comment, the journal furnishes us a racy article from a correspondent, under the title of "Pan-Anglican Gimcrackery." He says:

"It is evident that this consolidated Anglo-Saxondom is intended by its projectors to 'boss' the planet — it may be for a supposed good purpose — but yet to 'boss' it. Now, as I object to be 'bossed' as an individual by others, so do I disclaim the wish to 'boss' others, even for their assumed good. There is no good in the world save a goodwill, and this is to be secured not by enforcement but by freedom. All ethical systems, all religions have taught this fundamental doctrine of freedom as a necessary condition of human perfection. The same thing is true of States. The world is not to be improved by one nation controlling another, even for its benefit, but by all nations being free to work, each on its own lines. . . . The 'bossing' idea is the old pagan idea of Rome; the conception of freedom as a condition of life is the root of the modern Christian world; give that up and we wreck the civilization of which we are the products. . . . Not only does 'bossing' inflict great wrongs upon weaker nations, it inflicts still greater on the 'bosses.' . . . 'But our end is peace and freedom,' these shrieking people will tell us. No man who wants to be 'boss' can really be for either peace or freedom, however excellent may be his intentions. 'Obey, or knock you down,' will be his inevitable

able practice, even while he has the words of peace and freedom on his lips. An all-dominating sea-power which can shell every port on the globe for peace! Tell that to the marines, who will appreciate the joke! As for freedom, to be free is to develop one's own way, not to have so-called free institutions, for which one may be utterly unprepared, forced down one's throat by an armed squadron. The end of the whole miserable business would be, not that Anglo-Saxondom would promote freedom the world over, but that Anglo-Saxondom would itself lose the freedom it has. . . . It is the glory of the Christian religion that, out of the chaos of the dying pagan world, she brought into the full light of day a union which knew, as her great apostle said, 'Neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free'—but all men re-created in a pure and righteous will and united in one great fraternity. That is the sole union I care to work for or to belong to; and I regard those who are proclaiming a secular and militant Anglo-Saxondom, however excellent their intentions, as enemies of the true cause for which all friends of international brotherhood should work.'

*Harper's Weekly*, in the following note, expresses about the position which the average thoughtful American takes and beyond which he would not be willing to go in reference to a closer union between this country and Great Britain:

"While there has been little movement looking to a formal treaty of alliance between England and the United States, there is no doubt that the feeling of friendship between the two countries has been greatly strengthened, and the payment by us of the Behring Sea award removes the last cause of friction. Perhaps the time is now propitious for renewing the attempt to secure the adoption of a general treaty of arbitration. That probably would be a sufficient union, because it would mean to the rest of the world that the two countries consider their interests identical. Whatever comes, however, it is to be hoped that the friendship between the two countries will grow in strength and in grace, for, besides the material interests that will be advanced by such a friendship on both sides of the ocean, and besides the pleasure such a union will afford to all English-speaking peoples, the peace of the world will be promoted thereby. And we think it well that the Irish on both sides of the water should make up their minds not to interfere between the two branches of the English race. We in the United States are mostly in favor of home-rule, and those Liberals in England who have done most to promote home-rule for the Irish are also in favor of the promotion of friendship between Great Britain and the United States. Such a union would not injuriously affect the Irish, but opposition to such a union on the part of Irishmen either here or abroad would work disastrous consequences to their cause."

A notable Anglo-American banquet was given in London at the Hotel Cecil on the evening of June third. Six hundred Britons and Americans came together to promote good-fellowship between the two English-speaking countries. Political, business and literary circles were well represented. Resident Americans, who were the guests, were present in large numbers. American and

British flags were draped over the tables. All wore buttons emblazoned with the two flags. Lord Coleridge presided and there were many distinguished Englishmen present, among them the Bishop of Ripon, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir Norman Lockyer, Lord Beresford, Rev. Newman Hall, W. T. Stead, Sir Walter Besant, etc. There was some froth and spreadeagleism in the speaking, but much of it was a sober and reasonable statement of the interdependence of interests of the two countries. A permanent tribunal for the settlement of differences between the two countries, and the nations in general, was advocated.

An important meeting in the interests of peace was held recently at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Fearing-Gill, in the Avenue Kléber, Paris. A reception was given from twelve to two o'clock, after which forty invited guests sat down to lunch. After the lunch there was speaking for nearly two hours. Mr. Fearing-Gill in proposing a toast to Frédéric Passy, said that "war is but the fossil dregs of barbarism still weighting the monarchies of the world." "Let us make our protest trumpet-tongued in this a time of war against the civilized heathenism which, disdaining the example and teachings of the Master, invokes red-handed war as a means of adjustment of material differences, however portentous." Running through the whole meeting, among French and English alike, was a note of profound disappointment and sadness that the United States had allowed itself to become involved in war. This feeling was voiced especially by the Princess Wiszniewska, president of the Women's International Disarmament League, in a speech of great earnestness and lofty sentiment. She said:

"We peacemakers have always considered the United States as the model for European States in the future. We have admired, nay, we have even been jealous of this people which felt itself so happy in its vast and splendid domain; free, independent, untrammelled by all the wars in which Europe was engaged, growing great in its prosperity due to labor, having only 25,000 troops, no war taxes, while Europe in twenty-five years has sunk sixty billions of francs in its arsenals, is ruining itself through armed peace, is exhausting itself more and more through taxes and contributions, in an effort to fill up the chasm of the military budget. It was with immense grief and bleeding hearts that we learned, to our great and painful astonishment, that the United States has suddenly abandoned the policy of peace and transformed itself into an aggressive power."

The other speakers were Père Hyacinthe, Madame Camille-Flammarion, Madame Theliga, Prince Wiszniewska and Mr. Jules Bois, all of whom spoke in much the same strain. A number of distinguished Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans were present, among the latter Theodore Stanton and Rev. Dr. Thurber.

The Annual Report of the London Peace Society, after

referring to the present war, the Italian riots, and such matters, notes the military dangers and the political excitements of the times on the one hand, and the gains to the Cause of Peace on the other, especially the various Arbitration incidents of the year, and the remarkable spread of pacific principles. The Society has six agents at work in the kingdom, who, with the Secretary, have attended 400 meetings. The autumnal meetings were held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and were very largely reported and widely influential. Peace Sunday was very extensively observed, 23,500 invitations being sent to Ministers, including all the Episcopalian Clergymen of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Committee have decided to send yearly invitations to all ministers in the kingdom for the future, as far as practicable.

Attention is called to the attempts which are being sedulously made to militarize and navalize the nation, especially to the efforts in that direction among the young, and the new movement — the Boys' Life Guards Brigade — as being entirely free from the military element of the other organizations, and as training its members in the saving, not the destroying, of life is especially recommended.

Large numbers of the Society's publications have been distributed during the year, for the most part gratuitously — making a total of two million and a half copies during the past eight years; and the circulation of its organ has increased.

The Secretary, Dr. W. Evans Darby, has paid three visits to the Continent during the year, and has completed and secured the presentation of the Ecclesiastical Petition to Rulers and two other Memorials. Six sets of lantern slides have been in constant use, and the Committee contemplate the provision of literature for the young.

The Committee accept the peculiar circumstances of the hour as a challenge to renewed and larger effort, and invite the members of the Society to second their efforts, and to support the proposals submitted to them.

What a Washington correspondent calls the most bloodthirsty war invention submitted to the government in recent years was patented in June just past. The murderous machine grew up in the "civilized" brain of Adolph J. Johnson of Minneapolis. It is designed to reduce a bayonet charge to purely mechanical principles, and is warranted to mow down men much as an improved harvester cuts wheat, except that there is no attachment for binding up the mowed men into bundles, and laying them out in rows. On the contrary it is so arranged that they may be re-cut-up into regular battle-hash. The device is a sort of wagon drawn by four horses. The horses carry in front of them, attached to the ends of the shafts, a row of bayonets pointed forward. The bayonets are so geared that as the horses

move forward, they move rapidly forward and backward so as to stick and stick again any object with which they come in contact. If cavalry is to be attacked the bayonets are raised to the height of the horses' heads; if infantry, they are carried at a lower level. A row of keen-edged swords hangs beneath the front end of the vehicle, so as to cut to pieces any soldiers who are not stuck to death by the bayonets. A second row of swords depends from the rear end of the vehicle, so as to hew to pieces any who may have escaped the preceeding ones. As a protection against the bullets of the enemy, sheets of shot-proof cloth are hung in front of the horses and driver. How the ancient fighters who killed all the wounded men and prisoners, would glory in their equality with modern "civilized," "christianized" people who have risen to such heights of impartial, disinterested greatness as that indicated by the capacity, both intellectual and moral, to construct such an instrument as this bayonet chariot!

Edward Atkinson, in reply to a question from the *Southern and Western Textile Excelsior*, speaks as follows as to the effect of the war with Spain upon the textile manufacturing business of America:

"The effect will be a heavy increase in the debt of the United States coupled with an immediate increase in the burden of national taxation. It may lead to the delusion that in order to be a strong nation we must support a large army and a great navy, thus making the conditions of heavy taxation permanent.

"In such event the effect upon the textile manufacturing of America will be to increase the cost while diminishing the purchasing power of the people to consume the goods. We may try to evade this conclusion by various subterfuges and dodges, but the more the evasion the greater will be the cost. The least costly system of taxation is one by which every citizen is compelled to put his hand into his own pocket in order to meet the bill. The most costly system of taxation is one by which, through evasion and dodges, each citizen tries to find a way to put his hand into his neighbor's pocket and thereby to save himself. If we are not then (after the war), led into the delusion that we may annex Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and other distant sections, even if we are obliged to take Cuba and digest it as well as we may, we may get off at so moderate a cost that it will not seriously impair the advantage which we have possessed of being the lightest taxed nation in the world for national purposes, also weakened in the least measure by the support of standing armies and large navies. If we enter upon what is becoming known as the 'imperial policy' of annexing the Philippines, Hawaii, Cuba, etc., we shall throw away our existing advantages and bring ourselves down to the level of the semi-barbarous states and nations of continental Europe. Those states have not yet reached such a condition of common sense and sagacity as to have surmounted the condition of rapine and plunder which is commonly called war; the passive war or preparation for active war having already brought famine into Italy, bankruptcy to Spain, hunger and socialism to Germany, and stagnation in respect to population and other conditions to France."

Alfred H. Love, President of the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia, has been subjected to a good deal of cheap though annoying persecution because of a letter which he wrote to the Queen Regent and the Prime Minister of Spain at the outbreak of the present war. We are not the sponsors of the Universal Peace Union nor of Mr. Love, though the general aims of that Society are the same as our own. We should not have written such a letter to Spain at that late date. But Mr. Love, who has been for more than thirty years most actively engaged in the propaganda of peace, believed it his duty to write the letter, and he must be judged from what he did and his motives in doing it, not from what we should have done. The facts are these: He wrote the letter and mailed it on the 21st of April, the day the war commenced. After three weeks the letter was returned to him from New York unopened, the mails to Spain having ceased by government order. He then sent the letter to Hon. John W. Hoyt at Washington, asking him to consult the State Department about the propriety of sending it. The officer consulted said that the Department, war having actually commenced, could not even be the intermediary of sending the letter. The letter was returned to Mr. Love with the suggestion that it be forwarded by way of the Peace Bureau at Berne. This was done. As to the contents of the letter, as well as Mr. Love's previous course about it, there was nothing unpatriotic in the remotest way. In a kindly, Christian way, he asked the Spanish Prime Minister, in the interests of peace and civilization, to grant the freedom of Cuba; which President McKinley had been long doing. This ought to be set down to patriotism rather than disloyalty. He expressed no sympathy with Spain. He did express sympathy with the Queen Regent in the "trying situation" in which her willingness to make concessions to preserve peace placed her before the Spanish people. This is the sum total of what Mr. Love has done, done in as pure and disinterested and loyal a spirit as ever actuated any American. For it the Peace Union has been, illegally, without action of the City Council of Philadelphia, ejected by Mr. Ritter, the Director of Public Safety, from the room which it has occupied in the Independence Hall building. One is disposed to think that Philadelphia will need a new Independence Hall if its officials are to act in this way toward men who have always been promoting a better civic life. Nothing could be more shameful than the mean and perverted way in which a section of the public press, chiefly the jingo press, have exploited the matter. They have garbled the letter. They have accused the Union of having no American flag in its room. It has and has had one over forty feet long. They have accused it of having a Spanish flag. It has not had one, the garbling reporter mistaking some South American flag for a Spanish one, and so on and so forth *ad nauseam*.

A reaction has set in in the press already and Mr. Love is sure to be fully vindicated from any suspicion of disloyalty to his country. He need not be troubled at the petty persecution to which he has been subjected. He has been true to his peace principles, true to the better civilization which he seeks to promote for the world, and at the same time considerably loyal to his country. For the honor of the city, the City Council of Philadelphia ought to ask the Universal Peace Union to resume its former quarters in the Independence Hall building.

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Rev. G. M. Hardy, Presbyterian Missionary at St. George, Utah, sends us a communication on "The Demand of the Hour," the substance of which is as follows:

War is a scourge coming down from barbarous times. Because of the wickedness of men it will continue till the great battle of the ages is fought, after which men will learn wisdom. Mohammedanism and a false church will go down in blood. While the nation is at war, let the people humble themselves before God, let the ministers demand respect for the Lord's Day even by the government's military forces on land and sea. Let them pray for the President that he may be kept in the paths of righteousness, and support him so far as he walks therein. Let Christians rear up their fallen altars and betake them to their closets for prayer. Let all Christians put away sin and walk in the Spirit. If we dishonor God, he will not favor us. We may think we can defy the world in arms but we can not defy God with impunity. We must be a God-fearing people. The disastrous results of the war in loss of life, in the piling up of debt, in the ruin of homes, it is impossible for any one now to foretell. We shall have to pay for the "procession to the grave."

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Here is the description of a "glorious" sea-fight which took place off Point Angamos on the Peruvian coast on October 8, 1897, during the struggle between Chile and Peru. The vessels engaged were the Peruvian ironclad Huascar and the Chilean battleships Blanco Encalada and Almirante Cochrane. The scene is on the Huascar, and we wonder if it might not be duplicated several times over on the Spanish ships destroyed in Manila harbor on the 1st of May:

"The turret rapidly became so crowded with the bodies of the dead that the steam-training gear of the round-house was clogged and useless. As the men struggled to remove the tumbled corpses of their comrades, blood became smeared over their chests, and it mingled with the sweat which dripped as they toiled in quarters which resembled a baking charnel-house, through which filtered steam and smoke, while a nauseous odor rose from the bodies and the heated guns. A little later it was observed that the voice of Admiral Grau, who had his station in a tower above the deck, could no longer be heard. An officer ran up and found that a shell had taken off Grau's head as neatly as if the decapitation had been by the guillotine. Two other officers who took command in succession were killed. The Huascar now lay drifting in a hell of shot and flame, but all the while the red, white and red fluttered



from her peak. One by one, in twos and in threes, the men in the turret dropped at their posts, and at last the remaining great gun was silent, its tackle literally choked with dead. The turret could not be turned for the same reason. Corpses hung over the military top; corpses clogged the conning tower. With coats and waistcoats off the surgeons had been laboring in the ward room upon the wounded, who, shrieking in their agony, had been tumbled down the companion-way like so much butchered beef; for there was no time to use stretchers or to carry a stricken comrade to a doctor's care. Steam and smoke filtered through the doorways, and the apartment became stifling. While they were sawing, amputating and bandaging, a shell tore into the ward room, burst, and fragments wounded the assistant surgeons, the chief of the medical staff having been killed earlier in the conflict. Those unfortunates who lay stretched upon the table awaiting their turn under the knife, and those who lay upon the floor, suffered no more pain; they were killed as they lay groaning. After that what little surgery was done was performed in the coal bunkers."

### Brevities.

The annual report of the Austrian Peace Society shows that the Society now has representatives in more than two hundred and fifty cities and towns of Austria-Hungary.

... The Doukhoborts have at last received permission of the Russian government to emigrate at their own expense. An English committee has been formed by Mr. Tchertkoff, Purlough, Essex, for the purpose of securing for them the means of leaving their country.

... Before his death Mr. Gladstone said that "he could not conceal his conviction that the opinions and acts of the present time in reference to the national defense have become excessive and would incur the disapprobation of all the deceased statesmen with whom he had been brought up and with whom he had passed the greater part of his life."

... The annual meeting of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, Hodgson Pratt president, was held at St. Martin's Town Hall, Charing Cross Road, London, on the evening of June 14th. No particulars have reached us.

... The Increased Armaments Protest Committee of England, of which Dr. Spence Watson is president, held its second annual meeting in London on the third of May. The committee has just issued a leaflet on "The Perils of Imperial Expansion."

... The balance of the Chinese war indemnity was paid the other day to the Japanese agents, at the Bank of England. The sum for which the check was drawn was £11,008,857. 16s. 9d.

... We are indebted to Hon. Samuel J. Barrows for a copy of the printed Report of the eighth annual conference of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, which met at Brussels in August last.

... The Second Annual Convention of the National Good Citizens' League is to be held at Nashville, Tenn., July 11-13.

... The House of Representatives has passed the

resolutions for the annexation of Hawaii by a vote of 209 to 91. The opposition to annexation is making a vigorous stand in the Senate, with the possibility that a vote will not be reached during this session.

... *Die Waffen Nieder*, the monthly peace magazine edited by the Baroness von Suttner and widely read in Europe, put its leading editorial in the May number in mourning on account of the outbreak of war between the United States and Spain.

### The War Makers.

BY IDA WHIPPLE BENHAM.

"The Pharisees said unto Him, 'Are we blind also?'"

Ye Pharisees! go to the Book and find  
None are so blind as those who will be blind!  
Here's to the test: Let but your quivering flesh  
The trifle of an ounce of steel enmesh—  
Let the keen blade among your members linger  
But long enough to nip a nose or finger—  
Let the red stream that waters this world's plains  
Bear but a drop or two from your full veins,—  
Let the dark sulphurous mists to heaven that rise  
Blow like a Stygian blast in your dear eyes—  
And see if you incline to the old story  
Of honor by the sword and warlike glory!  
I think that you would find an easier way  
Of settling if *you* had the debt to pay;  
You would not be so fond of sowing strife  
Were war a simple question of one life;  
You'd find a way, concoct a thousand cures,  
Were but one life involved and that life yours!

London, England.

### The Truce of God.

BY KATHERINE HANSON.

With hearts more pure, with wills more strong,  
We could have smitten ancient wrong,  
Yet held our hands from brother's blood.  
Our righteousness, a mighty flood,  
Had cleansed the heart of Spain.  
O Lord of all the unquiet world,  
When shall thy banner be unfurled—  
The stainless banner of the Right?  
We lift our eyes. Send out thy light:  
Make thou our pathway plain!

— *Boston Transcript.*

### A Prayer for Peace.

SUNG AT THE MOHONK CONFERENCE, JUNE 3.

God give the nations peace,  
Grant us from war release—  
God give us peace!  
Guide Thou the helm of state,  
Still Thou the storm of hate,  
Bid waves of strife abate—  
God give us peace!

Touch Thou the human heart,  
Bid hate and greed depart—  
God give us peace!  
Let men in every land  
Stretch forth the helping hand,  
Brother to brother stand—  
God give us peace!

Send truth and righteousness,  
Healing the world's distress—  
God give us peace!  
For Him who died that we  
Saved by Thy love might be,  
From war, O set us free—  
God give us peace!

## MOHONK CONFERENCE ADDRESSES.

### Greatness and Permanence of the Arbitration Cause.

BY BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference:*

I appreciate the honor of being invited to be the first speaker on this interesting and delicate occasion. I could wish, however, that the honor had come to me either before the 21st of April, or after the close of the present conflict, when our armies and navies had all come home and peace had been restored. But circumstances often determine duties, and we must all do the best we can in the narrow path which is appointed to us to walk in.

Doubts have been expressed by many persons as to the propriety of holding a conference of this kind at the present time. To me it seems that there ought to be no doubt at all about the matter. Those who believe that the present conflict is to extend the principle of arbitration and make it more powerful in the world, ought to favor holding an arbitration conference; and those who believe that it will put back arbitration for a time ought to be interested in holding an arbitration conference, to try to counteract what they believe will be the evil effects of the war.

Such a conference does not express the slightest shade of disloyalty to the country. It is well known that the President of the United States and his leading advisers in Washington are all heartily in sympathy with the cause for which this conference stands. I had the privilege, in company with four other members of the Mohonk Conference Committee, of visiting the President in November of last year. That committee, of which Senator Edmunds was chairman, found the President in the fullest sympathy with all the purposes of this conference, and promising at all times to do everything in his power to promote the establishment of arbitration treaties between this and other nations of the world. I am sure, therefore, that the responsible leaders of our governmental life will not interpret the holding of this conference as in any way detrimental to the interests of the government.

The holding of the conference is justified from another point of view. The cause which we represent is a permanent one; this interest is one of the most enduring possible. All wars, sooner or later, cease. The Seven Years' War ceased, the Thirty Years' War ceased, even the Hundred Years' War came to an end. All of our wars so far have come to an end, and we expect that this one will. Wars are only temporary disturbances; the movement for which this conference stands is a great, abiding movement, which shall never end. Its results will finally appear in permanent institutions which will be as enduring as human society. For that reason, the friends of the cause ought never to cease their labors. In times of disturbance as well as in times of quiet, they ought to do whatever is possible to promote the real and abiding in-

terests of humanity as represented by the arbitration movement.

The arbitration movement aims to secure the adoption everywhere in international relations of the principles of justice and right, of law and reason, so that ultimately war shall be banished from human society. The nations will learn war no more, when, and only when, they shall have set up a permanent system of justice, under recognized forms of law, for the settlement of their difficulties.

The abiding nature of our cause appeals to me with tremendous force. I do not see how the movement is to be permanently hindered by any temporary disturbance between two or three nations of the world. Its moving forces are those which lie at the heart of all our Christian civilization. We ought to be building along this line continually. It seems to me, therefore, that Mohonk would have been untrue to its mission if a conference had not been held here at this time. It would have been a confession of weakness, of loss of faith, if this place had been silent and found no voice to utter in behalf of the great positive ideas which all thoughtful people confess are more and more to rule the world.

I should like to speak a little about the recent growth throughout the world of sentiment in favor of arbitration. Since we met here last year there have been three very important conferences held. The Inter-Parliamentary Peace Conference was held at Brussels in the month of August. It is made up of members of parliaments, European and American, who are engaged in the positive work of building up a better understanding between the nations of the world, and especially of securing the adoption of permanent treaties of arbitration and a permanent court. That Conference began at Paris in 1889 and has grown from a membership of less than a hundred that first year to a membership of more than fifteen hundred at the present time, representing all the constitutional governments of Europe. It is a unique institution in human history, and one that promises much for the future. It is gradually building up an arbitration party in every nation in Europe. There is much more consideration and mutual respect between the nations of Europe than there was when this association was first organized. At its meetings you will see German, French, Italian and English statesmen, and those from other countries, sitting down together and for several days discussing the great questions of international friendliness and justice.

Immediately following this Conference at Brussels, there was held at Hamburg, the chief commercial city of the European continent, the eighth International Peace Congress. Though it is called a Peace Congress, it gives its attention to the same questions which we discuss here. This Congress I had the privilege of attending. There were about 225 delegates, representing seventeen different nations. Mexico was represented, as well as the United States. The Congress, the first of its kind ever held in the German Empire, was received by the authorities of the city of Hamburg with the greatest respect. It was well reported in all the leading papers of the city, except perhaps one. On the opening evening, a public meeting was held in the largest hall in Hamburg. This was attended by more than four thousand people, who listened to addresses from eight o'clock until a quarter before twelve. The addresses were of a high order, a German colonel, who had served his time in the army, making a magnificent plea in favor of international arbitration and

the change of temper and disposition necessary to secure its permanent adoption. That Congress was a revelation to many people of the tremendous growth and spread of the sentiment against European militarism and in favor of greater friendliness and ultimately of an arbitration arrangement between the nations of Europe. This spirit is growing in Italy, in France, in Austria; it is even taking hold of Russia. We had at this conference Dr. Novicow of Odessa, one of the leading sociologists of Europe. The members of the Congress were nearly all distinguished men and women, members of the nobility, members of parliament, members of city governments, men of culture from the universities, editors, business men, etc. It was not a gathering of cranks and half-balanced enthusiasts, but of men and women of sober judgment.

A little time after the close of this Congress, there was held at Copenhagen the Institute of International Law, which for more than twenty years has been sitting down quietly each year and studying how it might promote the development of international law into greater harmony with the principles of justice and morality. These three associations, which have held their sessions since we met here last year, represent a powerful movement which, in spite of wars and rumors of wars, is spreading and growing from year to year, and in which lies the promise of a better future for the human race.

Let me repeat in passing what I have said at previous conferences of the general arbitration movement of the century. When this century began, there had been only one or two real arbitrations between nations, — using the word nations in the modern sense. But since the opening of the century, there has been an average of more than one arbitration of important difficulties every year, — actually more than a hundred important cases decided by this method rather than by an appeal to arms. Most of the important nations of the world have been parties in one or more of these cases, even those which we are not accustomed to consider civilized. The United States has led in this movement, having been a party to about fifty of the cases. In about thirty Great Britain has been a party. The United States has had arbitration with seventeen different nations, and Great Britain with twelve. One of the interesting things is that both the United States and Great Britain have arbitrated not only with great powers, but also with weak powers. Nine of the cases which we have settled by arbitration, and six of those in which Great Britain has been a party, have been with weak powers. Thus the charge sometimes made against Great Britain, that she arbitrates only with great nations, falls to the ground in the light of the facts.

Another interesting feature of the movement is that arbitration clauses have in recent years been introduced in many treaties of commerce, providing that any difficulty arising in the execution of such treaties shall be settled by arbitration. This is coming to be a common principle in the making of treaties everywhere.

Within the last few years the number of cases of arbitration between nations has accumulated, until now not a year passes in which there are not from six to fifteen cases actually in process of settlement. Yet all this goes on so quietly that most people know nothing about the greater part of them. One little war makes more fuss than five hundred cases of arbitration, and costs more than all of them. But the arbitration cases go steadily and quietly

on, doing their work and building up a greater respect for law, a greater considerateness and patience between nations.

During the year, there have been not less than sixteen cases of international difficulty under consideration by tribunals of arbitration, some of them new cases, others those previously referred and in process of adjustment.

1. In the case of the Behring Sea seal fisheries dispute, the commission appointed by this country and Great Britain to adjust the claims of the Canadian sealers has finished its work and decided upon the amount that the United States is to pay. The subject is now under consideration in Congress, and an appropriation is likely to be made in a short time for the payment of that claim of \$478,151.26.

2. The Venezuela Boundary arbitration is in progress. The court has finally been made up, and has just decided to meet in Paris next winter. Professor Maartens of Russia, one of the great authorities on international law, has been chosen as umpire.

3. The Delagoa Bay Railway arbitration is in progress. The arbitrators have sent an expert to that country, he has made his report, and the whole case is in the hands of the court and likely to be soon adjusted.

4. France and Brazil have finally ratified the treaty, made more than a year ago, for the adjustment of the French-Guiana-Brazil boundary dispute, involving more territory than the Venezuela dispute.

5. Great Britain and Portugal have settled during the year a dispute over the Manica frontier in Mashonaland, Great Britain being awarded about three-fourths of the territory in dispute.

6. Great Britain and Germany have recently submitted to arbitration the case of a claim made by some merchants, the Denhardt Brothers, in Southeastern Africa.

7. Great Britain and the United States of Colombia have in progress an arbitration over the matter of a railway which was built by some British capitalists in the territory of Colombia.

8. Hayti and San Domingo have just submitted a boundary dispute to the arbitration of the Pope. This has been done since the present war began.

9. A commission appointed nearly two years ago, called the Anglo-French commission, is sitting in Paris from time to time, discussing all the questions that have arisen between the English and French governments as to their possessions in West Africa. Though the friction between the two countries has been great at times, and war has actually been threatened the probabilities are that this commission will reach an ultimate adjustment, within another year, of all the difficulties in question.

10. Great Britain and Belgium are engaged in an arbitration over the expulsion of a British subject from Antwerp a year or two ago.

11. Germany and France are engaged in an arbitration over a boundary dispute in reference to a portion of what is known as the "Hinterland" of Toga in West Africa.

12. Bolivia and Peru have submitted to the arbitration of the Pope a boundary dispute.

13. The immigration dispute between Japan and Hawaii has gone to arbitration.

14. The Alaska boundary is in process of determination by an Anglo-American Commission.

15. There is an arbitration in progress between Costa Rica and Bolivia over a disputed boundary.

16. Just now it is announced from Washington that an agreement has been reached by which all the difficulties between this country and Canada are to be submitted to a commission which shall take them under consideration and settle them.

Thus we have sixteen cases in progress or newly referred during the past year. This is a fact of the foremost importance, when you remember that only a hundred years ago such things were unknown. It proves two things; first, that the sense of international unity, of the common interests of nations, the sense of international justice and respect, is growing every year, and that international hostility and dislike are gradually being pushed more and more into the background. It proves that the same regard for law which we find in civil society is forcing itself into the relations of the nations of the world; and that it is only a question of time that these principles shall extend their sway and bring about the establishment of that permanent tribunal which some of the gentlemen were discussing here last year.

It proves, in the second place, the necessity of a speedy establishment of an international tribunal, for which we plead, in order that there may not be delay, but that all such disputes may go as a matter of course to a court which is already in existence.

We stand thus on a firm historic basis, while we are convinced in our judgments that international arbitration ought to take the place of the evil of war between all the nations of the world. We are here to try to help the movement along a little. I believe the discussions which we are to have in this conference, and the declaration which we may make will do something towards the fuller development of this splendid system of international justice, and bringing about the time when law, reason and conscience are to prevail in international relations.

Let us not be discouraged. Let us be like the coral polyps. Their business is not with the storm which may pass over them. Though the storm break away something of what they have built or tear some of them loose and destroy their lives, still the great body build on and on day after day. It is their business to be building. Our business as an Arbitration Conference is to build arbitration. The war is not our affair, not primarily. The method of the Master should be our method, to seek the abiding principles, and to dwell upon them. He never said much about the subject of war; he talked about the great principles which were to take their place in human society and ultimately banish war and all other evils. We shall move much faster if we proceed upon the principle of building up the good rather than continually railing at the evil. We should seek to promote the principles of peace and arbitration in the home, in the school, between all sorts of organizations in the country, between this nation and Great Britain, between this nation and all the nations of the world. In this way our purpose is sure to be accomplished in the end.

Let us steadily press the idea that the arbitration movement is a world-movement. It does not have in view simply a union between this country and our great sister nation on the other side of the water. It does not mean an alliance of force with any nation whatever. It means a pacific union, in a spirit of international friendliness, which is to take in all the nations as fast as

possible. Let this conference use its influence to maintain in this nation, as far as it may, the spirit of absolute justice and fairness, of love and brotherhood, toward all other nations. That is our mission, and the strength of our influence will be in proportion to the singleness of aim, the sincerity and honesty with which we pursue it.

## The Vital Principle in Arbitration.

BY HERBERT WELSH.

It is very important, my friends, for those who are approaching a new and apparently complicated subject for the first time, and who feel its immensity, to try a simple method of making the question before them easy. It is to try to seek the vital principle back of the machinery. No matter how broad the subject, or how complicated its machinery, the vital principle behind it, if it be a real thing, unites it to truth in other branches of human effort.

We are approaching thus this great subject of international arbitration. Many of us come into this room doubtful as to its value, uncertain how far they can trust to its hand to guide them to definite conclusions. Let us try to touch it with this test. What is international arbitration? Is it not, after all, the application to international affairs of the very spirit which has invited us to meet here on this mountain-top? The principle which has brought us here was the principle of love, and the belief that in the vital principle of love there was a wider possibility than the majority of men have yet recognized.

A few years ago, in the city of Philadelphia, we were threatened by a very serious conflict. On one side stood a great corporation which was engaged in transporting persons in the trolley cars over our streets. On the other side stood a body of workmen. There was a conflict between these two, into the details of which it is not necessary to go; it was a divergence of opinion as to rights. Pardon me if I touch upon it in a somewhat personal way for it illustrates my thought better than I could otherwise do. My own brother happened to be the head of the trolley car company. I was the editor of a small weekly journal which had undertaken to discuss the question of public rights. I could not refrain from pointing out what seemed to me right,—namely, that arbitration must be resorted to in order to settle the difficulty, that there must be some concessions on both sides to bring about the possibility of a meeting on common ground, if we were to avoid armed conflict in our city. In fact, it came to a point where the street-cars were stoned by the workmen, where murder was actually committed, and where United States troops were held a short distance outside the city ready to apply armed force. And yet, forced forward by conviction, our little paper was obliged to speak its mind. It was a delicate family situation. But we did come to the time when the contending parties were willing to accept arbitration, and the result of standing out for that principle was a justification of the theory upon which we had acted.

Out of that incident a great lesson came: that precisely when passion is hot, when violence is actually seeking to assert itself, even then it is possible to stand up for this divine principle of consideration and love; that it is not impracticable; that it is the most practical of all things, and that the best possible results will come from it. It is a question of being able to curb your own passion, to

abate your own claims as to your rights, and to submit them to some outside arbitration which shall determine them. It is the virtue of humility asserting its claims for the first time in the international relationship. You claim that your own honor is violated; but there is something higher than this low and imperfect notion of honor,—it is the welfare of the world, the honor and the majesty of law, which are to be asserted even though your own honor may seem to suffer a temporary eclipse.

So it was when a conflict was threatened, only two years ago, between Great Britain and the United States, upon the issue of the Venezuela message. There was hot blood upon our side of the Atlantic,—far more hot blood, I am bound to say, than upon the other side. Some of us in Philadelphia, as in other cities, made an appeal for an international court of arbitration to guard against similar dangers in the future. From the old State House, out of which, more than a century before, had gone the declaration of our independence from the tyranny of the king of Great Britain,—out of that venerable historic building went the declaration of amity and peace. As in imagination we followed the message across the Atlantic, it seemed to mark a steady advance of law, outside the old sphere in which it has triumphed, outside of the sphere in which we have recognized and honored it so long, into the new sphere of international relationships. But it is simply the wider application of that divine principle, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Back of all the machinery which the learned men must determine,—the lawyers and the thinkers,—back of that is this spirit which must be in men's hearts. In proportion as that spirit comes in, will the operation of the law become possible.

It was my duty, sent from that Philadelphia conference, to see a number of gentlemen in England the same summer. I had the pleasure of meeting with Mr. James Bryce, a distinguished member of the Liberal party, now a member of Parliament, and the author of "The American Commonwealth"; with Cardinal Vaughan, and Canon Scott-Holland, and Mr. Massingham, the editor of the *London Chronicle*,—the newspaper which has been, as you know, most friendly with the United States. The sentiment which these men represented, and which seemed almost universal in England, was one of astonishment and perplexity that there could be in the United States any hostile feeling toward Great Britain. There are good historic reasons why such hostile feeling might linger; but I am sure that in England that feeling has completely passed away, and in the place of it is an earnest desire that all questions of irritation and difficulty coming up between the two nations in the future may be settled in some reasonable and peaceful way.

I hold in my hand a little book\* which gives an account of the effort to settle the Alabama case in 1865 by arbitration. This brief history is full of the kind of encouragement that has been given us by Dr. Trueblood this morning. Mr. Thomas Balch of Philadelphia, I believe, was the first to propose that this method should be adopted for the settlement of the Alabama claims;—at least he had great influence in that direction. In 1864 he called upon President Lincoln and urged his proposal. That wise man said to him in reply that the feeling at that time, existing between Great Britain and the United

States, was so bitter that not until the millennium came would it be possible to have arbitration under such circumstances. And yet arbitration was in reality obtained, and what were the results? These two great nations, representing in many respects the most advanced ideas of humanity, settled a trouble which was most serious in its character by an absolutely peaceful method. It is of interest to know that Mr. Balch was charged at that time in the United States with a lack of patriotism for making this proposition.

When we look back upon such facts, are we not greatly encouraged to follow out these suggestions which have been made here—to remember that this question is to be approached by most simple and natural methods. The solution of the question is not to be found in the presentation of an ideal legal method in constituting the court of arbitration. That question is most important; but back of that and underneath it is the existence of a public sentiment which will make the thing possible. In the existence of such sentiment lies the possibility of the operation of such a court. Every man and every woman must remember that we are all commissioned to carry forward this work, by trying to feel, in moments of passion, at the very instant when we are tempted to use the other method, that it is possible to keep our minds calm and cool and that before we are committed to a contrary policy, we must try this method. Is this thought not best illustrated, after all, by the conflict which one man has with another over some disputed question, when each maintains that he is right? Unless there be a court to go into, unless there be an arbitration tribunal of some kind to appeal to, there is no way to settle the matter but by an appeal to violence. Our efforts must be to push the nation up into the sphere of morality and righteousness, which the individual has very largely reached and towards which nations more or less blindly aspire. It is by our personal efforts that the ape and the tiger in the nations is to be made to die. Each one of us must feel that God commissions us, not only to carry this method of peace into our personal relations, but to try and press it forward into international relations. Only thus can solid progress be effected.

One who travels on the Continent or in England,—does he not feel how, in personal knowledge of and personal contact with the persons whom he meets, in railway carriages and elsewhere, the humanity of these people comes nearer and nearer to him, and misapprehensions and national hates fostered by ignorance are very largely removed through acquaintanceship? Those who have friends in Germany, in Russia, in France or other foreign countries know that there are many noble people in those countries, who would welcome arbitration as readily as the people of Great Britain. So I wish heartily to emphasize this idea: that what we seek in trying to bring about a court of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States is not the attainment of a selfish purpose. It is simply as a practical expedient that we seek first that. What we really want is to establish reason and justice and self-restraint in our dealings with all people, to make those relations such as the gospel of Christ would dictate. We can hasten that by coming into closer contact with them. We can do it by trying to approach any question of international difficulty, not with the idea of physical strength to enforce our demand, but with the thought of the justice and right back of our demand. We can do

\*International Courts of arbitration, By Thomas Balch, 1874. Reprinted at Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott. 1896.

it by learning, in the national sense, to love others. Even if we were dealing with a nation like Turkey, we can feel that if we could only go to the individual Turk, free from the domination of the false ideals in which he has been brought up, we should find it possible to love the humanity in him, and by treating him justly to lift him to our own plane of living. Nothing has done more for my own education in this respect than contact with our Indian tribes,—a people at one time apparently outlawed from human sympathies, and looked upon as cruel, treacherous and bad. And yet knowledge of them shows that they too are made in the image of God, and that principles of justice and right in dealing with them will bring out splendid results. Shall we not, then, take this gospel, and spread it in all our communication with our fellow beings? Shall we not try to use our influence more and more to make the spirit of our nation the spirit of peace, and her dealings with other nations the fruit of this spirit? Shall not that be the highest and noblest idea for which the flag really stands?

### Signs of Promise.

BY REV. W. H. P. FAUNCE, D.D.

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—There are some signs of promise along the horizon which give us all good cheer.

One of the genuine signs of promise is the shrinking of the globe, through the progress of modern discovery and invention. I am not sure whether those "kite-flying machines" will banish war or not; it is a very interesting line of thought as to what they may do. They may take the dare-to-fight out of man; they cannot take the want-to-fight out of him. We are striving to do the latter as well as the former.

The shrinking of the globe, the drawing together of the nations, produces a physical contiguity which must have profound moral results. When General Washington went from Philadelphia to assume the command of the continental army at Boston, he was eleven days in making the journey,—a time which would now suffice to place an ambassador in most of the distant nations of the earth. When Livingstone died in the heart of Africa, it was after an absence from civilization, a practical dropping out of the world, for years. Now anyone in this room can send a telegram straight to the tree beneath which Livingstone's heart is buried. The maps of to-day are so rapidly being changed, and so marvellously, that the atlas of to-night will be practically useless at the opening of the twentieth century. We see Africa being portioned out; we see China being carved into gigantic morsels for the European palate. We see Nansen making his dash for the pole. We see the trans-continental Siberian railway carrying new life into those frozen desolations, and soon to pour the tide of European civilization into the ports of the Pacific. And this physical contiguity,—have we ever considered what it means, as regards temperamental and social and moral relations? What does it mean for men to come geographically nearer if politically and socially they are farther apart? What does it mean for men to come into greater physical proximity if they are sundered more vitally in their thoughts and ideals and aspirations? This physical nearness, on which I surely need not enlarge, means this: that in the future hatred will be more awful, strife more

frightfully disastrous, war more exceedingly terrible, peace more practicable, international amity and unity more absolutely essential, than in any century since the morning stars sang together at the creation.

Another sign of promise is the wonderful expansion of the self-consciousness of our own republic, and its frank recognition of its place among the family of nations. The first essential in the individual life is that the boy shall become strong in his own personality. The first essential is that the baby shall learn the use of "I" and "me." First the infant must learn to walk alone and talk alone and think alone and act alone; then come those alliances with other lives, that interlacing with other personalities, out of which comes the richest and ripest part of our life. First the assertion and maintenance of one's own self, then the intertwining with other selves. So, if you ask: "Why has this great movement not before aroused the conscience of America, why was it not taken up fifty or seventy-five years ago?"—the answer is plain. First in America we had not only to declare but to achieve ourselves; first we had to achieve our own place among the nations of the earth. Now comes this larger intertwining of our national life with all the family of nations, without which our own highest well-being can never be achieved. In the history of the invention of printing, if I may borrow a happy illustration from Seth Low, progress was slow as long as the letters of a word were all printed on one block. When each movable type became absolutely independent and separate from all its fellows, then their endless combinations in modern literature and modern printing became for the first time possible. First of all it was given to this country to have the great rallying cry of 1776, Independence. Now we are coming to the grander rallying cry, because the grander idea, of Inter-dependence,—the inter-dependence of separate sovereign states, each independent in its own domain, yet all coming together in one indivisible family of nations. This, I think, is one inevitable outcome of the present tendencies and events.

Another sign of promise on the horizon is that we are now coming to recognize that the ethics of Jesus, always accepted as the supreme standard of individual righteousness, is now becoming recognized as the supreme standard of national righteousness as well. Hatred on a national scale is far more unchristian than hatred on a personal scale. Alexander Selkirk, on his lonely island, could not have been, in the deepest sense of the term, a Christian. He could of course have prayed to God and have been saved in the hereafter; but to be a Christian is very much more than that. Nine-tenths of all Christ's commands relate to our duties to our fellows, to our relations to one another; and the man who, voluntarily or involuntarily, is isolated from his fellows, cannot achieve Christianity in the real sense. The same thing is true of the nation: a nation shutting itself within its own boundaries, and saying, "We care nothing for the rest of the world, they are only our enemies," is a nation that cannot be in the deepest sense of the term a Christian nation. How much we have to be thankful for, that the ethics of Jesus has already ameliorated the conditions of modern warfare! When, just a month ago, we issued two declarations to the world;—first, that if we go into war it shall not be for conquest and personal aggrandizement; and secondly, it shall not be to let loose a host of privateers upon our foes;—something was shown to the world which would



have been inconceivable two thousand years ago, inconceivable two hundred years ago. It was Christianity that did that. Two thousand years ago the thought was, "Injure your enemy in every possible way." There is not a nation on earth, civilized or semi-civilized, that dreams of warfare in that way to-day. The weapons of war have been changed: poisons are no longer permitted, explosive bullets are not permitted. The treatment of the sick and the wounded has been wonderfully changed; and Clara Barton to-day with the Red Cross goes amid the woes of Armenia or the starvation of Cuba, protected by her Christian womanhood and by the Christian sentiment of nations that are in deadly struggle. Non-combatants are unmolested, the rights of neutrals are respected. And all this has been done under the dominance of Christian teaching.

But we must go still farther. On the frontier, when two men fall out, they organize an extempore court and administer rough justice, hot with passion. In savage life, when two men quarrel, one knocks down his enemy, and there are no rules of the game. Under the old ridiculous "code of honor," paces were measured off, and we had the duel. Under established law those things become impossible. We have an established court, to which the differences of individuals can be referred. Now I affirm that every argument for the reference of differences between individuals to an established court in civilized lands, is an argument that tells a thousand-fold for the establishment of some court of high arbitration among nations, to which national differences of opinion may be referred, and whose decisions shall be enforced, not by war, but by the high dignity, the evident fairness, the Christian principle, of the court itself.

The ethics of Jesus must be applied to the nations of the world. All nations are in some sense personalities. Each nation has a conscience and a will and a character, which are more than the simple sum of the wills and consciences and characters of the individuals comprising it. If in an individual magnanimity, generosity, forbearance, altruism, love, are admirable, they are a million-fold more admirable in a nation composed of a million men. If courtesy and chivalry are binding on the individual, they are much more binding on a puissant nation. If an individual ought to spring to the relief of a defenceless neighbor by his side, why may not, under Christian principle, a nation do the same thing? If the individual is bound to regard principle more than policy, bound to seek for righteousness more than the rewards of righteousness, bound to seek for justice and truth in his personal and commercial and professional relations, much more are nations bound to do the same thing. And if we who are Christians as individuals, every one of us acknowledging that the standard of Christ is the supreme norm for us,—if now we can say, that is the standard for our home, that is the standard for our village or municipality, that is the standard for our national life, then Christ shall become the Prince of Peace in a wholly new sense, and a fresh song of the angels shall be heard throughout the world.

I believe we can strive for this. Our protection is not to be found in great guns, but in the men behind the guns, in the righteousness and character within the men. Cromwell said to the English soldiers, "You boast of the great ditch that surrounds your island; but let me tell you, your ditch will not save you if you break God's

law!" We need not simply a ditch, not simply our armor-plate in time of danger. We need the protection of the pacific spirit, of the recognition of the brotherhood of nations, of the unity of the race, which shall surely cause every difficulty in time to vanish, every great obstacle in time to dwindle and fade, and shall usher in the time of which William Watson has spoken,

"When, wise from out the foolish past,  
Nations shall, peradventure, hail at last  
The coming of that morn divine,  
When nations shall as forests grow;  
Wherein the oak hates not the pine,  
Nor beeches wish the cedars woe;  
But all in their unlikeness blend  
Confederate to one golden end."

### Objections to National Wheat Granaries in Great Britain.

A letter of Mr. Edward Atkinson to a leading commercial paper of England.

BOSTON, MASS., June 23, 1898.

To the Editor of

DEAR SIR,—

Many persons have read with interest the various articles recently contributed to the press in England on the danger which the United Kingdom now incurs of a short food supply, especially of a short supply of wheat. The discussion itself brings into very conspicuous notice the interdependence of the English-speaking people. You buy from the United States fifty per cent of all that we export. Our supply of food is as necessary to you as your market is necessary to us, and yet there are a few noisy persons and presses in both countries who have been idiotic enough to promote animosity in the past and who might be so wanting in all that makes a man fit to be respected as to provoke a war between the two great branches of the English-speaking people. I do not use the word Anglo-Saxon for the reason that with a few unimportant exceptions the members of other families among the nations who have found a way to welfare in the United States are as true to the principle of liberty and of common law as if they had not been born under other conditions. There are also people of some eminence and of so little true insight into what really makes nations great as to have led them to treat commerce as if it were a pursuit inferior to that of the army and the navy; or as if armies or navies, especially the latter, would have any reason for their existence in modern times except for the protection of the commerce from which they have been generated and by which they are supported. The sea power now rests on the commerce of which navies are the national police.

We observe that plans are proposed for establishing national granaries in Great Britain in which to store a reserve of wheat, estimated to cost anywhere from fifteen to twenty million sterling,—a singular reversion to the conception of semi-barbaric conditions. Are there not easier and simpler ways to give the people of England positive assurance of the continuous supply of grain from this country, which would rot upon our fields were it not for the British market? Some of these writers are so ill informed as to anticipate a falling off in the supply from the wheat fields of America. It is only necessary to call their attention to the fact that the potential of our wheat lands has hardly been opened. Witness the

fact that part of the Indian Reservation north of Texas opened to settlement under the name of Oklahoma but two or three years ago will this year put into the market about four million quarters or over thirty million bushels of wheat. There is unoccupied land in that immediate neighborhood sufficient for the production of the present entire wheat crop of the United States whenever anybody wants it, and will pay the cost of production and a small profit over.

In the plans for the national granaries on your side it has been suggested to build them of concrete in order to avoid dampness. Why not continue to make use of the ample granaries of our Northwest, where the dry climate gives assurance that the wheat will be well preserved?

But, say the alarmists, the commerce between the United States and Great Britain might be interrupted, first, by other nations, second, by a quarrel among themselves. How shall these objections be met? There is a very simple solution. We proposed in 1856 not only to abolish privateering but to make private property exempt from seizure upon the high seas as it is now upon the land. War upon the land has ceased in some measure to be an opportunity for rapine and plunder conducted under the necessary conditions of the science of war by lying, misleading, ambushing and spying, getting the advantage of the enemy and striking him in the back and other military arts. The latter elements are still necessary to the conduct of war, but rapine and plunder upon the land without compensation, and bombardment of unprotected cities is no longer tolerated. Why not renew that proposal to establish immunity from seizure of private property on the ferry way or sea way between the ports of this country and the ports of Europe under the supervision of an international police consisting of the navies of both countries? If the other nations did not choose to join they could remain out at their peril. The navies of the United States and Great Britain combined are sufficient to maintain peace, order and progress over the sea way, which must necessarily be kept open for the mutual benefit of the English-speaking people.

But, says an objector, "Suppose there is a falling out between Great Britain and the United States." Well suppose there is. That could only be brought about by the reprehensible conduct of small people commonly called jingoes who might happen to have been put in places of responsibility. We have had and have now some examples of this type of irresponsible people in the Senate of the United States and there has been a suspicion on this side that some members of a similar class had even secured position in your Parliament and even in your cabinet. We can provide both against them and for them and we can also provide opportunities for officers of the navy and authors who treat of the naval power as the chief consideration to continue the development of the fighting qualities which are considered by them so necessary to national existence. A little common sense put in a treaty will provide an arena at some place on the ocean where a sea fight would do no harm to anyone except those who took part in it. It might then be arranged that in case the jingoes of the two countries had come into collision a certain part of the naval force not required for the preservation of order might be sent out on each side and have it out and see which could mislead, deceive or get the better of the other. On this fleet the men who had not sufficient common sense to keep the

peace might leave their legislative halls or respective cabinets and take their places on the ships of war for such service as they might be competent to render. It would take no more brain power to shovel coal into the furnace or to serve in binding up wounds in the ward room than it had taken to get into the difficulty which had made a fight of some sort necessary. Of course these men would not be competent to do the technical work of managing the ship any more than they have proved to be competent to do the technical work of managing the government, and would therefore be put into inferior positions.

I venture to submit this plan as a better one for assuring the food supply of the British branch of the English-speaking people than the one of wasting fifteen or twenty million pounds sterling in building silo granaries so-called, of concrete, wholly unfit for the preservation of wheat in a climate which is not as well suited for keeping grain dry as that in which the grain is now produced. I think my plan may perhaps be accepted as the more sensible of the two.

## The Failure of Militarism.

BY J. W. LEEDS.

Just before the outbreak of the war with Spain, I sent to the *Advocate*, with approving comment, an editorial from that newly launched daily reform paper, *The Commonwealth* of Harrisburg, Penn., which characterized in appropriate terms the folly of engagement in war, declared against the jingo spirit, so prevalent, and contended that the methods of peace should suffice to resolve our difficulties. When the strife was entered upon, however, the popular demand to "Remember the Maine" and to keep up the fight to a finish, was seemingly fully endorsed, and the words that should make for peace and goodwill to men were forgotten or remained unspoken. In the issue of yesterday, nevertheless, there appeared an editorial under the caption heading this article, so assertive of the truth about "the wretched business" that it may be profitable to pass it on as an encouragement to some others to honestly speak out what is in their "heart of hearts" concerning "the rowdy's way of settling a difficulty."

Following is the first part of the aforesaid editorial:

"No matter how justifiable this Spanish war may be, or what excuses we pile up for being in the wretched business, how we glorify the heroism of warfare, or how devoted in our worship of Mars, the real bedrock truth stripped of all glamor is that it is the rowdy's way of settling a difficulty. Be it ever so true that Spain is a semi-barbarous nation and that we could n't avoid getting into the miserable mess, it is none the less deplorable from every point of view. And not the least is the retrogressive effect it has upon the present generation of children. It is pitiable to see them everywhere in the mimic panoply of warfare, playing battle, and feeding their young imaginations with reports of strife, fighting and killing. To some minds this passes for patriotism. It is easily conceivable how a gentleman might get into a personal row with a rowdy. Under circumstances of sufficient provocation it might become his duty to fight in defence of the weak, the injured, or the innocent, or in self-defence against the attack of the thug who tries to carry everything with the bludgeon. There are persons

with whom one can only deal with the sledge hammer, figuratively and literally. They respect nothing else. But it is utterly inconceivable at this stage of civilization how two gentlemen can fight. The code duello is at a discount among all decent people. It is no longer good form except among a class of gentry whose pride is their toughness and whose glory is their contempt for decency. And so it may just as well be understood that mere militarism is not patriotism, any more than pugilism is a domestic virtue."

### A Vast Ulcer.

Dr. H. E. von Holst thus gives his reasons for opposing the annexation of the Philippines:

"If this country annexes the Philippine Islands, it will simply annex a vast ulcer. The annexation will be a greater calamity than the loss of three great battles would be. I am not American born, but I am an American patriot and it is because I am such that I deprecate this ruinous folly. The trouble will come, not during the war, but at the close of it and afterward. The seed which the country is now sowing will not bear its full harvest for fifty or a hundred years. Annexation! How could this country have the face to annex the Philippines after the joint resolution of Congress expressly disclaiming any intention to do so and after the President in his message has said that annexation would be criminal? How could the American people conquer and annex another country when the cardinal principle of its own constitution is that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? Can annexation be the object of a war of humanity? There has been some talk, not only of annexation, but of trading. That is, this country which stands for a government of the people, by the people, proposes to conquer another nation and swap it off for a third, against the will of both. Now, the Congress of Vienna did this thing, but who would ever have dreamed that the United States would do it?"

"If the United States should annex the Philippines would any of the nations on the continent resist it?"

"I cannot say any of them would, but I am sure it would unite the nations of continental Europe against this country in sentiment."

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### War is Wrong.

The *National Single Taxer* of Minneapolis, is devoting a good deal of space to discussion of the subject of peace, many single-taxers being opposed on principle to all war. Under date of May 23, Mr. James Leedom of Milwaukee, wrote as follows:

"In his epigrammatic, brusque way, General Sherman said, 'War is hell!' In more thoughtful words, an English bishop (Watson) one hundred years ago, wrote, 'War reverses, with respect to its objects, all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue. It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are incorporated.'

"As single taxers, our faith in the truth and beauty of Jesus' teachings has been confirmed, not shaken. We

have learned to love the prayer, 'Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven,' and to believe that the duty of all men while on this earth is to do the will of their Father in Heaven. While these principles are admittedly true, yet, strange to say, many single taxers while condemning the social customs which compel God's creatures to live in wretchedness, loudly applaud the practice of the inherited barbarity of war, which entails misery, wretchedness, pain, and suffering on the combatants, awakens in men's breasts every evil passion, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, and at least temporarily suspends every principle of love and virtue.

"War and Christianity are diametrically opposed to each other. As we cannot serve God and mammon, so I believe we must either advocate war or Christianity, one or the other, not both at the same time."

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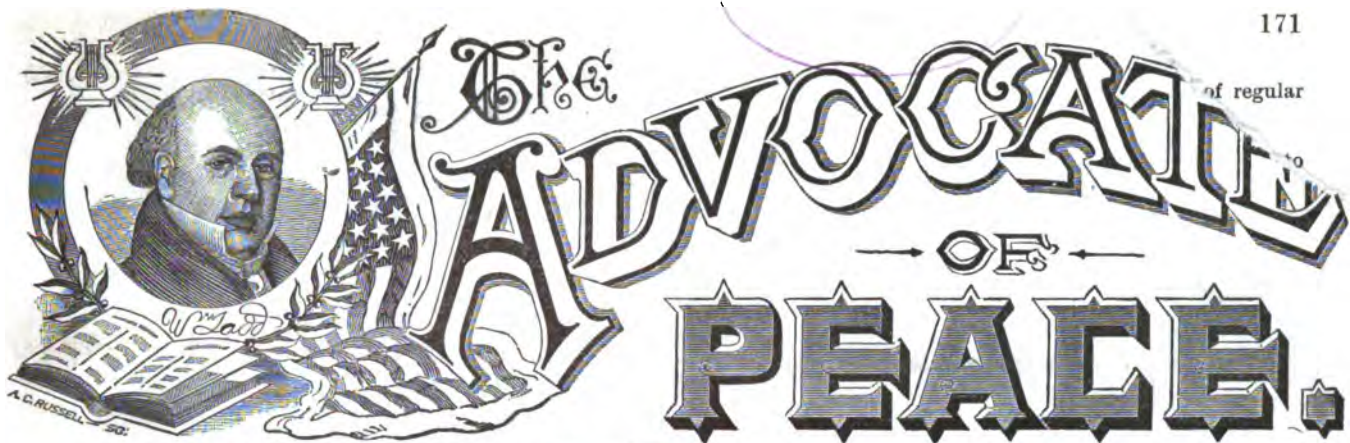
### The President's New Flag.

The new official flag of the President of the United States is printed, for the first time correctly, on the cover of the July *Ladies' Home Journal*. The flag was recently adopted as the President's emblem, and henceforth will be employed to proclaim his official presence. When he is at the White House the flag will be displayed there, and wherever he may go as President of the United States it will be in evidence. Its publication in accurate color detail will be a matter of much interest, inasmuch as it will acquaint the public with the President's emblem.



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BOSTON, AUGUST and SEPTEMBER, 1898.



EVERY country that seeks military success renounces liberty. In the spirit of passive obedience and discipline lies the strength of armies; criticism, discussion and the assertion of lawful rights are the mainsprings of free institutions. In a country at war, or preparing for war, authority must be absolute; its proper sovereign is a general and a dictator. The spirit of conquest and the spirit of freedom are therefore incompatible. Force reigns with the one, reason with the other. And the war ended, victory ordinarily seals the subjugation of the victorious people; for Bonapartes are much more common than Washingtons. Seeing, therefore, that in every war nations must stake both their prosperity and their freedom, it is obvious that, if they have their eyes open, they cannot wish for it. Experience has shown that arbitration can never involve a danger to anyone. It has been repeatedly resorted to of late years, and in every case it has removed the difficulty without giving rise to any objection or leaving any bitterness behind. If arbitration by sovereigns has been attended with such results, it must *à fortiori* be effective were the decision pronounced by a high court combining all the guarantees of impartiality, enjoying the highest authority and being accepted beforehand by all parties.

ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE.



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# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## Significance of the Czar's Proposal.

The tremendous significance of the Czar's peace manifesto has become increasingly evident as the weeks have passed by since he gave it to the world. We therefore return to it again.

The first thing to be noticed is the great strengthening of the peace movement which it has given. The peace associations all over Europe, of which there are now more than four hundred, have suddenly found themselves lifted out of a condition of neglect and in many places of contempt into one of great respect and consideration. The whole argument of the Czar for the reduction of armaments through international agreement is the same which these associations have been making for many years. Their ideas have been patronizingly called beautiful, but at the same time ridiculed as utopian. Suddenly their thought is taken up by the sovereign of one of the greatest powers and declared to come within the scope of practical politics and to demand immediate attention. It is not surprising therefore that these peace organizations have

felt a strange thrill of satisfaction and enthusiasm, as if their cause were already triumphant.

Beyond their ranks, in general society, the flood of thought and hope awakened by the Russian Emperor's trumpet call has been almost unparalleled. From one side of Europe to the other, from center to circumference of the United States, in every city and village of every civilized state, the proposal has been discussed, in the newspapers, in the pulpit, in the home, on the railway train, and approval of it has been universal, sincere and often enthusiastic. Even in France this has been the case, in spite of the "*question préalable*" of Alsace-Lorraine, which is declared to stand in the way. This spontaneous, universal sanction of a proposition of such character, coming unexpectedly as it did, means two things. It expresses the general longing of civilized peoples for more perfect unity and coöperation, and it is a tacit, but none the less powerful arraignment of the greatest folly and curse of civilization. This interpretation put upon the Czar's manifesto by the reception which has been accorded it, gives it a force infinitely greater than the mere fact of its having been sent out by "the greatest autocrat" of the world. There is an autocracy greater than that of the Czar, to which Nicholas II. and all other rulers must ultimately yield. The resistless wave of this autocracy may move and rise slowly, but it is already, to use Björnson's simile, in all "the first story windows."

The governments themselves have hastened to approve almost as rapidly as the people, thus setting the seal of their condemnation on the militarism of the age. President McKinley has notified the Czar that this government heartily approves and will send a representative to the proposed Conference. A number of the European governments have done the same thing,—we know not just how many of them. They will doubtless all do so before long. No government having a representation at St. Petersburg

will be able to reject the invitation of the Czar, strongly supported as it has been by public sentiment and by the official acceptance of so many heads of state. Any government doing so would put itself under the ban of the whole civilized world, and by its rejection would virtually declare that it prefers to live under the curse of militarism rather than move with others to a new plane of greater freedom and less burden. If France should allow the question of Alsace-Lorraine to keep her out of the Conference, which we do not believe she will do, she would find herself at the close of its deliberations much farther from any hope of getting the two provinces back than she is to-day.

There are doubtless great difficulties in the way of such a Conference reaching results of any practical value; but there are still more difficulties in the way of its proving a failure. We feel sure, then, that we have in sight a Conference of the powers of both hemispheres, momentous in the interests which it will have in hand beyond any gathering that has ever met since historic time began. It is practically certain that when the Conference meets it will find itself inevitably confronted with the whole question of a general international arbitration treaty providing for a permanent tribunal for the settlement of international differences. This question is so closely connected with that of reduction of armaments that it will be difficult to treat the one without the other. But of this we do not care to prophecy. If the Conference meets, which we confidently expect, it will solve its own problems, in the providence of God.

One thing greatly disturbs us. It ought to disturb every true American. This is the plan to have the standing army of the United States increased by act of Congress next winter to one hundred thousand men. With the Conference of the powers in prospect and already approved by President McKinley's action, such a proceeding on the part of this country seems utterly contradictory and absurd. The plea is that the increase in the army is needed for garrison duty. But when the Spanish troops are gone from Porto Rico and Cuba, all the troops needed in those islands will be a few regiments as symbols of power. Straight-forward proceeding on the part of the government in the establishment of order in Cuba will prevent the necessity of considerable bodies of troops. Those needed can be spared from the regular army as it existed before the recent war.

There is little need for them longer on the Indian borders. The same is true of the Philippines. If large bodies of troops are sent there and also posted at Honolulu, trouble is much more sure to arise than if only small bodies are sent merely as symbols of authority. Honorable, disinterested dealing with both the natives and the foreigners will work much better results than the presence of an army fifty thousand strong—even if the government commits the tremendous blunder of retaining the island of Luzon—which may God forbid even at the eleventh hour.

### War and God.

The two words look strange together, as strange as if you should set down Satan and peace side by side, and try to make them seem akin. The ideas behind them are so antagonistic that curious apologies are resorted to to make them seem compatible. God is fashioned, or refashioned, after men's own likeness, clothed with their characteristics, given their ideas and purposes, filled with their feelings, and then set out to work *their* will. This is always the case when men mix God up with war. The war as *they* make it is just. *Their* cause is his cause. He is on *their* side. They pray that he may aid and protect *them*; that *their* heads may be covered in the day of battle; that their enemies may be beaten down and destroyed. Nobody ever heard of ministers in the pulpit—war ministers we mean—or chaplains in armies praying that God would cover the heads of the enemy in the day of battle, that he would feed and clothe and shield the poor soldiers in the opposing lines. *Te Deums* are never sung when defeats come and the enemy triumphs.

The God who is thus manufactured, or metamorphosed, for war purposes, is not the God who is preached in time of peace, as the Father of all, not the God of the missionary, not the "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" who died for all men, who came "not to destroy men's lives but to save them," not the God of self-sacrifice and forgiveness, but a being of selfish vindictiveness. A mere look between the lids of the New Testament is enough to convince one that the God there revealed has no likeness to this God selfishly improvised for the purposes of victory in war. Indeed, men rarely try to get support for their war-God out of the New Testament, where God is always the God of love and peace. They fly to the Old Testament, to a time and a literature from which they would never dream of drawing their models for family morality, or church institutions, or political systems. When they wish to uphold war, they argue that God never changes; in all other respects they declare that change is the law of his revelation, that the new and more complete forever supersedes the old and partial. Their God

is to-day a Christian; tomorrow, when somebody is to be killed, he is a barbarian of four thousand years ago, watching over the fight, rejoicing in *their* victory, clapping his hands and shouting with glee when a shot goes straight to an enemy's breast or a shell destroys his ship; enthroning himself after the battle to be glorified by hands dripping with the blood of fellowmen. How this God differs essentially from the old time Mars of the heathen it would be hard to tell.

To try to glorify one's war by bringing God into it, making him responsible for it, having him give aid in it and receive honor for it if victory comes, is an old trick, which with sensible people ought to have been worn out long ago. Unfortunately, it is resorted to in every fresh war, as if it were brand new. No sooner had the recent war broken out than many people in this country began to be nervously anxious that God should aid us against Spain. No matter what wickedness of the jingoes, the job-seeking politicians and the yellow journals had brought on an unnecessary war, God would certainly aid us against the wily, crafty, sixteenth-century Dons, because our cause was forsooth the liberation of the oppressed, having nothing of self-seeking in it! Ministers prayed for victory, for the protection of our soldiers and sailors from the guns of the Spaniards, from disease and pestilence. Did it not occur to these quaking souls how ridiculous it was that a great, rich, powerful nation of seventy millions should need the special help of an Almighty God to whip a little, poverty-stricken, exhausted nation of seventeen millions? The little girl who, being taken to task by her mother for omitting to pray for the army and navy, replied that she had left them out because they were quite able to take care of themselves, reasoned better than these quaking parsons. On the other side of the sea the Spaniards were praying for success against the "Yankee pigs" who were breaking greedily into their possessions. Which were the more sensible prayers, or rather the more senseless?

As soon as victories began to come, men said that that was a signal proof that the Lord was on our side. The victory at Manila was so "marvellous," so unparalleled in history! Surely it was God who directed the shells and destroyed the eleven Spanish vessels! And produced all the horrible scenes on these ships and delighted in them? No matter how poor the Spanish ships and gunners, nor how trained and scientific the work on the American vessels, God had to be lugged in! The victory was "miraculous," it was His doing! Intellectual and moral inanity can go no further. Why not have followed the matter out to its logical conclusion, and, instead of honoring Dewey, as everybody was wildly doing, have made the Lord himself the recipient of the honors and had his great name posted in all

conspicuous places! The fact is that God was brought into the *mêlée* by people, simply to cover with apparent righteousness a bloody and awful spectacle. Such trifling with the Divine Name would be the height of blasphemy, if it were not done so ignorantly and unconsciously.

After the destruction of Cervera's fleet, chaplains of ships discoursed eloquently of God having shown his providential hand in the war. One captain called his men together, while the Spaniards in the blasted ship near by were still roasting, shrieking with pain, dying of the ghastly wounds which his guns had just made, and had his men bare their heads while he confessed in very general terms that he believed in God the Father Almighty. Did Captain Philip mean to say amid those awful surroundings, produced by himself and his men, that God had been directly helping them in the bloody horrors, and that He was pleased at what He saw before Him? He did not say this. We do not believe that he ever thought it, consciously. But it was necessary to make what his conscience revolted at seem good.

But if God was in these naval battles and "protected the officers and crews" of the ships, so that scarcely a man was killed, why did he not protect the men before Santiago? Why did he not shield their heads and breasts from the deadly Mauser bullets? They were fighting for the same cause, against the same kind of Spaniards, on the very soil which God had sent us to deliver. Why did God not keep back the yellow fever, typhoid, dysentery, and all the other diseases from which so many of the brave boys died and are still dying? If he kept the tropical storms from falling upon the ships, why did he not shut up in the heavens the drenching rains? We have not seen a hint that God's hand sent these things to strike down the Americans, as he was said to have directed the shells which crushed the Spanish ships and sent "unnumbered souls to Hades." Nor have we seen it hinted that God had been pleased in his mercy to give the nation an incompetent Secretary of War, and brainless subordinates, and dishonest army contractors, and that he had fed the poor soldiers on worm-eaten food and rancid bacon "sent from heaven," and kept them in foul and unhealthy camps. We have not heard the suggestion that the men who sickened and died so miserably under the tropical sun or in stifling cattle-ships were "sinners above all men" and therefore appointed by the Almighty to such a wretched fate. The ordinary course of nature, without any miracle, is supposed to have been sufficient to accomplish these disasters. According to these interpreters of the Divine providence God was miraculously present when there were victories and lives were spared, but they have left him conspicuously out whenever mismanagement and disaster have come. The blame for calamities, so far as charged at all, has been

heaped upon poor Alger and other mortals. In Spain the course of thought has been the same. Calamities have come from men; but if success had attended the Spanish arms, if they had destroyed American fleets and defeated American armies, *Te Deums* would have resounded in all the churches and cathedrals.

We are not irreverent. We believe profoundly in God's providence. We believe in his perpetual interests in the affairs of men, bad as well as good. Not a soldier falls in any battle, not a ship is sunk in any sea, not a battle cruel and bloody is fought anywhere, without his notice. He is forever seeking to promote human good, and does promote it wherever and so far as men will let him or coöperate with him; often in spite of them. He makes good seemingly come out of evil, though in reality it always comes out of himself. But that interpretation of God's providence and interposition which makes him take sides directly in battle, with its cruelties and horrors and sufferings, like selfish, glory-seeking, vindictive mortals, upholding "our side" and ruthlessly crushing the enemy, is unworthy of any sane mind; it is outrageous; it is blasphemous. It is as complete a denial of God as he is fully revealed to us in Jesus Christ as it is possible to conceive. It degrades his character to the lowest level of passion, and makes him unworthy of respect, to say nothing of worship and love.

### Government and Force.

On another page, under "Correspondence," we publish a letter from Dr. J. C. Barnes of Hindsboro, Illinois, in which is found some pretty vigorous and independent thinking, whatever may be thought of the soundness of some of its conclusions or premises. The question which he discusses, with such evident purpose to do his duty after finding it,—the question of coercive government in its relation to individual freedom and rights,—is confessedly one of the most difficult in the whole range of morals. Everybody who thinks at all thinks upon it, and must think upon it. We have space for only a brief consideration of the subject in its fundamental aspects.

The theory that government is founded on force, or on a principle which involves the use of force as a necessary adjunct of its administration, seems to us to be radically defective. If this theory be true, then either war with all its immoralities and inhumanities must be accepted as right under possible contingencies, or government itself must be rejected as essentially wrong. This latter position Mr. Barnes, in his moral rejection of war, seems to take. But a man who takes this position cannot consistently hold property titles of any kind under the government, nor pay taxes, nor vote, nor make any even moral efforts to support government laws of

any kind, nor use money regulated by government. In the present organization of society, such a man, if loyal to his principles, would become at once an object of charity and live only so long as others fed and clothed him. It is doubtful if he could conscientiously even accept food and clothing from those living under government regulations. Few good people would be willing to carry their "anarchism," their opposition to government that is, to these logical consequences. Such persons live necessarily with more or less inconsistency; against their wish, to be sure. On the other hand, a considerable number of persons, who accept the position that government is legitimate but that it is founded in force or necessarily involves the use of force, reject war as always wrong. Their moral nature revolts against it, though the acceptance of it as legitimate necessarily follows from their premises. They too live in real inconsistency, puzzled often to know how to make their consciences and their heads harmonize.

Government is founded in the necessities of orderly, harmonious coöperation of groups of individuals for the accomplishments of ends not attainable by individual effort. Wherever two men coöperate in the performance of a task, government in its essential nature begins, one taking the lead and directing, or first one and then the other doing this. As the groups of coöperating individuals grow larger and their mutual enterprises more complex, the necessity of guidance, direction, leadership becomes more imperative. In the movements of small groups the government of the body, which inheres fundamentally and always in the body itself, works itself out nearly instinctively with little or no organization, but in larger groups spreading over extended territories organization of the direction and guidance, of the planning and collective execution, becomes necessary. Thus develop town, county, state and national organized governments, for the creation and maintenance of public roads, the determination of the mutual relations of property, the promotion of education, the care of the needy, the conveyance of mails, etc., etc.

This we believe to be the true origin and necessity of government. It is clear therefore that governments would have existed, if there had never been any tyrants or usurpers, or any wicked men to be restrained, and that they will continue to exist after all the abuses of the heads of states cease and all men become possessed of love and goodwill, and the use of force becomes unknown.

On this theory of government, men who oppose war, or any other evil which the constituted authorities enter into, can nevertheless consistently take part in the support of the government in the performance of its legitimate functions. Indeed, they are under the most solemn obligation, as members of the coöperating body of citizens, to do so. Abuse and perversion of its functions does not vitiate



government as a whole. The abuses are to be faithfully opposed. Obedience is to stop whenever it means submission to wrong. But the natural and just functions are to be entered into and supported with whole-hearted devotion. Only in this way can good men ever redeem the governments of the world from the corruptions, the usurpations, the tyrannies into which they have fallen.

The idea of coercion in government arose from two sources, the presence of wicked, ambitious men in the seats of government, and the presence of evil-doers in society. It is perfectly clear that all the coercion of good men and the trampling on their rights and liberties by wicked rulers is wrong. It is equally clear that governments ought to allow liberty of conscience to really good men who in general are faithful citizens but who cannot conscientiously perform certain services which the authorities think right to impose. Only in this way can organized government and real liberty exist together. The government exists for the people, not the people for the government, and it is much more important that the real rights and liberties of the people be preserved than that the government should be saved at times from seeming disrespect. The disobedience of a good citizen to what he believes to be unrighteous demands strengthens rather than weakens the real authority of government, because it tends to bring out that authority and clearly define it.

The restraint of evil-doers raises the real difficulty of the question. The commonly accepted opinion is that in their restraint force may be used even to the taking of life. This position involves of course theoretically the lawfulness of war in some form, in possible cases of suppression of organized rebellion and of self-defense against outside aggression. Even if this position were correct, governments would still be under obligation to use every possible peaceful means before resorting to the death of individuals or to war, and those composed of men of real love and goodwill would doubtless succeed in most cases in avoiding forceful coercion. The danger of the position is that if deadly force is accepted as lawful the resort to it is so easy and its abuse so natural that all other considerations are quickly swept away. It is very difficult if not impossible for love to remain love while one is smiting down or preparing to smite down with deadly force one's fellowmen, even evil-doers.

Is it possible to restrain successfully transgressors without the use of deadly force? There is a considerable number of persons—and the number is rapidly increasing—who believe that pure, intelligent love and goodwill like that of Jesus Christ can never go to war nor do the deeds of war. These hold that a government conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount is the only possible Christian or really human one, and that such a

government could maintain its authority and more effectually restrain evil-doers, both within and without, than any government arming itself with deadly weapons. This position theoretically is clearly much more in harmony with the principles both of Christianity and humanity than the other. Is it practical? Its advocates think so. The only experiment of the kind ever tried, that of William Penn, gives strong ground for their belief. To try the experiment successfully on an extended scale, it would be necessary for practically the whole body of a people to be convinced of the rightness and the practicability of it and to throw themselves along with their government into the experiment, with entire faith.

It is certain that as Christian civilization advances all governments will, in practice, approach nearer and nearer to the ideal administration of such a government. Those who believe in discarding deadly weapons, both in individual and governmental life, and in overcoming evil only with good, have very high grounds for their position. They certainly have no reason to be ashamed of their convictions, nor of faithfully trying to live them out before men. The future—of this world we mean—is theirs beyond question.

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### Editorial Notes.

The International Peace Congress which was to have opened at Lisbon on the 3d inst has been put off for this year. Lisbon was chosen for the Congress, because the Interparliamentary Peace Union had decided to hold its annual conference there, though many objected to the city because of its remoteness from the centers of activity of the European peace societies. After the decision not to hold the Interparliamentary Conference this year, and the discovery that but small reduction in rates of travel could be obtained, the Peace Bureau at Berne, after consultation with the Peace Society at Lisbon and other societies, came to the conclusion that it was wisest to give up the Congress for this year. In some respects it is to be regretted that the Congress cannot meet at this important time, but the action taken is doubtless wisest in view of the probable smallness of the number who would have attended. There are many members, though not a majority, of the Congress who believe that a meeting every two years would accomplish just as much as annual meetings. In view of the decision to put off the Congress till next year, it was decided to have the General Meeting of the Peace Bureau Organization take place at Turin, Italy, on the 26th of September, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Count Sclopis, and to give to the program an importance which it would otherwise not have had. This meeting has taken place, and will, we trust, have done much to strengthen the peace movement in Italy, where it has already made remarkable progress.

The Directors of the American Peace Society held their first regular fall meeting on Monday, September 26th. Ten members were present, viz., Robert Treat Paine, Rev. Charles G. Ames, Nathaniel T. Allen, Dr. Scott F. Hershey, William A. Mowry, Rev. W. E. Barton, Rev. C. B. Smith, William E. Sheldon, A. E. Winship and Benjamin F. Trueblood. The meeting was one of great interest. The following resolutions were adopted :

"*Resolved*, that we have learned with the greatest satisfaction of the action of the Emperor of Russia in issuing, on the 24th of August, an invitation to all the powers represented at St. Petersburg to hold a conference for the discussion of the question of a reduction of armaments. We regard this action of the sovereign of one of the greatest powers on earth as among the most important steps ever taken for the promotion of international unity, and of a more Christian and stable civilization. The President and Secretary are hereby instructed to convey to His Majesty, Nicholas II., through the Russian Ambassador at Washington, the profound gratitude felt by the Directors and members of the American Peace Society that he has, in the providence of God, and with so great honor to himself, taken this step in the interests of international peace and goodwill."

"*Resolved*, that we have heard with the sincerest pleasure that President McKinley has so promptly notified the Czar of Russia that this government cordially approves of the proposed conference of the powers to promote reduction of armaments and will send a delegate to it when held. It is the judgment of this Board that the conference when held might appropriately take up the subject of a general international arbitration treaty and tribunal, and President McKinley is earnestly requested to instruct the United States delegate to bring this matter before the conference in some suitable way."

"*Resolved*, that considering the sincere and widespread friendliness now existing between the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain, the time is most opportune for renewed efforts for a permanent arbitration treaty between the two nations; and the President of the United States is earnestly requested to re-open, at the earliest practicable moment, negotiations for such a treaty."

A resolution was also passed protesting against any increase of the army or navy except what may be absolutely necessary for police purposes. The first resolution was ordered forwarded to the Russian Ambassador and the others to President McKinley.

Apropos of the Czar's proposition for an international conference, Mr. Wm. Tallack, secretary of the Howard Association of England, sends to the London *Times* an account of an interview between Stephen Grellet, a distinguished Quaker minister, and the Czar Alexander the First, in 1819. Stephen Grellet gives the following statement of what the Emperor said :

"He stated, 'his soul's travail had been that wars and bloodshed might cease forever from the earth; that he had passed sleepless nights on account of it, deeply deploring the woes brought on humanity by war; and that whilst his mind was bowed before the Lord, in prayer, the plan of all the crowned heads joining in the conclusion to submit to arbitration whatever differences might arise among them, instead of resorting to the sword, had presented itself to his mind in such a manner that he rose from bed and wrote what he had so sensibly felt; that his intentions had been misunderstood, or misrepresented, by some, but that love to God and to man was his only

motive in the Divine sight.' He was in Paris at the time he formed that plan."

Anarchism reached the extreme of blindness and wickedness in the assassination of the Empress of Austria at Geneva on Saturday the tenth of September. All who knew her personally, or through report of her character and deeds, were agreed in representing her though eccentric as a most estimable and lovely woman. She shunned politics and gave herself to good works. She trusted the people and went about practically defenceless. Her assassin was an Italian twenty-five years old, who had served three years in the French army. From the age of thirteen he had imbibed anarchistic ideas and led that sort of an aimless, lawless, vagabond life, the certain end of which is crime. He had come to Geneva intent upon killing the Duc D'Orleans. Not succeeding in finding him, he heard that the Empress was there, and decided to kill her. He had no personal quarrel with her and declared that he killed her simply for example's sake, though he knew that the murder was useless. After committing the deed, he gloried in what he had done.

This cruel deed raises again the question what are the causes of anarchism, how society is to protect itself against its conspiracies and its crazy freaks, and how it is ultimately to rid itself of this class of persons. Anarchism, as we now have it, is a product of modern society and its remedy is to be sought in certain transformations of that society. Hanging or guillotining or shooting anarchists has no effect whatever in reducing the evil or lessening the number of its victims. Imprisonment for life is as effective a punishment as can be devised, but this too has no real effect in lessening the danger of assassination. So long as the causes exist, killing particular anarchists will do no good. Anarchism is doubtless much aggravated by the great disproportion to-day existing between the rich and the poor. But this is not the primary cause of it. It originated and has reached its greatest development in those countries where the tyranny and the burdens of force are the greatest and most crushing. Italy, where militarism has robbed the people of their daily bread, is a hot-bed of anarchism. The very name which these people have given themselves is indicative of the root of the evil. Men love liberty. Set up a tyranny of *might* over them and make it hard and slavish, and their rebellion will go to any lengths against it. Draw revolvers and swords against them, display before them the fascinatingly crushing power of force, and they will secretly resort to these very means for accomplishing their vengeance, or carrying out their wicked purposes. Society will grow more and more helpless before the dagger and the dynamite of anarchism, until it abandons its Caesarism and its dynamite philosophy.

The assassination of the Empress of Austria has called out a large expression of international sympathy, which we believe to be entirely genuine. Francis Joseph, who is one of the best sovereigns in Europe, has been the recipient of messages of sympathy from all the nations. The Italian government hastened to express its profound regret that the assassin was an Italian; the Swiss government, that the foul deed should have been committed on Swiss soil. Other governments, our own among the first, hastened to express their abhorrence of the crime and their sympathy with the Emperor who has so often been called upon to pass through severe affliction. This is all as it should be. It is a most hopeful sign of the growing friendliness of the different nations. But in itself it will not prove a cure, or even a check, of the evil. It will even exasperate anarchism to see these heads of government hastening to condole with each other, so long as they continue to surround themselves with great armies and navies and pompous steel-clad body-guards. If each of these rulers would send at once to the Czar of Russia a note accepting his invitation to a conference on reduction of armaments, and then they all jointly and severally would honestly begin the work of disarmament and the diminution of taxes, anarchism would begin to sicken at once and would in a few years lose all its vitality and dangerousness. Much as we detest anarchism, we have no hope of its disappearing until this remedy is tried.

A Committee of the Anglo-American League, recently formed in Great Britain and containing in its membership many prominent public men, presented an address to Ambassador Hay on the 8th of September. The committee was headed by its Chairman, Hon. James Bryce. The address congratulates Mr. Hay on his appointment as Secretary of State, and expresses regret at his departure from Great Britain, "where he has discharged the weighty and delicate duties of ambassador with such eminent tact, judgment and courtesy as to win the cordial appreciation and confidence of the British people." In reference to permanent friendship and sympathy between the British and the American people the address says:

"The principle that there ought to be permanent friendship and cordial co-operation between the British empire and the American republic is one that all parties and all statesmen here agree in regarding as a fundamental principle of British foreign policy, and by it the whole people desire that their government should be guided.

We rejoice to believe that, in your country, corresponding sentiments are entertained, and that a corresponding principle is now largely accepted. Knowing that no one holds these convictions more firmly than yourself, or can express them in clearer or more felicitous terms, we gladly acknowledge the great services you have rendered to both nations, and console ourselves on your retirement by the reflection that you are called to duties in

your own country even wider in their scope, graver in their responsibility and more important in the results they may secure."

In his remarks on presenting the address Mr. Bryce dwelt upon the "admiration for the splendid gifts and boundless energy of the people of the United States and the sympathy with the principles of their constitution," now so strongly felt in Great Britain. He saw in the universality of these sentiments and their reciprocation by a large majority of the American people a happy augury not only for the welfare of the two nations but for the peace of the world. Mr. Hay in replying said:

"My voice has no such sanction as yours, but I give it for what it is worth, to assure you that your sentiments of kinship and amity are reciprocated to the utmost in my country.

On both sides of the ocean the conviction is almost universal that a clear, cordial and friendly understanding between Great Britain and the United States is a necessity of civilization. I shall hold myself signally fortunate if I am able to do anything to continue and strengthen the relations of fraternal amity between our two nations."

What Mr. Hay says as to a clear, cordial and friendly understanding between Great Britain and the United States being "a necessity of civilization" is perfectly true. Every possible effort should be made by citizens of both countries to deepen and strengthen such an understanding, and to wipe out the old prejudices which are still only too strong in spite of all the eloquent talk which recent events have evoked. This clear, and cordial understanding, to be useful to the two nations and to the rest of the world, must also be kept absolutely free from any taint of Anglo-Saxon hatred and contempt for other peoples. We are unalterably opposed to any Anglo-American "understanding" not founded in the principles of the brotherhood of humanity at large.

*The Woman's Journal*, which printed in full Mr. Garrison's Mystic address found on another page of this paper, thus comments on the speech:

"This address does not coincide with the views of the editors of this paper, nor with those of a majority of our readers. We do not believe in the theory or practice of non-resistance. We think there are worse evils than war waged to put an end to the material and moral pestilence of a cruel, corrupt government. We believe in the right of revolution. We maintain our ancestral formula, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Nevertheless we regard war as a terrible evil, seldom wise and usually needless. We regard it as the inevitable result of masculine domination, and we have no hope of eliminating it from human experience until the mother element is directly represented in government. We respectfully represent to Mr. Love, Mr. Garrison and Count Tolstoi that the only practical method of maintaining peace is by reforming the voting constituency and the legislative and executive personnel by securing the coöperation of women. When women constitute one-half of both houses

of Congress, as they surely will, benevolent diplomacy will make armored battleships and rifled cannon interesting only as relics of barbarism."

Did it never occur to the *Woman's Journal* to ask itself how a "terrible evil" can ever be a good, or how the fact that one evil is worse than another can ever make the smaller evil a good, or a thing that is sometimes wise and necessary can ever become a "relic of barbarism"? Perhaps it is only the bad part of war, the bad battleships and cannon which the women, when they get into power, will turn into interesting relics of barbarism, and the good part of war and the good battleships and cannon will be kept to serve the women in their revolutions! We respectfully represent to the *Woman's Journal* that the reform might work just as well the other end foremost. It is objected that women ought not to hold government positions because they cannot serve as soldiers. Suppose they help us to do away with war and the necessity of soldiers; then the government positions will naturally open to them. The late Jules Simon believed, as we believe, that women with their *present* opportunities could do away with war if they would. If they uphold war now, as so many of them frantically do, what assurance is there that they will make it a relic of barbarism when they get into Congress, the Cabinet and the Supreme Court?

The *Woman's Journal* will please take note that this is not written in criticism of the woman's movement, but only to put back under the peace movement the legs which it has so graciously knocked out. All true reforms are intimately connected and mutually support one another, but no one of them is so superior that it includes and exhausts the meaning of all the rest.

There is to be a revision of the Dreyfus trial. The French cabinet so decided on the sixth of September. Nothing has ever brought a system of national justice into greater disrepute than the trial and condemnation on secret evidence of Captain Dreyfus for betraying French military secrets. Practically the whole civilized world outside of France condemned the injustice thus done to one whom many believed to be innocent, and more particularly the injustice done to justice itself. The sympathy of all lovers of justice was naturally extended to Emile Zola who undertook single handed to bring about, in the name of justice, a revision of the trial. But Zola also was condemned as an enemy to his country. The whole of this travesty of justice was brought about by the tyrannical demands of French militarism. The French army was found to be the supreme dictator, to which justice and right must helplessly bow. But the sense of justice was by no means dead in the French people. It was this sense of justice, which after all that may be said is deep and strong in the French character, which led Colonel

Henry, who figured so prominently in the Dreyfus trial, to confess finally on the thirty-first of August that he had forged the famous bordereau on the strength of which Captain Dreyfus was condemned. This confession and subsequent suicide of Colonel Henry and the resignation of some of the army staff threw all Paris into stupefaction, for the belief of Dreyfus' guilt was general and dislike of him intense. The outcome of it all has been the decision of the Cabinet to have a revision of the trial, and the minister of justice has been instructed to commence the necessary judicial proceedings. The condemned Captain who has been for three years dragging out a miserable existence on Devil's Island, whether innocent or guilty, is now likely to have a fair hearing of his case. The whole matter has been a very painful as well as disgraceful one. The root of it is, as suggested above, the domination of militarism, from which France, as well as other countries, is suffering. But for this, such a series of events never could have happened. It is the whole militaristic régime which needs uprooting, for where this exists civil liberty is always in danger. So long as France, or any other country, worships the army and navy, such things as the Dreyfus affair, in one form or another, are sure to come about.

England's militaristic policy of extension continues to result in the slaughter of the uncivilized races with which she comes in contact. The sin goes on propagating itself and will continue to do so until it is abandoned. The chain of events has been one of blood and desolation since the first sinful link was forged generations ago. The battle at Omdurman, between the Anglo-Egyptian troops and the dervishes, on the second of September was a fearfully destructive one. Only about two hundred losses occurred among General Kitchener's forces, but the dervishes, who threw themselves with the bravery of despair upon the Anglo-Egyptians, were swept away wholesale. Nearly half the Khalifa's army of seventy thousand were killed and wounded. This blow is considered to have broken the Mahdist power in those regions. We should think so. It was in this way that the power of the poor, exasperated Indian was broken time after time in this country. It is not difficult to show that these dervishes were a barbarous, rebellious, and vindictive folk, seeking to inflict all the injury possible upon the "Christian" English; but who committed the "original sin" which turned them into a vindictive folk? The spirit of "sweet revenge" does not seem to be altogether absent from English breasts, if one may judge from the way in which Londoners behaved at the statue of General Gordon when the news of General Kitchener's slaughter of the dervishes came. It is humiliating to see the spirit of gratification or the cool indifference with which a professedly Christian people hears the account of such a slaughter

as that at Omdurman, as if it were, as a matter of course, the divinely appointed way to civilize the world.

Admiral Schley does not have all the heroism of the Schley family. Miss Jessie Schley, his cousin (niece?) who went to Madrid in July on a mission of peace in behalf of the Woman's International Peace League, is, in our judgment, the braver "man" of the two. She was turned away by the Queen Regent and Premier Sagasta without a hearing, and probably supposed before she went that she would be. Her mission was attended with the danger that being an American, though representing a French peace society, she would be treated with disrespect if not actual violence at the hands of the Spaniards. But Jessie went on her mission of mercy into the enemy's country with the same courage and eagerness with which Admiral Schley went after Cervera's flying ships at Santiago. Besides this, the peace girl went to Madrid against the wishes of her father, who felt greatly grieved lest his daughter should bring reproach upon the name of the Admiral. Jessie is evidently a young woman of pure grit, and does not see why she may not win true fame in trying to save life rather than in killing and destroying. Since the war closed Miss Schley has gone to Havana on relief work and has met the great Blanco himself. Commend us to this young lady, who has caught sight of the dignity and glory of the great movement which is by and by to do away with war and all its inhumanities. She will be heard from if she lives, and some day her name will probably be enrolled on that list of noble benefactors—Worcester, Ladd, Burritt, Allen, Richard, Pratt, Passy, von Suttner, Barton *et al.*—which will live long after men have ceased to be lionized because of the bloody deeds of war. As much as saving men's lives is greater than destroying them, so much is Jessie Schley's heroism and service to humanity greater than that of her fighting relative. Who shall say that her going to Madrid accomplished nothing?

The Women's International Disarmament League, founded at Paris two years and a half ago, is carrying on a vigorous propaganda. Thousands of women all over the world are connecting themselves with the League. Many prominent persons are allowing it the use of their names as honorary members. A number of the Paris papers have noticed in long articles the work of the League. A copy of "*La Jeune Fille*," just come to our table, devotes four pages to an extended editorial discussion of the organization and work of the League. The editor sets forth the entire incompatibility of warfare with the principles and spirit of modern civilization, and, developing the idea of Jules Simon, declares that it is within the power of women to put an end to the whole barbaric business. "Woman never does anything: good

or bad, by halves. Therefore over the beautiful and noble cause which she has undertaken to defend hovers a ray of hope which will doubtless become at some distant time a radiant sun of triumph."

George T. Angell, in *Our Dumb Animals*, has the following vigorous characterization of Theodore Roosevelt.

"There can be no doubt that Theodore Roosevelt *with his ranch history*, his warning to Yale students to beware of philanthropists, his praise of college foot-ball fights, and his regiment of cow-punchers and shooters with fighting qualities and reputations very similar to his own, has become a prominent figure in his political party. But to our mind, when compared with Washington, Lincoln, Grant and Sherman who said (what will go down through all history) "War is Hell," he seems only an honest bulldog, with very confused ideas of civilization, humanity and true patriotism, and very different from those noble Saint Bernards whose object is to *save life, not to destroy it.*"

If it is to be remembered to Roosevelt's credit that he sent the message to Washington which aroused the nation to the horrible plight of the soldiers, are we to forget that he was one of the foremost of those whose crime it is to have rushed the nation into a needless and wicked war and brought on this horrible state of affairs? When Mr. Roosevelt returned from the dreadful scenes about Santiago, before he had gotten off the boat, he shouted in high glee to his friends on the dock, "Oh, we had a bully fight!" And this is the man whom it is proposed to make governor of the great State of New York, and, worse still, who is now looked upon by many as the typical, ideal American! *O tempora! O mores!*

Mr. Samuel L. Hartman of Lancaster, Pa., contributes an article to the *New Era* of that city, in which he expresses doubt as to the justification of the severe charges of incompetency and neglect on the part of the war department in the conduct of the recent war. The sufferings of the soldiers he thinks may have occurred under the circumstances without the government necessarily being culpable. At any rate, he thinks the experience of the soldiers not worse than in the early stages of the Civil War. He quotes as follows Mary A. Livermore's description of the sufferings of the wounded during and after the three days fighting at Fort Donelson:

"But few of the wounded could be removed from the field while the fight lasted. There they lay, some two and three nights and days, uncared for, many freezing to death. Hundreds who fell in the beginning of the battle, where the ground was soft and muddy, were frozen into the earth, and it was necessary to cut them out of the ground when attention could be given them. In this deplorable plight they were taken to extemporized and unready hospitals, to which their removal was horrible torture, for the few ambulances and the wagons and carts impressed into service were of the rudest construction and generally lacked springs. In these the poor fellows

were jolted and pitched down the precipitous heights, where they had lain two or three days and nights, encased in their bloody and frozen uniforms. Any convenient shed, barn, house or church received them. They were laid on the bare floor, their wounds undressed, their frozen clothing unchanged, faint with loss of blood and extreme bodily anguish. Hundreds died miserably before relief came to them. The surgeons of the Government were few in number, and its medical supplies utterly inadequate to the occasion."

The closing up of the war is not so speedy a process as getting into it was. The peace protocol has been accepted by the Spanish Senate and Chamber of Deputies after stormy sessions in both bodies, and the acceptance approved by the Queen Regent. The peace commissioners have already arrived in Paris where the treaty of peace is to be drawn. This will take the month of October at least. The evacuation of Porto Rico and Cuba has begun, but it is likely to take several months to get all the one hundred thousand Spanish soldiers out of Cuba. The evacuation commissioners are not having a smooth time. Then the island is to be occupied by posts of United States troops until a Cuban government is set up. The first steps have already been taken for the gathering of a Cuban Convention for drafting a constitution. The United States volunteer army, what of it is left alive, is being mustered out, except so much as is needed to garrison "our new possessions." This garrison duty will require the services of about one hundred thousand men for some time. There is great dissatisfaction among many of the men at being retained for garrison duty when they volunteered only for the war against Spain. The Philippine problem is as big as ever. The peace commissioners are understood to have gone to Paris instructed to retain the island of Luzon. Spain's Commissioners it is reported will stand for the retention by Spain of the whole group. Meantime Aguinaldo and his followers, who are in possession of much of the Philippines outside of Manila, seem strongly determined to have a native independent government for the whole group. More regiments of soldiers have been sent to General Merritt, and still more are to be stationed at Honolulu, against any need which may arise. The country has grown sick enough of the war, but the fruits of it—a larger army, growing taxes, perplexities and anxieties present and to come—it is compelled to gather. If the government insists on holding any part of the Philippines, the evil fruits will continue to ripen for many years to come.

### Brevities.

The London Peace Society has collected and published in a pamphlet of twenty pages some of the most conspicuous utterances of Mr. Gladstone on peace and war. Copies may be procured for five cents of the American Peace Society.

... George Jacob Holycake of England says that he was the first person to use the word "jingo," which he did on March 13, 1878, in a letter to the *London Daily News*. The "animal" existed, however, before Mr. Holycake named him.

... W. D. Howells says: "I have come to see life, not as the chase of a forever impossible personal happiness, but as a greed for endeavor toward the happiness of the whole human family. There is no other success."

... Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, who has just reached her eighteenth year, was crowned at Amsterdam on the sixth of September amid great rejoicings on the part of her subjects, "a nation small in numbers, but great in virtue of its strength of character," as she said in her address on taking the throne.

... Pastor Otto Umfrid, of Stuttgart, Germany, whose activity in the peace cause knows no rest, has published a German People's Calendar, which he calls a Messenger of Peace. It is illustrated, and contains interesting and instructive matter on the subject of Peace.

... Count Leo Tolstoi's seventieth birthday was celebrated in New York on the 8th of September by a dinner at the St. Denis Hotel. Representative literary men of New York and vicinity were present. A cablegram was sent to Tolstoi. In a letter of regret W. D. Howells wrote that Tolstoi's greatest word is "peace."

... The United States has now five battleships in service. Five more are in process of construction. Contracts for three more, the Maine, the Missouri and the Ohio, have just been awarded. The new ships will cost about three millions each. Bids have also been accepted for building twenty-eight new torpedo-boats and torpedo destroyers.

... The American Social Science Association which met at Saratoga the first week in September sent, "unanimously and enthusiastically," the following cablegram to the Czar of Russia: "The American Social Science Association unanimously hails the lofty purpose of your overture for a better understanding among nations and for better economic conditions for their peoples, and confides in its eventual success."

... The fourteenth International Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association was held at Basel, Switzerland, beginning on July 6th. The Y. M. C. A. has now half a million members, in forty-four nations.

... In December last the British war-office made a return of all the veterans in the work-houses of England, and the number was 8,133.

... Li Hung Chang has been dismissed from his post of honor as a member of the Governing Council of China. This action is interpreted to mean the growth of British and the decline of Russian influence at the Chinese Court. Li has, since his visit to Europe, used his great influence in behalf of Russia.

... In his new book, "The Wonderful Century," just published, Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace devotes one chapter to militarism, which he describes as the curse of civilization.



. . . Mr. Fearing-Gill of Paris has formed a Franco-American Society, somewhat like the Anglo-American League in England, whose purpose it is to promote closer union between France and the United States.

. . . Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Minister, with Mrs. Chamberlain has been visiting in this country at the home of his father-in-law Mr. Endicott, at Danvers, Mass. An informal reception was given Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain by the Danvers Historical Society on September 22. In the course of some remarks Mr. Chamberlain expressed himself as not very sanguine about a federation of the world, but as certain that an Anglo-Saxon federation is coming.

. . . Dr. William A. P. Martin, who went from this country to China as a missionary forty years ago, and was for nearly thirty years president of the Pekin University, has just been appointed president of the recently established Imperial University of China. Dr. Martin is a strong peace man. He attended the Arbitration Conference held at Lake Mohonk in June, 1896.

. . . The Baroness von Suttner, in an interesting article on the Czar's Peace Manifesto, in *Die Zeit* of Vienna, calls attention to the fact that the idea of peace has had several strong champions in Russia, notably Professors Besobrasow, Kapustin and von Martens at the University of St. Petersburg, Count Kamarowski at the University of Moscow and the eminent sociologist Novicow of Odessa.

. . . The (Hicksite) Friends' Union for Philanthropic Labor presented, through a deputation of five of its members, on the 10th of September a memorial to President McKinley urging that he do all in his power, in the settlement of the problems left by the recent war, to keep the nation from entering upon a militaristic policy. The President received the deputation with great courtesy and expressed his conviction that "peace is the proper condition of nations," and that the "increase of the standing army is to be deprecated," *except* for police purposes in the newly acquired islands.

### Correspondence.

EDITOR ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

*Dear Sir and Brother:* I have been all my life instinctively or intuitively opposed to war, and took your excellent paper, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, for a number of years, but I got out of the way of it about fifteen years ago and have not taken it since until my brother, W. L. Barnes of Ind., subscribed for and had it sent to me recently. I am pleased to see the improvement in its make-up since I took it. If the cause of peace has grown commensurately, it will soon be a power in the world. I have always worked for peace in church, in the I. O. O. F. Hall and through the local press, and am ashamed that I have not taken the *ADVOCATE*.

My intuitive aversion to war I have found to be logically right, and if right, I am logically led to oppose all coercive government of man by man as my political ideal. I find that all government is based on war as implied. I am forced to the conclusion that absolute freedom of every individual to do as he wills, limited *only* by the like equal freedom of every other person, is right. I believe that whatever is right, is expedient, however such a state-

ment may at first appear. I believe in *doing* to others as I would they should do to me, and *doing not* to others as I would *not* they should do to me. I am averse to being governed—how then can I govern others directly or indirectly? How can I vote for a law, unless it would displace other laws? One tax (on land values), one money (of paper), one Brotherhood of the race, free trade, free land and free men, is my political platform, so long as I vote at all. Free trade would eliminate much law and many officers. A single tax, on land values, would also eliminate many laws and officers.

I find, as I hope many other peace men have found, that laws imply obedience—disobedience implies a penalty—coercion—as behind every command is hid in ambush, "if you don't, I'll make you." Obedience implies superiority and inferiority, both incompatible with equity. I believe with Jefferson, "That people that is least governed is best governed;" and in "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." And with Spencer, who said, "The freest government is only the least objectionable government;" "Coercion can by no means be made equitable;" "The rule of many by the few we call tyranny—the rule of the few by the many is tyranny also—only of a less intense kind." Burke said in his "Free Society," "In vain you tell me that government is good and that I complain of its abuse. The thing, the *thing itself* is the abuse." W. E. Channing said, "Social order is better preserved by liberty than by restraint. Liberty would prove the best peace officer. The social order of New England without a soldier and almost without a police, bears loud witness to this truth."

Government is wrong. But if it is right, war is right. War I *know* is wrong, therefore government *must* be wrong. What right has *one* strong man or *many* men to govern me—to compel me to go to war, to murder my fellow-man, or to compel me to pay taxes to support men in war, and after their return as a pension? War is just as repugnant to me if waged by a majority of Americans as if waged by the Czar of Russia or the King of Spain. What difference does it make to me whether governed by one or a million men against my will? In both cases, might makes right.

I am just sixty-three years of age, and never owned a gun, never killed anything with a gun, never went to law, never asked for an office, never commanded in my family. I have lived almost a purely "anarchistic" life amid hindering environments and have no regrets for it, but, on the contrary, it is a source of great satisfaction, in my declining years, to know that I have lived an altruistic, "anarchistic," Christian life. I firmly believe from observation and experience that if all coercion was abandoned, that mutual communism would immediately obtain. "Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness." "Government like dress is the badge of our lost innocence." "Society performs for itself almost everything which is ascribed to government." So said Thomas Paine in his "Rights of Man."

War is a penalty—not only to the enemy, but to our own soldiers. Else why do soldiers sink their individuality, their independent manhood, and become an automaton? A soldier needs not and is not allowed to know any more than to obey a command. His reason is stultified. He is precisely in the condition of a convict in state penal institutions. All subjects of a government

are in degree penal slaves. All government from the mildest restraint of a citizen of the freest people, to a soldier in the most despotic army retards evolution in intellect and morals.

War must go. Government must go. Freedom and love must reign.

HINDSBORO, ILL.

J. C. BARNES.

## War and Imperialism Fatal to Self-Government.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION AT MYSTIC, CONN., AUGUST 25.

The late war with Spain was worked up with the spontaneity of a labored drama. It was not called for by the people, was earnestly opposed by disinterested thinkers who had the public ear, and the aversion of the evidently sincere President and Secretary of the Navy gave hopes of a peaceful settlement.

A remarkable series of fortuitous events strengthened the hands of the yellow journals and the Jingoese in Congress, beginning with the theft of the Spanish minister's private letter from the mails for publication, the still unexplained explosion which destroyed the *Maine*, and the carefully worked up speech of Senator Proctor, ostensibly in behalf of the starving reconcentrados who were soon to rue the Senator's friendship. All contributed to fire the heart of the nation and force the unprepared administration to instant war.

Like the Franco-Prussian War, initiated by a falsehood, our hostilities with Spain were hurried regardless of truth or national honor. In the light of to-day's knowledge of the Cuban insurrection and real character of the insurgents, of the eagerness of Spain to avoid fighting by generous concessions, of the brutal and blind declaration of war by Congress regardless of preparation or season, the verdict of history must pronounce the inception of the struggle to be without justification.

It is the fashion to deprecate war in time of peace. Then the church dwells on the Beatitudes and especially blesses the peacemakers. The moralist quotes with approval General Sherman's dictum that "War is Hell," and Lowell's assertion that it is "murder." The economist demonstrates its wastefulness and the consequent increase of tax burdens, while the sociologist explains the direct relation between militarism and the poverty of the masses.

But the conspirators prevail. The reckless and noisy minority gains control of Congressmen by arts destructive to popular government, with no appeal to the suffrages of the people on a subject of gravest moment to the republic. The shock of arms is precipitated, and patriotism and the flag invoked to enforce support of the iniquity.

The game succeeds. The ministers of the church, with few exceptions, who zealously begged the President to avert war, experience a new baptism and proclaim the conflict a holy one.

"In religion  
What damned error, but some sober brow  
Will bless it, and approve it with a text  
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament!"

The moralist discovers and enlarges upon the ethics of

war, however silent he may be on the ethics of hell, which he so recently declared a synonym. It ceases to be murder when it carries the endorsing letters U. S. A.

The economist can be pliant too. He now figures how small per capita the added burdens will be and magnifies the wealth and financial ability of seventy millions of Americans. The social student hastens to forget his objects of misery in his haste to manufacture new ones by the aid of shot and shell. The virtues of moral courage are decried and brute valor is exalted.

Then all the hidden atheism of a nation is brazenly revealed. An appeal to abstract principle is responded to with denial or ridicule. What is called "necessity" is held to override the moral law. Large and vague expressions become current coin. "Manifest destiny," "The logic of events," "Our duty to other nations," "We must not shirk responsibilities laid upon us," "The Lord's will must be accepted and we are not justified in declining his leading," a mixture of excuses for violating the Decalogue and blasphemy which vainly attempt to cloak a crime. Hypocrisy, the tribute which vice is said to pay to virtue, characterizes all these hollow pretences of altruism.

Behold a country that has had its century of dishonor with the Indians and its infamy with the negro, prating of its new-found duty to swarms of people of whose nature and needs it knows nothing! Admire the assurance of a people which shuts its doors against foreign commerce proclaiming the necessity of conquest for the sake of trade! Note the anxiety of a nation that bars out the Chinese, hurrying to annex whole populations of Asiatics! Think of a republic which jealously warns off foreign nations from the American continent, now claiming the right to hold dominion in the Philippines because Admiral Dewey destroyed a Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila! What a spectacle is presented by a democracy, perplexed at its own miscarriage of self-government, undertaking with jaunty confidence to govern hordes of peoples in the tropics, alien in manners, traditions and habits to all that Americans hold dear!

To enter upon such a career as our Jingoese picture, we must renounce the principles which have made the country great. Imperial rule abroad necessitates imperial rule at home. No nation can have adjustable ethics, applicable alike to freedom and to the government of subjugated races. If it is right to deny suffrage to the governed people in the Sandwich Islands, it will not be long before, under the plea of necessity, suffrage in the United States will be curtailed and the right of the governed to choose their representatives denied. Already the Supreme Court, feeling the trend of imperial ideas, decides that the crime of Mississippi in disfranchising its citizens under false pretences is constitutional, thus disarming the criticism that we are defrauding our new Hawaiian fellow-citizens of their right to the ballot.

The war itself has settled no principles. They always remain to be settled by reason. Shooting men never yet converted them to right thinking. Our young men and the conscripted sons of Spanish mothers have been trying to blow each other out of existence. We ask, as Carlyle asked, when Englishmen and Frenchmen fought, "Had these men any quarrel?" and we adopt his reply: "Busy as the devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so

wide a universe there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! Their governors had fallen out, and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

Let those who hold that the Civil War settled the right of the black men in this country to equal civil and political liberty, test the Southern atmosphere on the race question. Indeed, a stranger might infer that the South triumphed, so general has been the acquiescence of the North in the social and political fettering of the blacks by the shot-gun and State legislation.

Moreover, the present aggravated ills of the country are the direct legacy of the Civil War. Without it the protective tariff would long since have given way to the English system of revenue, towards which it was rapidly tending. The greenback and silver controversies would never have been born. The plutocracy which has assumed such alarming proportions had its genesis in army contracts, inflated prices and special privileges so easily obtained unnoticed amid the clash of arms.

When one assumes that the Revolutionary and the Civil wars were good ones, because certain benefits resulted, the question is begged. It is so easy to point to the seen and ignore the unseen. Moncure D. Conway has well said that without the Revolution this country would inevitably have obtained full political freedom without bloodshed. To-day, if one is asked where the best constitutional government exists, where public honor is most conspicuous, life securest, and justice most certain, the country of George the Third suggests itself before that of George Washington.

Nor can human wisdom determine, if the sufferings of four million bondmen were put in one scale and the curses entailed by the war which freed them in another, which scale would kick the beam. By the necessity of the close contact of the North and South the active principles of liberty would have been in time sure to eradicate the blot of slavery by a natural law, and what is settled by reason and conscience, or by economic necessity, leaves no devil's brood behind it. "Nothing can be settled that is not settled right," said Charles Sumner, and legalized murder makes no fixed solution. Always the debate must be reopened. "War fails, try peace; put up the useless sword," wrote Whittier, whose words are full of light and truth.

The abolitionists, early imbued with the spirit of non-resistance, declared throughout their agitation their purpose never to encourage the use of carnal weapons for the destruction of slavery. The power of truth through the spoken word they believed to be more potent than all the armies and navies of the globe. So Franklin's sentiment that "there never was a good war or a bad peace" has lived and will live by reason of its essential verity.

Because, in spite of war, civilization has sometimes gone forward on the powder cart, as Lowell said, it is no excuse for or justification of the drastic means. The conflagration of a great city is an apparent benefit to workmen who are called to help in its rebuilding. The fact that the regenerated city surpasses the old is still no excuse for kindling the fire, although there are doubtless many clergymen who could find a text for the ethics of incendiarism if the popular sentiment demanded it. Good effects are pretty sure to follow from the reforms necessitated by a pestilential scourge, but to glorify the

cholera or the plague in consequence, as we glorify war, would be ridiculous, even though the bravery of nurses often exceeds the valor of the soldiers. Philosophically, of course, we have to recognize that war results from violating moral law, just as disease follows a disregard of sanitary laws, but obedience to the law and not war or disease is the single remedy and the price that cannot be evaded.

What influence can an association like this have upon the great question of peace? In the eyes of the American people, generally, this is an assembly of well-meaning but sentimental cranks, a crank being a person who is deluded enough to think that a principle is of most value when its application is needed. The majority of mankind pronounce that the very time for its absolute suspension.

Much more respectable is it to have the facility of changing front quickly. The president of a great university is in evidence. In time of peace he could affirm that "Jingoism was a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude. It meant bully and brute, and was foreign to American policy. American institutions should teach just the opposite doctrine—a doctrine that should be taught in the schools, through the periodicals and press of the country. We did not desire to carry to the people of the earth liberty by force of arms, but by teaching them the blessings of peace, liberty and self-government." When Jingoism prevailed and war began, from the same lips came the declaration that "the educated youth who loves his country does not stop to consider for what precise cause his country has gone to war," but goes in the spirit "with which a lover casts a rose at the feet of his mistress." No wonder that the thought of Charles Sumner was a disturbing one to the speaker, and prompted his characterization of the argument of that noble address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" as "vicious."

In the anxious days preceding the declaration of war with Spain, a well-known publicist protested that it would be "a great mistake," and that when Spain was trying to satisfy us we forced war upon her; that while "we are annexing to our body politic an open sore, we are making ourselves responsible for a population wholly unfit for the conditions of American life." The declaration of war came almost before the ink was dry, yet the same pen was facile enough to write an adjuration that "we give support to the war, not merely by passive acquiescence, but by throwing our hearts and hopes into the struggle—by aiding, enduring, wishing, praying for the success of the United States against Spain."

But we, who profess at all times to abhor war, believing that no change in circumstances can ever change the law of God, who fail to see why burning words of truth on April 20 were not true on April 21, because unprincipled demagogues at Washington consummated a nefarious scheme, can take no cognizance of these extenuating pleas for self-stultification. It is asserted that while we did not approve the entrance to an evil course, once being started on it we are bound to pursue it with vigor. This philosophy is calculated to sap the foundations of self-government. Men who assert this practically endorse the infamous doctrine, "Our country right or wrong."

The moralist cannot thus play fast and loose with sacred principles. Though one protest against and disapprove of a proposed robbery, although the plunder be promised to charity or foreign missions, yet to consent to it because

the thieves outnumber him, in no way lessens his responsibility for the crime. To seek exculpation on the ground of previous disapproval is to use the reasoning of Jesuitism. And for those who, disbelieving in the war, enlisted because government decreed it, Lowell's Yankee truism holds good:

"Gov'ment aint to answer for it,  
God'll send the bill to you."

If party and country were not made idols to be worshipped, such treason to humanity implied by the current war ethics would be impossible. What is more monstrous than the abnegation of conscience because superior numbers oppose one's conviction? To go with the multitude to do evil is to substitute darkness for light. If party demands the sacrifice, then party is to be deserted and denounced. If government enacts statutes controverting the higher law of justice, disobedience becomes a duty. The church which shelters iniquity, or the state which decrees injustice, must be denounced as false authorities in the name of true religion and righteous law.

"If Church and State reply,  
Give Church and State the lie."

War is incompatible with free government. It is the handmaid of despotism. It necessitates the stifling of free discussion. The respectable Boston daily, *par excellence*, hastened to declare that he who asserted that the country had entered upon "an unnecessary and unrighteous war is guilty of an infamous crime, which has all the guilt of treason," and Gen. Schofield, from the Presidio, uttered his martial note of warning against free speech.

The Spaniards are less enemies of the United States than these slaves and tools. Rebellion against such tyrants is obedience to God. "One soul against the flesh of all mankind" is invulnerable.

It is true that law-breakers must risk the penalty. It is absurd to disobey and expect to evade the consequences. But what higher honor can be vouchsafed to man than to suffer unjustly for the truth? It is the gibbet and the dungeon that mark more truly the advance of civilization than the battles that usurp so much space in history. The victims and martyrs have always been men and women who rebelled against established order. I live in the hope of sometime seeing in Harvard College the portrait of Wendell Phillips, in its gallery of worthies, illuminated with this inscription he once desired for his epitaph: "Infidel and traitor; infidel to a church that could be at peace in the presence of sin; a traitor to a government that was a magnificent conspiracy against justice." How much more valuable the lesson of independence it would convey than the ordinary incentives to subservience which lead to coveted degrees!

Independence of thought and action is the need of the time. Parties have become masters instead of tools and must be put to their proper use. Governments whose sovereign powers are employed to curtail individual rights must be taught their true place and function. To accomplish this, eternal vigilance and unceasing protest at every despotic step is the duty of loyalty and patriotism alike. "I could not love thee, dear, so much, loved I not honor more," is the motto which every freeman, as well as lover, should wear.

The example of the hero, Van der Ver, of Holland, is of inestimable value. Tolstoi has preserved it for all time. When called to serve in the National Guard, the young man firmly refused to obey. Listen to his reasons: "I fully appreciate that I may have a heavy

account to settle, that you can punish me, and that you will not hesitate to use your full power. But that does not frighten me. The reasons that have led me to passive resistance offer me a sufficient compensation for any suffering I may incur. . . . When I was younger, I suffered myself to be taught the art of killing; but now I refuse. Especially do I desire not to have to kill at another's command, for then it becomes a murder which the conscience condemns, and which has its motive neither in personal impulse nor in any other cause. Can you show me anything more degrading to a human being than the accomplishment of such murders or massacres?" To the argument that it is the chief duty of the National Guard to contribute to the maintenance of civil order, he replies: "I flatly refuse to coöperate in the maintenance of the existing order, which signifies 'the support accorded to the rich against laborers who begin to have knowledge of their rights.' And can you suppose for a moment that I would take part in the defence of persons who, I am convinced, keep alive the war between Capital and Labor; that I will fire on laborers who act entirely within the limit of their rights? You are not so blind as that. It is for these reasons," he concludes, "but especially because I hate recognized murder, that I refuse to serve in the National Guard, requesting that you send me neither uniform nor arms, since it is my firm determination not to bear them." It is this spirit that the hour demands.

Now that the formal peace between this country and Spain has been practically consummated, it is broadly recognized that a far more difficult contest is pending. This four months' military debauch is to furnish occasion for years of repentance. Nature will cover with green the graves of the slain on land; the mangled and drowned bodies of those who perish on the water will speedily dissolve into the material elements of which they were composed; but the serious injury done to the principles which have guided the republic to greatness will long remain to trouble and perplex it.

With the acceptance of Hawaii from the hands of the conspirators who captured it by the naval connivance and aid of the United States, a new creed must be evolved to perpetuate the unjust conditions there existing. A justification has to be found for the diminutive oligarchy which controls, without the consent of the governed, a people as much entitled to self-government as President Dole.

The denial of suffrage rights to the Hawaiians, treating truth as geographical, is a betrayal of democracy at home. What shall it profit a nation to conquer all the islands of the sea if thereby the surrender of its own vital principle is the price?

The advocates of the war truly say that we have come out of the conflict a different nation. Not, however, in the nobler sense which they would imply, but with that dangerous consciousness of brute strength, destructive to the spirit and tempting to emulation in paths leading to the abyss in which so many promising democracies have perished.

To gain the Hawaiian islands by the loss of our belief in "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people," is a costly exchange. To obtain Cuba and Porto Rico at the expense of an increased standing army and navy is to pay a deadly price. To surrender the Monroe doctrine for the Philippines is to demonstrate that something more than the Spanish squadron went down under Dewey's guns at Manila. The old chart and compass which have served so well to keep the country clear of the rocks and shoals of international greed will

be of little use on this new voyage of imperialism.

Lincoln's Gettysburg address and Lowell's classic defence of democracy must be suppressed at Honolulu because they are dangerous utterances under a despotic oligarchy. Every politician henceforth must keep two sets of principles, one for home, the other for colonial consumption, and speak with double tongue.

Hardly a single current reform movement has escaped injury from the war. The women who rebel against taxation without representation will have a difficult task to prove that they are entitled to suffrage more than the disfranchised masses of the Sandwich Islands. The advocates of the single tax will be met on every hand with worse conditions and multiplied taxes, the direct legacy of the late war, to which so many of them consented. Already the land-grabbers are organizing to possess the valuable lands in the new domains acquired by stealth and bloodshed. The civil service reformer will find increased obstacles to surmount. The spoilsmen are now scenting the offices to be established. The labor unions will have food for contemplation in heavier taxes and a fiercer struggle for employment. In their revolt against injustice, they must reckon with soldiers whose only duty is to obey unthinkingly the orders of the powers that be. They have helped enthrone a despotism by acquiescence and cannot wonder when militarism produces increased national poverty and degradation, as it has in Italy and Spain.

England has been held up as an example of success in the foreign extension of her empire. Instead, it has been a monumental mistake. It is true that in her many colonies she has thrown the protection of constitutional government over the white man, and wisely kept open ports for the commerce of the world, but for the races she holds in subjugation for selfish ends, liberty is a stranger. John Morely has pictured the truth in these graphic words addressed to his own countrymen:

"First you push on into territories where you have no business to be, and, in our case, where you had promised you would not go; secondly, your intrusion provokes resentment, and in these wild countries resentment means resistance; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious, and that their act is rebellion; this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them; fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion; and fifthly, having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition which no civilized power could contemplate with equanimity or with composure. These are the five stages of the Forward Rake's Progress."

I am a lover of the English people, and proud of their real progress in morals and philanthropy, but I distrust and fear every honeyed word now used to lure the United States from its right policy of non-interference with old-world quarrels. India has no love for its oppressor, and its volcanic condition is the nightmare which disturbs the sleep of English statesmen when Russia pushes its remorseless extension in the direction of British Indian domain. Behind the diplomatic duel with Russia is India, and in the threatening clash of arms, no wonder that the lion wants the eagle's help. It will be a foolish bird to lend itself as such an ally.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has a rhetorical sound, but fine words cannot hide its barbaric record. In this country it has sheltered negro slavery, robbed and murdered

the Indians, and committed atrocities against the Chinese. In England wherever commerce has obtained footing among alien nations by the sword, Anglo-Saxon civilization has meant,

"Shoddy and 'loaded' cottons,  
And beer and Bibles and rum."

Rudyard Kipling asks, "Where is the flag of England?" and answers it proudly in heroic verse. The *London Truth*, with more verity if with less poetry, answers it in kind:

"Where is the flag of England?  
Seek the lands where the natives rot;  
Where decay and assured extinction  
Must soon be the people's lot;  
Go search for the once glad islands,  
Where disease and death are rife,  
And the greed of a callous commerce  
Now battens on human life!"

Are we to repeat these infamies in the abused name of civilization? Our nobler part is self-purgation and freedom. Emerson voices it:

"Be just at home; then write your scroll  
Of honor o'er the sea,  
And bid the broad Atlantic roll,  
A ferry of the free."

To be the land of refuge for all hunted and down-trodden peoples is a glory exceeding all conquest and extension of empire. To emancipate our great continent from land monopoly, recognizing the right of all mankind to the use of the earth, and to declare absolute free trade with all nations, would lay the basis of a civilization which no narrow prefix of Anglo-Saxon could describe. It would include the human race.

If my strain has seemed too sombre, it is not because I despair of the republic; but with the example of previous republics, wrecked on this rock of foreign empire, how can we be hopeful if the present course is shaped by the approval of the people?

I do not believe that the case is understood. Often in the recollection of the present generation, when dangers were imminent, and escape seemed impossible, the plain people, though liable to be mistaken, and slow to appreciate the situation, have at last averted the catastrophe. Our appeal therefore is to them. Instead of acquiescing in the suppression of vital principles as is now urged, we must assert and reiterate them with uncompromising distinctness.

The Declaration of Independence is not a glittering generality. Lincoln and Lowell, and not the politicians who usurp the public gaze, are the true prophets of democracy. The nation must be held to its solemn promise to give self-government to Cuba, and we must insist upon the same in Porto Rico and Hawaii. Regarding the Philippines, as long as the expression of opinion can have weight in determining the national policy, let us protest against their retention in any form. Considering our distinct failures with subject races within our own borders, to annex millions of half-civilized and savage Pacific Islanders indicates a madness inviting destruction. Republics are unfitted by their principles for holding colonies in practical slavery, no matter how benevolent the intention may be. Hands off the dangerous Philippines!

Spain might well celebrate with genuine gratitude her deliverance from these distant and accursed possessions wherein her vast treasure has been squandered, and thousands of her youth have found a graveyard. Hereafter the burden upon the backs of her poor will grow lighter,

and mothers will weep less when the man-child is born.

In conclusion I wish again to emphasize the duty of peace men to make conscience paramount to law or party. We have too long been in fetters to the fetish of patriotism, not unnaturally, because in the Civil War patriotism was on the side of truth and liberty. But as an unreasoning sentiment nothing can be more pernicious or more calculated to enslave the mind. I think that Tolstoi does not exaggerate when he affirms that "patriotism produces only lies, violence and murder."

I thrill with enthusiastic reverence at Renan's noble declaration. After the destructive invasion of his country and the burning of his own house by the Prussian soldiers, his companions were hot with sentiments of revenge. "No vengeance!" cried the great writer, "Perish France, rather! Perish the idea of country! Higher still the kingdom of duty and reason!"

When men can bring themselves to that ideal position, even though they be few in number, the knell of armies and battles is sounded. The universal conscience to-day condemns war, and every individual revolt against it, like Van de Ver's, will be, as Tolstoi says, like the drop of water trickling through a dyke, the removal of one brick from an immense edifice or the undoing of a knot in the strongest net. The destruction of the dyke, the edifice and the net will have begun.

"The refusal (to serve as a soldier) will be followed by an increasing number of refusals," says the great Russian non-resistant. "And when there have been enough, suddenly the very men (and they are legion), the very men who yesterday still said that we cannot live without war, will declare that they have for a long time been proclaiming its stupidity and immorality, and that they advise everybody to follow the example of Van de Ver. And of war and armies, as they actually exist to-day, only the memory will remain. This time is at hand."

## MOHONK CONFERENCE ADDRESSES.

### Methods of Promoting Arbitration.

BY REV. JOSIAH STRONG, D.D.

Our text this morning is "How?" Carlyle somewhere says that the insight of genius consists in co-operating with the real tendency of the world. And this is true, because the real tendency of the world is given to it by the hand of its Creator and Governor. That Creator is committed to international arbitration, because he is pledged to ultimate peace. The real tendency of the world involves the full coming of democracy and the completion of the organization of industry. We are entered upon the final stage of industrial development, which is the organization of a world industry. This world-tendency involves also the complete development of a world-life, a world-conscience. And all these involve ultimate international arbitration. Some one doubtfully says, "Is international arbitration possible?" I reply, "No, it is not possible, it is inevitable. It is for us to hasten its coming, and that can best be done by intelligently co-operating with the real tendency of the world."

How? I think we should all agree in the general answer that it must be done by educating public opinion and the public conscience. Washington said, "In proportion as the structure of a government gives effect

to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened." In a democracy the structure of government gives all effect to public opinion hence among us it is imperative that public opinion and the popular conscience be enlightened. How?

Arbitration, like every other reform, divides society into three classes; its friends, who are few; its enemies, who are few; the indifferent, who are many. If the reform succeeds, it must win its victory from the indifferent; hence the problem is how to reach the indifferent. The pulpit cannot reach them; it is the interested who come within its reach. Extended investigations show that more than one-half of the people of the United States never enter any church, Protestant or Catholic. The press will not reach the indifferent; the daily press has very little influence touching moral reforms, for it is partisan, and as such it is distrusted. The religious press does not reach the hands of those who never attend church. Conventions are good; they influence those who attend, but the indifferent stay-away because they are indifferent. We print papers, we publish pamphlets, we write books, and it is the interested who buy them, the indifferent do not. We have reached those we did not need to reach, and we have failed to reach those who needed our message. The ordinary propaganda of reforms does not answer this question, "How shall we reach the indifferent?"

Public opinion can be educated only by the truth. If the indifferent do not care enough for the truth to come and get it, and will not buy it, we must care enough for it and for them to carry it to them. If it is essential to get Mahomet and the mountain together, and the mountain will not come to Mahomet, there is a perfectly simple and obvious solution, Mahomet must go to the mountain.

How shall it be done? If pastors were to undertake it, they would have to be miraculously multiplied like the loaves and fishes. But there is an agency at the hand of every pastor, entirely equal to so great a task. In every community we have our Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, the Baptist Union, and similar bodies whose aggregate membership is now about five millions in the United States. It is entirely practicable to divide a community between its several churches assigning a district to each, and for each pastor to subdivide his district, assigning a dozen or fifteen families to each messenger. Enlist these young people and we have a machinery simple, effective. If even one in ten of these young people, pledged to Christ and to moral reforms, should distribute a dozen leaflets once a month, they would reach six million families, with seventy-two million leaflets, in a year.

This work has already begun. During the past year this plan has been presented to over six hundred clergymen, and without an exception they have accepted it. It has been presented to many of the most eminent men in the United States, including many hard-headed business men; and they say, without exception, that is the thing to do. Spencer Trask said to me, "It has possibilities that are simply illimitable." Robert Ogden, whom you know as a great business man identified with many lines of Christian work, said to me, "This appeals to me as nothing else that I know of." Richard Watson Gilder said, when the plan was explained to him, "I do not see how we can save the country without it." Already many of the best minds in the country are identi-



fied with it, and the leaflets are being prepared. If leaflets on arbitration were written, they could by this method be brought to the attention of the million, and carried to the indifferent. Some of them, it is true, would go into the waste-basket, but a decreasing number as the people learned their value. The conscience of the million would be quickened, the public opinion of the million would be enlightened; and that means the consummation of the reform.

We can do it, because we must. Immanuel Kant said, "I ought, therefore I can." And Saint Paul's dictum was, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." This work must be done, therefore it can be done.

## Natural Forces that Make for Peace.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN B. CLARK, LL.D.

The object we are desiring and working for is completely guaranteed, as I think, by certain forces of evolution which will bring the result, sooner or later, — and sooner rather than later, — whether we work well or ill. I do not conceive of this particular work as a reform of that type in which the moral forces of society have to gather themselves together to resist and suppress the evil forces of society. Though that were the case, they would ultimately triumph, and would suppress war and all other evils; but long before such a triumph as that can possibly come, war will have been suppressed in any case. I do not believe that the purely moral forces will have the opportunity to suppress war unaided, though they will contribute greatly to that result.

The world-state was alluded to, very happily and impressively, this morning. The formation of such a state involves the suppression of warfare. The world-state, as a political entity, is yet in a rudimentary condition; but the world-society is now far more advanced in its evolution, and is rapidly approaching that condition in which it will carry with it large political results. It will advance the world-state to a far greater stage of perfection, and one in which warfare can hardly exist.

In a previous conference it was my pleasure to call the attention of those present to certain economic solidarities that are paying very little attention to national lines, and that tend very powerfully, even now, to make war impossible. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war there was a universal protest from the labor organizations of France, on the one hand, and of Germany, on the other, against the declaration of war by either of those states. When the Venezuela matter was pending, and a possibility of war between this country and England appeared, similar protests were made by the labor organizations of this country (by the Central Labor Union of Boston in particular) and a considerable number of the labor organizations in Canada. In 1896 a representative convention of laborers, delegates from all countries in the world, registered a declaration committing organized labor, the world over, to a policy of repressing warfare on any and every occasion. I talked with one of the American leaders in that movement, and learned from him what I had suspected was the case as to their motives in pursuing that policy. He said, "It is not because we are especially tender-hearted; it is because we have another war on hand." It was the feeling that the solidarity of labor, the world over, in its warfare

against the employers of labor, is so important that the break occasioned by an international war would be disastrous.

Exactly such a solidarity of capital the world over does not exist; capital is not universally organized for warfare against labor. It is organized, in its own way, however, and the break occasioned by war is most disastrous on the capitalistic side. It is bound to be almost equally disastrous on the side of enterprise, and that class of people whom we term technically *entrepreneurs*, employers of both labor and capital, will protest with more energy even than the laborers themselves against the disruptions and disturbances and destruction occasioned by war.

Here are three great interests that are growing into a world-wide solidarity; but they by no means exhaust that development which we call the formation of a world-society growing toward a world-state. Sociology has some terms that signify much; it speaks of the "social mind," the "social consciousness," the "social conscience." This means that in finer and subtler ways the world as a whole is organizing itself, as states are already organizing themselves, and as communities and societies are already organizing themselves, in such a way that a complete interdependence of individual upon individual, however remotely separated, will reveal itself. The action of the whole will become subjected to a general law; and when that comes war will be impossible.

And that is coming, — not in consequence of any strenuous and rather discouraging effort of moral forces to subdue economic forces, but in consequence of a hearty and cordial co-operation of the economic forces themselves with the moral forces that are struggling toward higher and remoter ideals. So I say that the moral forces alone will never have the opportunity to suppress war; for long before the great consummation when they shall have regenerated the human race and made impossible not only war but much smaller evils, war will have become a faint recollection of the past, hardly conceived of as a possibility.

This movement has very lately received marked acceleration, the world over. I consider that the world, economically, is going through a transition which will continue to promote that movement and make it more general, and which will particularly affect our own country. For when the time comes that all civilized nations depend less upon agriculture and more upon commerce and manufactures, when they cater to export trade, and are seeking, here, there and everywhere, for outlets to their products, there will come a great increase of interdependence and a closer relationship between men of different countries. There will be a multiplying of those ties, the breaking of which means disaster, and whenever it threatens to take place, encounters a world-wide and irresistible protest. Our own country is now passing, as I think, through such a transition as England passed through in the thirties, when agriculture was no longer the dominant occupation, and when there were developing the "industries of increasing returns." They are the industries, like manufactures and commerce, which pay better the larger the scale on which they are conducted; agriculture, on the contrary, pays less and less per unit of capital as you press more heavily on the capacities of the soil. Our country, I say, is passing through that transition from one type of

industry to the other; and this will compel it to cater more and more to foreign markets, and to tie itself more and more firmly, whether through annexation of territory or not, to every part of the world, civilized and uncivilized.

In the forties this country was a great carrier and a considerable trader; but the things which it carried away were crude products. That type of commerce is necessarily limited in its operations and scope. It was facilitated by the fact that we were shipbuilders, having in our forests the proper material for making ships, and in our population the proper ingenuity to make ships that would sail rapidly and command high rates for freight. We lost that position in the carrying trade when ships came to be made of iron and steel, for we were then under some disadvantages in the building of iron and steel ships. But we are regaining it, or are about to do so; for the United States is the natural home of the steel industry and of the ship-building industry for the world as a whole. I ask you to wait, not one year nor five, but a little longer, and see whether you do not observe tendencies which verify that statement. We shall be a manufacturing and commercial people, binding ourselves more intimately to every country in the civilized world. We shall multiply these solidarities, we shall do much to develop a world-state, we shall make ten-fold more difficult the breaking of ties between nations and ten-fold more unpopular the proposition to go to war.

In the end moral forces will do greater things than that which I have said they cannot now do, by reason of a lack of opportunity. Picture to yourself a perfect citizen and put him in a perfect state, and you have what moral forces alone will produce ultimately. But out of much more imperfect material will be developed a state in which war at least will be suppressed, though lesser evils will continue.

### The Outlook for Arbitration.

BY REV. GEORGE E. HORR, D.D.

Editor of *The Watchman*.

*Mr. President*,—The best tendencies of our time are altogether in line with the cause for which we have been thinking and planning. Professor Clark, in his admirably clear and just statement, has shown us that a sound sociology and a just industrial system work against war. Who doubts that the best political thought of our time also is moving in the same direction? What a significant testimony it was that the treaty for arbitration with England should have commanded an absolute majority in the United States Senate, and that it only failed by three or four votes of gaining the necessary two-thirds majority, and that, as Mr. Mead showed last year, those who represented the most cultivated and intelligent and progressive communities voted for that treaty. Who doubts to-day that the influence of Christianity is mightily in favor of this movement? For there is nothing that comes in a human heart or life that makes it so large and generous, so world-embracing in its interests, as Christian faith.

Contrast with that disposition the spirit of war. To my mind, the worst thing about war is not its waste of treasure, it is not its carnage, is not the fearful and bloody scenes that we associate with it. The most ter-

rific effect of war is upon the hearts and consciences of the people who engage in it. Think of seventy millions of people inspired with a spirit of hate, of revenge, of desire of destruction! That is the fearful thing about war. We contrast it with the temper of the gospel and who of us can doubt that the spirit of love and fellowship and service is to triumph over that of revenge and hate? As much as we believe in Christianity itself, we believe that we are upon the verge of the time when wars shall cease.

Not only is this the temper of our own people, but it is the temper of the leading men in foreign nations. I undertake to say that if President McKinley, if Lord Salisbury, if the chancellors of Russia and Germany, if M. Hanotaux, if Signor Crispi and Senor Sagasta, had been in this Conference during the last three days, they would have heard very little with which they would disagree. They would tell us that they believe that armies and navies must be maintained as an international police, but that they need not be maintained for the assertion of claims and rights against other nations, and certainly not for aggression. Look at what has happened in the last three great wars; the Russo-Turkish war resulted in a victory for Russia, but the powers stepped in and tore up the treaty of San Stefano and the result of that war was decided by the diplomatists of Europe and not by arms. It seemed that the China-Japan war was ended by the treaty of Shimonoseki; but France and Germany and Russia stepped in and the result of that conflict also was determined by negotiation and diplomacy. The war between Greece and Turkey has just closed, and within the last few days the powers have decided what shall be its result, and Thessaly is to be restored to Greece.

Some things have been said in this Conference against the Concert of Europe, with which one cannot entirely agree. The Concert of Europe did, indeed, fail to intervene in behalf of the Armenians; but we forget the immense benefits which have resulted from the concert of the powers. For the last five years it has held the armies of Europe by the throat, preventing them from flying at one another. One of the best tokens of international peace, the best augury of international arbitration, is the fact that the powers of Europe could agree in that concert, uniting upon the basis not of their differences, but of their agreements.

The pessimist has the advantage of seeming to be profound; the optimist is usually characterized as superficial. There are a great many facts that can be adduced against such an optimistic view as has been presented; but the multiplicity of facts does not necessarily increase their significance. A single patch of blue sky may be more significant than the uncounted cloud-banks; a single note of a robin may be more significant than the silences of the forest; a single twig of pussy-willow growing by the margin of a swamp may be more significant than the frozen earth. I believe that when we select the really significant facts in modern life they point toward a mighty onward advance of the movement for which we stand. It will come to its fruition as the spring comes. Did you not notice this year how we seemed in a single week to pass out of the chill and gloomy and forbidding features of winter into the warmth and sunlight and verdure of the spring. It may be that this movement which we represent is already trembling upon the verge of a mighty and blessed change like that.

### The Free Baptists and War.

It is easy to believe that a goodly proportion of Free Baptists hold peace principles in advance of those who regard war as a legitimate means of doing good. But the position of the body as a whole is considerably below, we fear, the position expressed by the General Conference of 1847. The late Prof. John Fullonton was chairman of the committee on peace at that time. Among the resolutions then adopted are the following:

"Resolved, That the custom of appealing to arms for the settlement of national difficulties is at open variance with the principles of peace, and consequently hostile to the spirit and precepts of Christianity.

Resolved, That all demonstrations of joy in honor of bloody victories achieved in Mexico, and the sympathy manifested by so many ministers and professed Christians in the designs and success of the present war, evince a deplorable want of Christian rectitude and piety."

What a pleasant thing it would have been had the thirtieth General Conference, recently held at Ocean Park, taken a ground as high as that expressed by these excellent resolutions! The position they declare is as true and noble for 1898 as it was for 1847.

Not a few of our denominational leaders have seen and taught upon occasion the radical and irremovable inconsistency of martial slaughter with the spirit and doctrines of Jesus and his apostles. Among these were Martin Cheney and George T. Day. Our great Civil Horror did much to paralyze peace principles and silence the voice of truth on this great theme. That awful struggle was made "necessary" only because Christians were not sufficiently Christlike. Oliver Johnson spoke truly when he said that if the larger religious denominations had held the position of the Freewill Baptists the bonds of the slave might have been broken without a war. The position of the Free Baptists on the question of the abolition of war ought to be maintained up to the level of the sentiment of 1847, despite the sophistries of war advocates and the obscuring smoke of the battlefields of two wars since that date.—*The Morning Star*.

A general treaty of arbitration has been made between Italy and the Republic of Argentina. It was signed on

the 23d of July by Mr. Canevaro, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Moreno, Minister Plenipotentiary of Argentina. This treaty is to continue in force for ten years unless it shall have been previously denounced. The tribunal which it sets up is to be composed of three judges, each of the contracting parties naming one, and the two so named choosing the third. In case they fail to agree on the third, he shall be named by the President of Switzerland or the King of Norway and Sweden. No one of the arbitrators can be a citizen of either of the contracting states, or have his abode within their territories. In its decisions the tribunal is to be governed by the principles of international law, except in cases where they give friendly advice. Decisions upon each point in controversy shall be by majority vote. The decisions shall be without appeal, and their execution is entrusted to the honor of the two na-

tions. In case a judgment has been based upon a false or erroneous document, or an error of fact, the tribunal may revise its decision. Well done Italy and Argentina! You have done a thing of the first importance, which many other nations will some day wish they had done as early.

Let our people all distinctly understand that imperialism necessitates an enormous standing army after the fashion of Germany, and an enormous navy with its heavy taxation on the labor of the people. Worst of all, it changes the whole character of our hitherto peace loving nation and it enthrones militarism as a permanent and dominant principle! Disguise it as they may, and blink as they may, that is the cataract towards which the rapids of this new imperialistic mania are rushing us!—*Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, D.D.*

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The death of Rev. John K. Brubaker of Rohrerstown, Pa., takes away one of the most able and popular ministers of the Menonnites. He had recently connected himself with the American Peace Society as a life member and, if he had lived, would doubtless have done distinguished service in the cause for which his denomination has always stood.

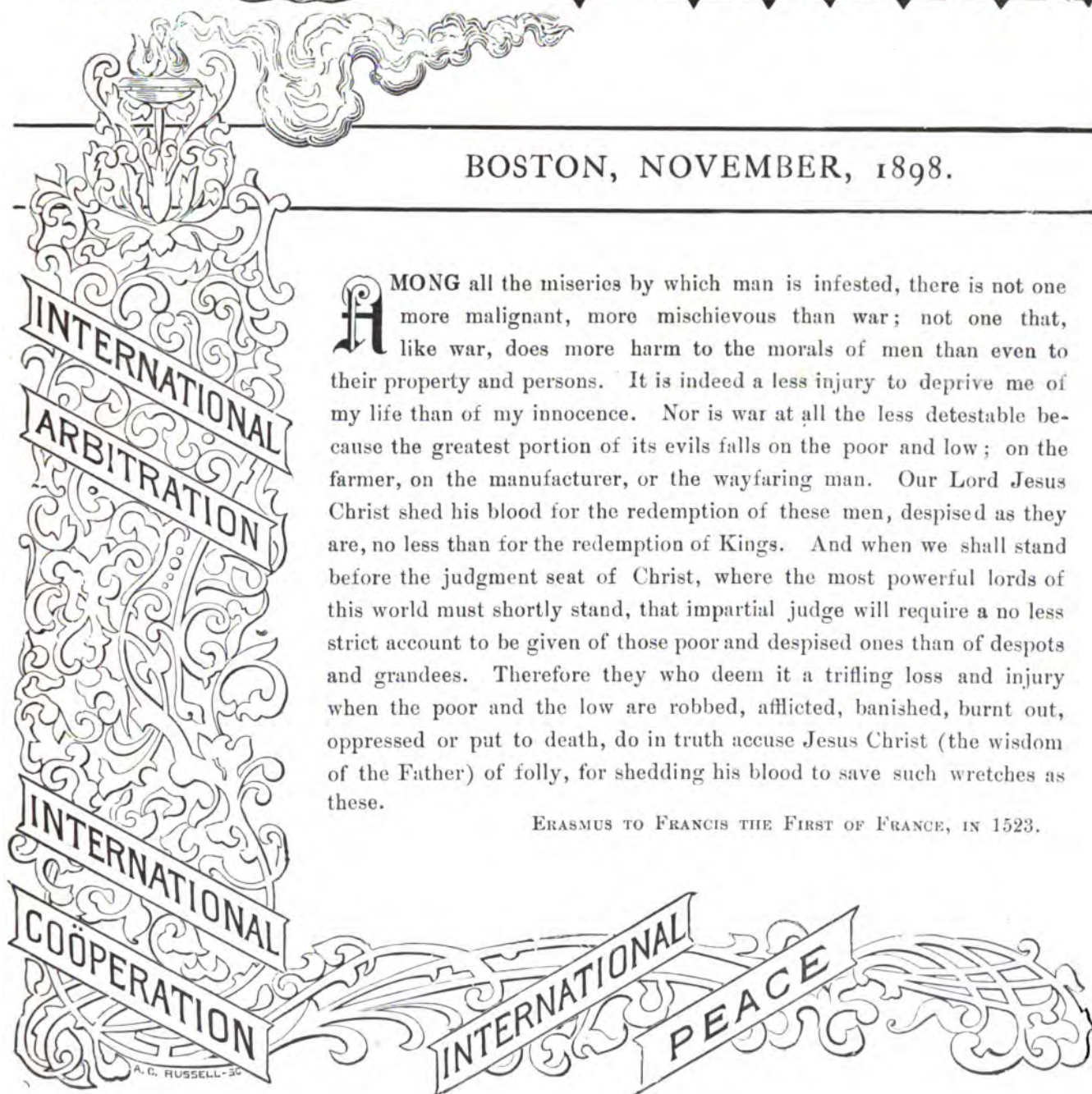




BOSTON, NOVEMBER, 1898.

**A**MONG all the miseries by which man is infested, there is not one more malignant, more mischievous than war; not one that, like war, does more harm to the morals of men than even to their property and persons. It is indeed a less injury to deprive me of my life than of my innocence. Nor is war at all the less detestable because the greatest portion of its evils falls on the poor and low; on the farmer, on the manufacturer, or the wayfaring man. Our Lord Jesus Christ shed his blood for the redemption of these men, despised as they are, no less than for the redemption of Kings. And when we shall stand before the judgment seat of Christ, where the most powerful lords of this world must shortly stand, that impartial judge will require a no less strict account to be given of those poor and despised ones than of despots and grandees. Therefore they who deem it a trifling loss and injury when the poor and the low are robbed, afflicted, banished, burnt out, oppressed or put to death, do in truth accuse Jesus Christ (the wisdom of the Father) of folly, for shedding his blood to save such wretches as these.

ERASMUS TO FRANCIS THE FIRST OF FRANCE, IN 1523.



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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## Progress towards the Czar's Conference

The conference proposed by Nicholas II. continues to engage the serious thought of the world, in spite of the rumors of war with which the atmosphere is charged. The heart and judgment of the world go that way. Of that there is no doubt. Representative organizations of all kinds continue to express not their approval only, but their devoutest wish for the success of the conference. The Emperor's palace has been flooded with telegrams, letters, resolutions and addresses, from all parts of the earth. The meaning of this is clear. The heart and conscience of the world are for peace. We hope they are soon to be strong enough to do away with war.

It is not yet known when the conference will be held. The Russian government has expressed the wish that it meet this winter. The King of Belgium has written with his own hand to the Czar proposing that the meeting be held at Brussels, and the Czar is thought to favor this proposal.

All of the great powers, except France have sent their replies to St. Petersburg, and France may have done so by this time, though we have seen no notice of it. The smaller powers have all responded most favorably. So has Japan from the East.

The reservations made in some of the replies are in curious contrast to the straightforward and whole-hearted character of the Czar's invitation. Turkey has expressed her readiness to take part, but wishes to know beforehand whether the program will be such as to interfere with the completion of the arming of her existing forces, which she says is intended only to maintain the *status quo*. Germany, Austria and Italy, the powers composing the Triple Alliance, have made their approval conditional on the maintenance of the present territorial limits.

These reservations are not more than might have been expected in diplomatic replies to a note of so much moment. If the conference, when it meets, should restrict itself entirely to the matter of future armaments, there would be ample justification for its assembling. A mere cessation of the growth of armaments, if it could be brought about, would be an inestimable blessing. But the delegates, when they assemble, will find it impossible to limit their deliberations to mere stopping of the growth of armaments. The question of reduction in some form, or of equalization according to population, will necessarily come up. We shall be greatly surprised, when the conference meets in Brussels or elsewhere, if the discussions do not take a much wider range even than this. The question of the judicial means of settling international differences is inseparably connected with that of disarmament, and it will not be possible to make any satisfactory arrangement for the latter which does not include the former. If there ever was a meeting on the assembling of which all praying men ought to ask the blessing of Almighty God it is this approaching conference.

### The Omdurman Atrocity.

"We challenge any sane man to attempt to realize that battlefield, and then to stand up in God's daylight and say that it is good." So writes the editor of a London journal in reference to the horrible butchery at Omdurman, over which so great a portion of England has gone wild with delight. Something of the loathsomeness of the scene may be gathered from the picture, given in the London *Daily Mail*, of the trenches at Atbara after the battle there last spring:

"There were black spindle-legs curled up to meet red-gimbleted black faces; donkeys headless and legless, or sieves of shrapnel; camels with necks writhed back onto their humps, rotting already in pools of blood and bile-yellow water; heads without faces, and faces without anything below; cobwebbed arms and legs, and black skins grilled to crackling on smouldering palm-leaf."

But Atbara was only the ante-room of Omdurman. At the former place General Kitchener and his forces were only "whetting their tusks," by a little practice, for the general massacre at the latter. And what dreadful work these Christian tusks made of it for a few hours! At the end of the revel, not less than ten thousand lay dead and mangled beyond recognition, and from fifteen to twenty thousand were writhing or crawling about in agony on the blood-soaked earth, while "from every straw shelter thin streams of blood oozed out, blackening in the scorching vertical sun."

And what did the Christian Sirdar do with these thousands of wounded dervishes? The *Saturday Review* and the *Standard* say that squads of Egyptian soldiers were sent out to kill them off, in order to save lint and other necessities, and to keep the limited staff of medical attendants and nurses from being overworked. No wonder that General Kitchener tried to keep the newspaper correspondents out of the way. The worst newspaper correspondent that ever manufactured stories out of whole cloth has not sunk to a lower depth of infamy than an English general who, in cold blood, is capable of doing what was done at Omdurman. There is only one depth of barbarism lower than this — the eating of those slain in battle. What shall be said of a Christian public, in England or America, which will deliberately shut its eyes and condone such an atrocity on the ground that it was a necessary work of civilization against these "fiends incarnate"? Fiends incarnate! In which garb?

There is a theory of some Christians — not ourselves — that the world is to grow worse and worse until it finally becomes so bad that the Son of Man will descend in wrath and smite all sinners from the face of the earth, to make room for the handful of saints left. It begins to look, in the light of the

deeds of Sir Herbert, who has evidently been brought up on this sort of theology, as if this descent of the Son will not be necessary. All He will need to do is to encourage the Christian nations to follow up the Sirdar's methods, to which they seem so much inclined, and then He can stay quietly in Heaven, and they will accomplish the work for Him — all of it except their own destruction, which He may have to reserve to himself, if they should not succeed in annihilating one another, after blotting out all the "fiends incarnate."

We are glad to know that there are still people in England, some of whom retain their voices, who have some respect left for the teachings of the Gospel. Mr. W. S. Blunt, writing in the London *Times*, says of this Omdurman horror: "The misgovernment of the Khalifa has been immensely exaggerated for political purposes. . . . Knowing Nile politics intimately as I do, and bearing the past in mind, I will not hesitate longer to say that a massacre so gigantic in its proportions and so little justified by any circumstances of necessity or self-defense, was never committed by a civilized European nation since modern wars began."

Sir Wilfrid Lawson and others have written in the same transparent way. But in spite of the evident atrocity of the deed, or rather because of it, Christian England proposes to recognize the deed as her own, as it is her own, by giving General Kitchener a purse of £25,000 and putting him into the House of Lords as Lord Kitchener of Khar-toum. She ought to set up a new division of Parliament for such as he, and enter him as Lord of the Bloody Valley.

### The Horrors of the War.

The recent war had its full quota of horrors. No war ever had more of them in the same number of weeks. One cannot think of them in their terrible reality without shuddering. Most people will not picture them to their minds at all. The imagination instinctively refuses to go through such shocking and loathsome details. But they were there just the same, and whoever says that the war was righteous and glorious must, if he is honest, say it with all these horrors before his imagination.

The first instalment of horrors came in Manila harbor, on Sunday morning, the first day of May. Little mention was made of these horrors in the account of the "glorious" victory. There were but few casualties on "our side," only a few men slightly wounded, not a ship lost, not a man killed. It was nearly a "bloodless" victory. Was it? A few thousand yards away, what was happening? There was plenty of blood there. Men were crushed into jelly by the murderous shells, or blown into unrecognizable fragments. The ships were set on

fire by the explosive missiles. Men with limbs torn off were roasted alive on the decks. Men wounded and screaming from pain were suffocated to death in the hot sulphurous hells below the decks. Living, wounded and dead went down promiscuously in the bloody, seething waters. Whose guns, whose hands, whose brains did these things? Look straight into these infernal deeds, ye praters of the "righteousness" and "glory" of war, and then speak! Speak conscientiously!

The second instalment of horrors came at Santiago de Cuba on the first of July. These were the ordinary horrors of a battlefield intensified by the flaming heat of a tropical sun, and aggravated by the stupid haste with which the conflict was rushed into. Ordinary horrors, did we say? There are no ordinary horrors of a battlefield. They are always extraordinary, every battlefield creating its own horrors. Men are never killed or wounded alike. Their sufferings are always peculiar to themselves. It was especially so that day before Santiago. The "picnic" of death and wounds was described in the dailies until the nation's heart grew pale and still. Brave men were mown to death on both sides by hundreds, were mangled into helpless masses by thousands, wounded men lay for two days in the burning sun and the drenching rain, without food, without water, without care, hidden in the long grass, or half buried in the mud. The buzzards did not wait for them to die; the land crabs ate away the faces of men still alive.

Some of these horrors, it will be said, might have been avoided, others lessened, if there had been any brains in the management. Possibly so. Though we doubt whether, with the rapidity with which war moves in these days, any amount of brains would have changed the essential character of the scene. Destruction always moves faster than healing; it will move still faster with the tremendous forces now harnessed to its service. The only way to prevent such scenes is to do away with war altogether.

We venture to suggest in this connection that the whole question of the moral justification of war is not a question of motives and results, but of means and deeds. There are no more horrible deeds ever done on the earth than those of war. If motives and results can be made to justify such deeds as those which must be done on every battlefield, then is not the principle that the end justifies the means established, and the foundations of morality swept entirely away?

Instalment three of the horrors of the war came on the third of July—Sunday again—with the destruction of Cervera's fleet. Again there were no casualties worth mentioning on "our side," one killed and one wounded. But the appalling character of the destruction, death and torture on the Spanish ships has never been surpassed in the whole

history of warfare. The steel covering of the *Vizcaya* became red hot. Men were seen naked roasting to death on the deck, or scalded by steam, or climbing down blistering-hot chains, their naked bodies swinging against the red hot sides of the ships. Within, men, having torn off their burning garments, rushed frantically about, or wounded writhed in agonies in the awful heat. The shotted guns kept going off by reason of the heat, and an explosion of one of the magazines tore one end of the vessel into pieces. It was much the same on all the ships, which were crushed and set on fire by the American shells.

When the news of the destruction of Cervera's fleet reached Washington there was wild, unrestrained rejoicing in the nation's capital. So there was in other parts of the land. To rejoice wildly over a victory attended by such scenes as occurred on the Spanish vessels, one must, it seems to us, either close his eyes absolutely to them or have a heart compared with which stone is tender. But what sort of a moral condition does it indicate to shut one's eyes to these horrors and see only the bravery, the destructive skill and the victory of the winners? Much has been said of the tenderness of the American men after the fight was over; but how does this in any way change the character of their furious scientific cruelty while the battle was on? Great praise has been bestowed on Captain Philip for his restraint when, on reaching the shattered *Oquendo* and seeing the awful plight of the men, he exclaimed, "Don't cheer; the poor devils are dying!" But what of the pitiless deeds of Captain Philip and his men, which had just created the hell in which "the poor devils" were suffering unspeakable agonies? Does the awful contradiction never occur to the minds of those who talk about "brilliant achievements" and "glorious victories?" What is the other side of a "brilliant victory?" By what light does it shine? The difference between Captain Philip and Commodore Schley who nonchalantly remarked as the men on the *Texas* cheered him, "It was a nice fight, Jack, was n't it?" was that the latter had wholly closed his eyes to the atrocities committed, the former only half. We speak of these two only as types.

Of the fourth and final instalment of the horrors of the war what suitable word can be said? These horrors were the aftermath of the Santiago campaign. Wounded men were left without food, without medicines, without care, to die in the hospitals or in the places where they fell. Men were stricken down with yellow fever, typhoid, dysentery, were packed into foul ships, died by scores in camp and on the voyage home, or were starved into ghosts of their former selves. As the details of the situation became known and the army came home a shriveled and helpless wreck, the whole nation was

filled with horror, shame and indignation, and a great cry went up all over the land against the management of the war department.

We have no excuses to offer for the Secretary of War. We have little doubt that the investigation which has been ordered will, if thoroughly made, reveal both incompetency and corruption in the department. But the blame ought to be put primarily where it belongs. Given the circumstances under which the government rushed headlong into the war and the locality of the campaign, we do not believe that the most capable and honest man in the nation could have handled the department so as to have prevented, except in moderate measure, the horrors which came on like a whirlwind. They were, in kind at least, what had been foretold. They are therefore to be set down as a part of the crime of the war, chargeable to all those in Congress and elsewhere who so blindly precipitated the conflict. Mr. Alger was one of these. He was at the head of the war-party in the cabinet. He was thirsty for blood and honor. He must therefore bear the blame not only for the incompetency and corruption of the administration of the department but also that of having forced on the war in the beginning. He is reaping as he sowed, a double harvest of shame and dishonor. But multitudes of guilty men are throwing their own loads on to poor Alger's shoulders.

It makes one unspeakably sad to have to feel that all these horrors will soon be pushed out of sight by many, and that they will go on talking of the "glory" and the "righteousness" of war. There is no blindness greater than that which the war-god lays down upon human eyes.

General Sherman's famous saying, "War is Hell," has recently been much discussed. One magazine writer has attempted to show—what needed no demonstration—that the old fighter did not utter it in the interests of peace, and had no notion himself of joining a peace society. Sherman cared nothing for peace as a matter of principle. He was a fighter. That was his business. But he called the business by its right name. He was honest enough to reason straight about it. He made no pretensions to religion. He left that to his wife, so he said. When men in his presence tried to deck out war in garments of righteousness and glory, he said no. "You say that war is glory; I say it is hell." "Men who have nice notions about Christianity had better let war alone." "War is cruel and you cannot refine it." All this talk about the "glory" of war, the "righteousness" of it, the "civilizing" of it, he brushed aside as mere ignorant and hollow pretence. He did not shut his eyes to such horrors as were enacted in the recent war. He looked straight into them and described what he saw. No war ever showed more conspicuously than the recent one the utter impossibility of changing the inhuman character of war.

### Hon. Thomas F. Bayard.

Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, who died on September 28, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, at Dedham, Mass., at the age of seventy, is universally conceded to have been one of the ablest and purest of American public men. He was as distinguished for honesty as for ability, a thing which we wish we could say of all men in public positions. A neighbor of his who had known him long, said that "God never made an honest man than Tom Bayard."

But whatever God had done for him through a long line of worthy and distinguished ancestors, Mr. Bayard had the high personal honor of having maintained his hereditary virtue, and of having developed and strengthened it to a point where it would not in the least give way before either financial or political temptations. United States Senator for sixteen years, Secretary of State for four years, Ambassador to Great Britain four years. Mr. Bayard might have been President, or at least have received the nomination of his party therefor, if he had been willing to play fast and loose with the questions of the currency and of civil service reform. But he was a greater man as he was, and did more both for the good and the honor of his country, than would have been the case if he had swerved a hair's breadth from his convictions and thereby become President.

Mr. Bayard never did more for his country and for humanity in any other position than when he was at the Court of St. James. A good deal has been said about the recent war with Spain having wiped out all animosity between this country and Great Britain. This is not a true statement of the case. An animosity which is apparently destroyed by war is very apt to come to life again at very inopportune times. War-friendships are extremely unreliable, and for our own part we should have little confidence in the sudden expression of friendly feeling between the two nations, if the roots of this feeling were not much deeper than the influence of the war. The disappearance of prejudices between this country and Great Britain has been going on for years, and the growing friendship between them has much deeper foundations than any temporary sympathies aroused by the war. This is the view taken by Professor Dicey in the October *Atlantic Monthly*, and it is certainly the true one.

When the history of this growing friendship shall have been truly written, Mr. Bayard will be found to have contributed as much to it as any other single individual. When at London, he made it a part of his official business to foster a better understanding between the two countries. He believed it to be a part of the duty of an ambassador to promote friendly international relations. He was willing to



incur censure at home in order that he might fulfil what he saw to be his duty in this regard. He did not hesitate to criticise his own country, when he believed it to be fostering wrong policies. He had that rare sort of patriotism which tries to bring the country up to higher standards of thinking and doing. He may have been imprudent at times, as was thought, but the path of duty often lies straight through what to others seems imprudence. There is sometimes no other honest way of proceeding. The turn which Anglo-American affairs have recently taken has silenced Mr. Bayard's critics. When the growing friendship is consummated in a permanent treaty of arbitration, which is as certain as fate, Mr. Bayard's name will have honorable mention, along with those of Gresham, Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, as one of those who in high official positions were chiefly instrumental in bringing it about.

### Editorial Notes.

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, president of the American Peace Society, has been attending, as a delegate, the past month the Triennial Episcopal Convention in Washington. The Convention, or rather the House of Deputies, on the 20th ult., agreed to a letter to be sent to the Czar of Russia "hailing with joy the great peace manifesto" and "earnestly hoping that the conference may result in a reduction of the excessive armaments which are a crushing burden on the people, and in the establishment of some method of judicial arbitration for the settlement of international difficulties by which may be preserved the principles of equity and right whereon rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples." A resolution was also passed commending closer union between this country and Great Britain.

Hon. Walter Hazell, M. P., treasurer of the London Peace Society, has been spending, with two sons accompanying him, some weeks in Canada and the United States. We had a pleasant call from him at the office of the American Peace Society. Mr. Hazell is the senior member of the firm of Hazell, Watson and Viney, one of the largest printing companies in Great Britain. He was the founder of the Self-Help Emigration Society which has provided employment for more than five thousand people in the Canadian provinces. Mr. Hazell is a warm friend of the United States and is, with multitudes of other Englishmen, greatly desirous of the consummation of a permanent treaty of arbitration between his country and ours. In interviews with the *Boston Transcript* and the *Boston Herald* he expressed himself with some caution as to the present foreign problems of the United States, but in general he showed that he felt that what is called an "imperialistic policy" would be a

serious mistake on the part of the United States. He thought that one of the most practicable means of promoting closer fellowship between Englishmen and Americans was closer personal touch between them. Americans visiting England should take letters of introduction and see the people on their own ground. "Our ruins and museums are interesting, but they are not England. The life of our country is in our people, not in our masonry." There is a world of wisdom in this suggestion.

It is significant that the older statesmen of the nation are almost without exception opposed to the colonial imperialistic policy now so much talked of. Their judgment is the more valuable because they have had long experience in political affairs, have studied thoroughly the fundamental principles of our national constitution, and are better able, than others, to make a wise prognostication of the future effects of a radical change of our international policy. Senator Morrill, Senator Hoar, Ex-Senator Edmunds, Ex-Secretary Sherman, Carl Schurz, the late Thomas F. Bayard, and others have spoken in most decided terms against our expansion into the tropics at the present time and under existing conditions. We present in this issue the views on this subject of Hon. George S. Boutwell, one of the most experienced, judicious and patriotic statesmen of the generation now passing away. Mr. Boutwell has been Governor of Massachusetts, United States Senator and Secretary of the Treasury, and speaks with a wisdom to which the nation would do well to give heed. There is clearly a strong reaction throughout the nation, among people of all parties, against the imperialistic furor which at one time threatened to sweep everything before it. But the reaction has not come soon enough to prevent all the mischiefs. Some of the evil effects of the war have, as Mr. Boutwell says, already fixed themselves upon us. But there is still time to do something to lessen even these and to prevent others which still hang threateningly over us. Mr. Boutwell's address, though long, will well repay the most careful reading.

The unfortunate outbreak among the Chippewa Indians of Northern Minnesota, resulting in a clash with the troops and considerable loss of life, is clearly traceable, as has usually been the case in the Indian wars and massacres, to the white man's trespasses and greed and injustice. It has been proposed to remove these Indians to another reservation; they have not been properly paid for improvements in their present quarters, and their timber has been grossly undervalued by inspectors appointed under the last Administration. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the arrest by the United States officials of Bush Ear, the leader of a band which were engaged in the illegal sale of whiskey on the reservation.

He had refused to serve as a witness on the ground that he had not, on a previous summons, been paid his witness fees. When taken under a warrant, he was suddenly rescued from the marshal by a fierce attack of some of his band. It is not probable that this resistance to the authorities would have been made if the Indians had not been smarting under the injustices done them. Of course the Indian offenders go down under the iron heel of force, but what becomes of the corrupt politicians, the transgressors against the Indians' rights, and the men who taught them to use and to sell whiskey? What sort of justice is that which never reaches the primary offenders?

The Indian Conference, the sixteenth of the series, which met at Lake Mohonk last month, gave considerable attention to the matter of the recent outbreak among the Minnesota Indians. The facts then stated made it clear that the Indians were more sinned against than sinning. The platform of the Conference strongly condemns the running of the Indian Bureau as a political machine, and appeals to the people to demand of the Government that it be taken out of politics.

"We have appealed," it says, "to successive administrations to remedy these abuses, and the abuses still continue. We now appeal to the people of the United States to demand of their government that the Indian Bureau be taken out of politics; that the Indian Commissioner be no longer treated as a political officer, to be changed with every change of administration; that the work of the Bureau be entrusted to experts and left in their hands until it is accomplished. And we also appeal to them to demand of Congress that it recognize that the Indian Bureau is of necessity a temporary institution, and should be discontinued at the earliest practicable moment; that it expedite the dissolution of the reservations and the allotment of the land in severalty; that it give all Indians everywhere a right to appeal to the courts, and render all Indians everywhere accountable to the courts; and that it thus prepare the way for the abolishment of a costly policy, unjust to the Indians, injurious to the whites and an impediment to civilization."

The latest reports from Paris indicate that the Spanish Peace Commissioners are directing their efforts chiefly toward securing as much financial easement as possible for Spain. They have contended that the United States, having forced Spain to abandon sovereignty in Cuba, and having assumed at least temporary sovereignty in the island, should therefore assume the debt, or that Cuba, if made independent, should bear the debt itself. They have cited historical precedents in favor of this latter position. The United States Commissioners have refused to make any concessions in this direction. Failing here, the Spanish Commissioners are reported to favor giving up the whole of the Philippines provided the United States will assume a part or all of the Cuban debt, or furnish a direct money consideration. The United

States Commissioners, following their instructions, seem determined to make no concessions in any direction. This is just as we supposed it would be. Not even in the disposition of the Philippines are the Spanish Commissioners to have any say, though the protocol clearly leaves the whole subject in the hands of the Commission and gives Spain some moral rights in the matter. It is clearly a case of might doing its own will in the presence of weakness. It may be an easy thing to do now, but sometime and somewhere the evil fruit will be gathered.

The commission to adjust the differences between this country and Canada has done a great deal of hard work at Quebec. Deputations from many organizations have been before them to urge the claims of various interests. These have been given respectful hearing. The relations between the two branches of the Commission have been most cordial, and so far as can be learned all the members have shown a sincere desire to reach a basis of agreement which shall be satisfactory to both countries. The meetings of the Commission have been private, and the scope of the treaty which they are preparing cannot be given at this time. The Commission is to meet hereafter and continue its labors in Washington.

Something of the intensity of feeling produced by the Czar's peace manifesto among the friends of peace everywhere in Europe may be judged from the following editorial expressions of Alfred H. Fried in the *Monatliche Friedens-Correspondenz*, the organ of the German Peace Society, published at Berlin:

"The idea which has been defended by us in the most obstinate struggles against the storming masses of our overwise opponents, has won an incomparably great victory. We Utopists of yesterday have become the practical politicians of to-day. What we have preached and desired for decades, is to become a reality. . . That (the Czar's manifesto) is spirit of our spirit; those are words which we have spoken and written innumerable times; those are thoughts which we friends of peace have vigorously supported. It is possible that we are near the goal for which we have been striving, that the struggle which we and our comrades have been carrying on in all lands, is being crowned with victory. In spite of all opposition, in spite of all the enemies who have either treated our efforts with scorn and derision or with downright indifference, a mighty defender steps forth into our ranks, who will secure for himself the greatest honor of the ages by giving to the world a real peace, after the long night of sophistry and delusion. . . The states will not be able to reject his call.

But even if no appreciable result should come of the matter, if the wished-for consummation should be only in part realized, yet the Czar's rescript will remain for us a victory of unspeakable value. Do we imagine that the great work will be accomplished at a single stroke? That is impossible. But this manifesto will form a milestone in the history of our movement, a turning point in the entire history of the world. The peace movement will

receive from it new force and new adherents. The masses will come to us, because our aim is recognized and striven for by the mighty of the earth. The old saying, "If you wish peace, prepare for war," was finally buried on the 24th of August; a new era is beginning; a new day is breaking; from now on peoples must comprehend that armaments will never bring peace, but lasting, latent war, the destruction of all civilization.

"So far and no farther," is now the word. But to us, who have unflinchingly labored in this cause in the days of contempt, remains the double duty of abiding faithful and of bringing the great work to an end. We are not yet so far along that we can rest on our laurels. The call of the Czar to the nations is only the *beginning* of the pacification of Europe. There is yet hard work to be done. With full steam on we must steer straight for the new goal, now lying nearer. Every man must come on board and all who fight with spiritual weapons must gather together. Our battle cry, "Down with Arms," has become the watchword of the world. The new century which we friends of peace have helped to bring in, is already throwing its light upon us."

Before the Executive Council of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, on the 19th ult., Mr. Edward Atkinson made a vigorous plea against "imperialism." He said that "the longer the United States has to maintain armed forces by land and sea in the territories wrested from Spain, the worse the moral and physical danger. It is a crime against the young manhood of this country to undertake these dangers, calling for a large armed force. The stalwart young men, in the prime of life, who are stationed at these points will be exposed to all the infections which grow out of human passion, and which governments and military authorities are powerless to meet." From the economic standpoint "the true strength of the nation is in inverse proportion to the size of the army and the navy which it may be called upon to maintain." Our strength consists first in the "adequate consumption of the elements of life. Food, fuel, shelter and clothing are all that any man, be he rich or poor, can get, in a material sense, in this world." The second element of national strength, in the economic sense, is "the development of the national resources." The third is "freedom from destructive taxation." "This we seem in danger of throwing away under the influence of jingoism, imperialism and other evil forces which have become dangerous. The heavier the burden of taxes, the less there will be for wages and profits. Wages suffer most under indirect taxation. The five millions of Canada purchase more of us than the sixty millions of Latin America. If our dealings with the Canadians were regulated by common sense, we could in a single year increase our traffic with them more than we could increase it in ten years by assuming dominion over these foreign territories." Mr. Atkinson, who has always opposed the annexation of Hawaii, protested strongly against the annexation of any of these territories. "The bait held out as an inducement to extend our dominion is of the same delusive nature as the misrepresentations by which we were tricked and jockeyed into the war."

A fraternal delegation from the Episcopal Church in Canada visited the Triennial Episcopal Council in Washington on the 7th of October. The delegation was led by Archbishop Lewis, who is head of the Episcopal Church of Canada. Bishop Doane of Albany, president of the House of Bishops, extended the visitors a most cordial welcome, expressing the wish that the Episcopal Church might prove an important link in binding more closely together the two English-speaking peoples. Archbishop Lewis responded, expressing the deep love of the Church in Canada for the Church on this side of the border, and declaring that it seemed to him the will of Providence that these nations should take great part in the advancement and civilization of the world. "Every tie," he said, "drawing closer together these two great nations is in the interest of civilization and Christianity."

Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby of Rhinebeck, N. Y., has just published a pamphlet of reflections on war, entitled "War Echoes." It is full of vigor and directness. No one who reads it will have the least difficulty in understanding Mr. Crosby's meaning, whether he speaks in prose or poetry. Here is a bit entitled "Russia and America, August 29, 1898":

"God bless the Czar! Little did I believe yesterday that that prayer would ever leave my lips. The old sphinx riddle is answered. Out of the eater cometh forth meat, and out of the strong cometh forth sweetness. From the heart of the Northern Bear at last we may gather honey. The armed hordes of Muscovy and Tartary cry 'Peace!'

O Daughter of the West, thine hour of shame is upon thee! When thou didst hear from afar the word divine, thou wast busied in things of war. Thy thoughts were of loftier battlements, of swelling battalions, of deadlier flotillas, of greater preparation for slaughter. Thou hast sown the wind. Wilt thou escape the whirlwind? Thou hast planted dragon's teeth. Wilt thou save thyself from the harvest of armed men, ready to impoverish and lord it over thee? Daughter of Liberty, fallen though thou be, give ear to the voice of Tyranny's transfigured daughter. God bless Russia and the Czar!"

The price of "War Echoes" is 10 cents, and may be had of Innes & Sons, 200 South Tenth St., Philadelphia.

The moral debauchery connected with some of the recent army quarters is unspeakably painful. A correspondent of *The Voice* who visited Camp Meade, near Harrisburg, Pa., closes an account of what he saw, in the following words:

"At Steelton, which is near Harrisburg, every bar seemed crowded with drunken soldiers, and even at an early hour in the evening—it was then about seven o'clock—men sat along the steps and curbstones, somewhat disabled as to their powers of locomotion. A gentleman of this village with whom I talked on the streets said:

"Yes, sir, the only people who are making money out of this camp are the saloons and the traction company, and we are paying for it in the virtue of our young women. Girls against whose character there never was

even a breath of suspicion before have been ruined for life by the charm of a blue coat and brass buttons.'

"Harrisburg to-night is patrolled by guards as if it were in a state of siege, while hundreds of other soldiers throng the streets. Soldiers are drinking at every bar, from that of the magnificently-appointed "Commonwealth" to low grogeries on East State street and its adjoining alleys. The patrol-wagon rushes up and down with the clamor of its gong, and seems to be paying attention to only the obstreperously drunk, for within a block and a half I have just seen not less than five drunken soldiers lying on the sidewalk and doorsteps. When I arrived here at three o'clock this morning the hotel bars were busy supplying drinks to soldiers, and after daylight twenty "all-night drunks" were gathered in by the police, and I was told that the number was not at all remarkable except that it was so few. The other day Mayor Patterson, of Harrisburg, arrested an intoxicated soldier who was staggering along the streets; but if the mayor were to arrest every drunken soldier that there is in Harrisburg to-night he would have more than an all-night's job.

"The disreputable quarters of the city are particularly thronged with the boys in blue, and up and down in front of the houses of shame pace the guards with fixed bayonets; not to keep the boys out, but to make sure that the shameless women are well protected in following their vocation.

"In more than one sense Sherman was right when he said: 'War is hell.'"

Relations between France and England have been strained over the Fashoda affair, and preparations of the navies of both countries were hurriedly made which looked threatening. There has probably been no real danger of immediate war. France has given up the purpose to hold Fashoda, which England even at the risk of war, had determined that she should not hold. Diplomacy has found an "honorable" way out of the trouble. It is infinitely to France's honor that she has had the courage to abstain from war. Whatever rights she may have had at Fashoda would have been very wickedly maintained at the cost of a great and terrible war.

### Brevities.

Since the formation of the United States government, 19,000 white men, women and children and 30,000 Indians have been killed in our Indian wars. This has cost the government \$807,073,658, or something over \$16,000 per corpse.

... Josiah W. Leeds' tireless peace pen recently contributed to "City and State" (Philadelphia) an interesting article entitled "Not Lacking in Patriotism."

... John Hawthorne, a grandson of Nathaniel Hawthorne, wrote to his mother just after the battle of Santiago: "I never knew what a cruel and barbarous thing war was until I had been through this battle. At least a dozen men were killed and wounded right around me. Hereafter I am in favor of international arbitration."

... The Institute of International Law recently celebrated at The Hague the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. The meetings were held in the Senate

Chamber under the presidency of Mr. Asser, a member of the State Council.

... An English Section of the Peace Association of Journalists has been formed. Many English journalists have become members.

... On the occasion of the accession of Queen Wilhelmina, the General Dutch Peace Society sent to the young queen a letter of congratulation, and of its wishes that harmony may reign between the sovereign and the nation, on the basis of justice and peace.

... The *twenty-fourth* of August, the day on which Nicholas II. issued his peace manifesto, was the anniversary of the liberation of the serfs by Alexander II.

... Carlyle says: "Under the sky is no uglier spectacle than two men with clinched teeth and hell-fire eyes hacking one another's flesh, converting precious living bodies and priceless living souls into nameless masses of putrescence, useful only for turnip manure."

... The American Humane Education Society has now established, all told, thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three Bands of Mercy. War is doomed!

... George T. Angell, editor of *Our Dumb Animals*, thinks, very sensibly, that *whiskey* is a much more appropriate liquid than *water* with which to "christen" a new war-ship "with all its infernal machinery for the destruction of human life."

... The Sultan has ordered the withdrawal of all Turkish troops from Crete, in compliance with the joint note of Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy.

... All the European governments have consented to Italy's suggestion of a general conference for the discussion of the measures to be taken for the suppression of Anarchism.

... The Hawaiian Congressional Commission has completed its labors at Honolulu and returned to this country. It will meet in Washington this month to decide what kind of a government it will recommend for the Hawaiian islands.

... General Gordon's sister has written that being "avenged," as General Kitchener is said to have avenged him, is the last thing that her brother would have desired. But men who love and practice war must expect to be spoken of in war terms, even if their Christianity gets ignored. They have their reward.

... The Emperor of Germany is having embossed on his cannon the motto, "The King's last argument." One would have thought, from the Emperor's utterances, that he would have used the word *first* or *only*.

### Woman and War.

BY ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

From "*War Echoes*"

I saw a lamb gnashing its untried teeth,  
Rending the fleece  
Of its own brother, piece by piece,  
Until beneath  
Blood trickled red upon the heath,  
And stained the mouth of that perverted lamb,—  
That mouth not made to frighten,  
But rather to whiten  
With the innocent milk of its dam.

I heard a bobolink in June  
 Forget its limpid tune,  
 And choose the shriek and angry talk  
 Of a carrion hawk;  
 And I saw it swooping, mad, relentless, down,  
 Where in a tuft of long couch-grass  
 Lay an unprotected nest,  
 Hidden from those who pass,  
 But, on its unnatural quest,  
 Spied from above as a spot of brown  
 By this unexpected pest.

"O God," I cried, "what ails the universe?  
 What hell-born curse  
 Has stirred these gentle hearts to strike?  
 What anti-natural taint  
 Makes devil and saint  
 In cruelty and hate alike?"

God did not answer; yet He was not dumb.  
 He only said:

"The worst is still to come."

And then I seemed to see  
 With eyes of dread  
 A sight most monstrous and unwarranted,  
 For there appeared to me,  
 Sadder than aught that I beheld before,  
 (Oh, blasphemy!)

A woman urging men to war —

(Ah, that such things should be!)

A pure-browed maiden urging men to war!

## The Unity of the World.

AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D.

History is making so swiftly in these days that it is difficult to understand or interpret the meaning of events as they pass.

For the first time there is no longer any new continent to be explored. The heart of Africa is ceasing to be dark. Asia, America, and all the islands, are now almost as well known as the regions about the Mediterranean, which once comprised the known world. Only the continents of ice around the two poles still refuse to open their secrets to man. Every part of the globe is known to every other part. Thibet has been visited, and Korea has ceased to be a hermit nation. There are no longer any preserves. The discovery of all the lands of the globe has been quickly followed by an amazing process of tying together. Steamships, telegraphs, railroads, have now literally abolished distances. There is sober sense in the old jest which called the passage of the Atlantic "crossing the ferry." It is hardly more than a ferry which is annually growing shorter. We go to Japan and China in less time than fifty years ago our fathers crossed to England. But railways and steamers are slow beside the telegraph, which literally belts the globe.

The world is not only known, but intercommunication of various kinds is binding it so closely together that a whisper in one nation echoes among all the nations. As a natural result, all the world practically thinks about the same subjects. The same books are read in all the lands.

The same news finds a place in the papers. Carlyle became famous in America before he was appreciated in Scotland; and Emerson's American appreciation followed his warm reception in England. Heretofore, this intercommunication of intellect has been chiefly limited to so-called Christian nations, but now the long-sleeping millions of China, Japan and India, are being waked up by the thrills of a common life. Indian and Chinese literature are studied on these shores quite as thoroughly and intelligently as in the Orient. A Harvard professor does not hesitate to say that he knows more about Buddhism than Dharmapala. Herbert Spencer is read in Japan and India almost as much as in England. . . . The great thoughts of the great thinkers are the common property of the world; and every nation is influencing the thinking of every other. There is a growing unity in the world's thought.

In other ways the unification of the world is going on. Tides of emigration are moving backward and forward. The English in all the lands are pioneers of trade and industry. More Irish are in America than in Ireland; Germans and Italians enough to found states are already residents in New York and Chicago. On the other hand, Americans not a few prefer the older civilizations. . . . The moving to and fro of these tides of life is making great changes even in distant nations. The people are beginning to live alike, act alike and speak alike. In short, they are showing that there is a deep and true meaning in the phrase, "citizen of the world."

While silent forces, almost unobserved, are overturning world-old traditions and linking together the minds and hearts of men, equally great changes are appearing on the map of the world. The imperial idea in Great Britain is now a mighty reality. The colonies are leading in the movement for federation, and an empire which includes India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the British Possessions, South Africa, as well as the British Islands, and other less conspicuous provinces and colonies is in itself an object-lesson in the possibility of unification among the nations. Instead of a divided Germany there is now one empire; instead of many petty states there is now a united Italy. The Triple Alliance, and the combined operations of the great powers, show that that English sociologist was not far afield who in 1884 declared that the child was already born who would see a United States of Europe as there is now a United States of America.

These facts of science, exploration, politics are all prophetic. They all proclaim the approaching unity of the world,—the sublimest fact about which men are now thinking. There is already more than competition among the nations; there is co-operation, enforced, to be sure, but none the less prophetic. No nation to-day dares to act alone except in home policy. The effort of statesmen is to secure the strongest alliances. Autocracies like Russia woo republics like France, and do not find the maidens reluctant. The movement is not swift, but it is evident. The tides, in spite of occasional eddies, are all setting in one direction. There is dawning upon the consciousness of the most receptive spirits a vision of the brotherhood of man; a time when all that now causes enmity and strife shall go, and in its place be the recognition of common interests and the impulse of a common destiny. There may be one more great war in civilization, but I doubt if there will be more. That war may

come soon. It may be needed to show how silly, in view of the march of events, are all the armaments of the nations. . . .

That unity will not mean the obliteration of racial distinctions. Africans will still be dark, and Anglo-Saxons fair, French will still be mercurial, and Germans phlegmatic. The suns of the tropics will continue to do their work on the face and in the blood. The history of individual nations will not be forgotten, but the heroic souls of the past will be no longer regarded as the exclusive possession of one little land, but as the pioneers of the world's unity. . . .

Some day we shall understand that those great enough to largely influence the world are the common property and pride of the race. Now we make laws for particular men and for favored localities; then laws will be made for man, and the interest of no class be given precedence over another. War will go of necessity. There will be a United States of the world; and Germany will no more think of fighting England than Massachusetts of fighting New York. A dream? Of course—but on this point I insist,—it is not a baseless dream. It is rather a vision suggested by cold facts which are evident to all. . . . Only the outlines of the picture are visible as yet; but year by year some new detail finds its proper place in what will some day be a finished and glorious reality.

The causes which will produce this result will not all be spiritual. War itself will make war impossible. Navies will be perfected until they will be useless—indeed it is a question if they are not so now. Nations will have to agree because they dare not differ. Selfishness will find that her interests parallel those of self-forgetfulness. But whatever the causes, whether they be good or bad, the result will be the same. And the condition will not be an unmixed blessing. Large bodies are difficult of operation. Intrigue will still find places in which to work. The size of the institution may make it clumsy. I have not read history to so little account as to think that a United States of the world would mean instant millennium. Unity will come long before human nature will be sanctified. Nevertheless, that unity is an essential step to the triumph of the kingdom of God, which will include all nations and peoples not only in law but also in love. . . .

The bane of the world to-day is prejudice. Prejudice separates men more than oceans, and prejudice is always the child of ignorance and egotism. The American laughs at the Japanese who claims to be descended from the sun, but how many Americans, even if it were true, would have the courage to deliver the message which the Japanese Commission sent to their country when they learned something of Europe and America: "These people are not the barbarians; we are the barbarians." There is division and strife in the world because of ignorance and egotism. We glorify our institutions as unique because we do not know that other nations, as France, Switzerland and England, are quite as free as ourselves, while in those countries liberty is even better protected than here. We boast of progress, and then fan the fires of sectionalism. And we are like others. The worst hindrance to unity of the world is prejudice. It is always blind. It will not see that all men are made of one blood; that color is only skin deep; that racial differences are due to environment rather than to creation. Study and travel are slowly

destroying insularity and provincialism. The European who visits the United States learns that we are not all callow and young; and the American who goes abroad, if his eyes are in his head, quickly sees that we have quite as much to learn from elder nations as they from us.

History needs to be read from the point of view of its interior forces,—a point of view, by the way, from which it has never been written. Now the study of history is divisive. Each new generation keeps alive the passions of those preceding. There are two sides to the story of the American Revolution, yet we read but one. The bloody shirt is still waved in this country by those who have not learned that men equally honest and intelligent could fight for the integrity of the individual state with as fine a patriotism as others for the maintenance of the Union. Before the unity of the world can be made a blessing, there will need to be something like justice done by man to man in the interpretation of his motives and the measurement of his manhood.

Three points seem to me to require especial emphasis. There should be a sympathetic study of the world. Emphasis in schools, colleges and universities should no longer be placed on what once separated nations, but on what now unites them; and that foolish form of patriotism which thinks that no nation has a higher mission than self-aggrandisement should be frowned upon, whether it storms in senatorial halls, struts around the exchanges, or pours its noisome nonsense through a corrupt and corrupting press. The war is over; sane men will no longer wave the bloody shirt; the Revolution ended a hundred years and more ago; brothers with common interests will not insist on being enemies simply because when they were boys the big one tried to whip the little one, and got beaten at the game. Wise men laugh at the little brutalities of boyhood—if they do not bury them,—and nations should do the same; and the university and the pulpit must take the lead in destroying prejudice. . . .

An ampler privilege also is ours. The progress of events, the increase of intelligence, and a clearer appreciation of the teachings of Jesus, have brought into a prominence it can never lose, the greatest of political and the most practical and spiritual doctrines,—the Brotherhood of Man. Never before was that truth grasped with the same clearness or firmness. It is now leading the world. Machine politicians, owners of railways and factories, and jingo statesmen, are trying to ignore it, but the universities and the pulpits are more prophetic. . . .

Jesus reached the sublimest heights of prophecy when he prayed that his disciples might be one, and his prayer was prophetic of more than a united church, because a church in which all the members are united in the love of the Father for the Son is itself a prophecy of a united world. That is an ideal worthy of the enthusiasm of the loftiest souls. No one can do much to hasten it, but each man can do something; at least, so far as he has ability and opportunity, he may seek to lessen prejudice and increase knowledge; he may live as a brother to all with whom he has any relations; he may enter a little way into the splendor of the truth which teaches that God is in every flower that blushes, every tree that bears fruit, every mountain that rises toward heaven; in the blending and tender sky, in the burning stars; but still more in every human being, pervading all, hallowing all—and infinitely transcending all.—*From the University Record, Chicago.*



## The Problems raised by the War.

BY HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

Address before the Twentieth Century Club, Boston, October 8.

Our estimate of the importance of passing events is often erroneous; and, therefore, it cannot be assumed with full confidence, that the evil consequences, which some of us apprehend from the policy of insular, territorial expansion, will be realized by the country either in the near or the distant future. The remarks, however, that I am to submit to you all proceed upon the opinion, which I entertain, that evil consequences of the most serious character are not only probable, but that they are inevitable, as incidents of the policy on which the country is entering.

It is known to some of my friends that I was opposed to the war with Spain. I was not a believer in the necessity, or the wisdom or the justice of the undertaking. . .

We may assume, what is not impossible, that the country will retain all the islands and clusters of islands on which our flag has been set up. However that may be, some acquisitions are certain, and therefore new questions of government are before us. The questions—the inevitable questions—are these: Shall we treat the people and territories that we may acquire as prospective states, or shall we deal with them as perpetual colonies? These questions, and questions and topics incidental to these, I propose now to consider.

First of all I am to discuss a public policy which is suggested by advocates of the scheme of insular expansion of territory, and it is also forced into view by the course of events.

### ARE WE TO ENSLAVE COMMUNITIES?

We are assured by some of the advocates of annexation that the outlying islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii, when acquired and appropriated, are never to become states of the American Union. Thus we are invited by advocates of what is called a policy of expansion to enter into political arrangements with bodies of men to be counted by millions on millions, of other races, of other languages, of other religions, of other habits of life and industry, who are never, never to be permitted to govern themselves, or to aid in governing others. This, this is to be an outcome of the civil war, which cost a half-million lives and thousands of millions of dollars, and which for a time we thought—vainly thought, it may now appear—had not only anticipated a race, but had moved the world many steps on towards a higher civilization and to purer views of personal rights and of public justice.

By what authority, or by what example, or by what teaching may this country find justification for the seizure and appropriation to its jurisdiction of vast populations—alien populations—equal in numbers to the combined millions of the states of New York and New England, and upon the avowed purpose of denying to them and to their descendants forever the accustomed rights of American citizenship? In what American precedent can this government find shelter for the doctrine that it may seize communities, exercise jurisdiction over territories and deny to the inhabitants the right—I do not say the privilege—I say the right of self-government? On the contrary, I maintain that every person over whom the jurisdiction of the United States is thrown should see before him the

prospect—the certain prospect—of citizenship in the United States and in a state which shall include and protect his own home, and give promise that the homes of his descendants will be protected through all coming time. Whenever an opportunity is offered for an increase of population by an extension of territory, this question should be considered and answered affirmatively, or the opportunity should be rejected: Are the inhabitants adapted to citizenship and statehood in the American Union? Put this question to those who advocated the annexation of Hawaii. What will President McKinley answer? What answer can Senator Hoar make? What is the answer of Senators, North, South, East and West? Will anyone give an affirmative answer? What will be the answer in regard to Cuba, which has a population far in excess of the population in any one of twenty states of the Union that may be named? What will be the answer in regard to the Philippines, which have a population equal to the combined populations of the great states of New York and Pennsylvania? Are the inhabitants of Cuba and the Philippines to be brought under the control of the United States, and kept in a condition of vassalage? Having abolished one form of slavery, are we to create another form of slavery? Having emancipated individuals, are we to enslave communities?

Do we say that we can govern Hawaii, Cuba and the Philippines better than the inhabitants of these islands can govern themselves? That was the claim of the slaveholder in 1860. It is the claim that we trampled under our feet by the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution.

First of all and always, as one citizen, I have advised and protested against the acquisition of these distant islands and against any and every form of jurisdiction over their alien, incompatible, incapable populations; but more than all I now protest against the assembling of these waifs of the ocean upon our borders, and then subjecting them to a condition of vassalage, which we shall attempt to conceal in some form of euphemistic phraseology. Let us be consistent in our form of government, if we cannot be wise in fact. If we are to take the islands of the sea by force, or to receive them as free gifts, let us observe the forms of personal rights and the privileges of citizenship in states of the American Union to which we and our ancestors have been accustomed.

### ANCIENT PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLIC SHOULD BE RESPECTED.

If we are compelled to choose between vassal populations to be now counted by millions, and at the end of the twentieth century to be counted by tens of millions, or the endowment of the sovereignty of statehood upon ignorant, incapable, dangerous communities and tribes who know nothing of the great work and responsible duties of self-government, let us at least preserve the forms of the republic even if its principles must perish.

If these millions of denizens of distant lands are to be brought within the jurisdiction of the republic, let us pay due respect to the ancient principles of the republic. Slavery and despotism are connected, and forever and inseparably must they be connected. When we create a vassal population within the republic, the republic becomes a despotism.

When, in the same country, we have provided for a governing class and a subordinate class, we have estab-

lished an oligarchy, whatever may be the difference in numbers of the two classes. Such is Hawaii to-day, and such it has been for now five years and more, since the eventful moment, already fruitful in consequences of evil, when President Harrison, without authority of law, set up the flag of the republic in a foreign land where he himself had no right to set his foot.

Thus he aided, encouraged, indeed, thus and by such means he called into existence the little oligarchy, dignified now as a government over which we assume jurisdiction by an arrangement with less than one-tenth of the inhabitants, and they for the larger part foreigners, or the immediate descendants of foreigners, and upon the understanding, apparently, that the inhabitants as a body are never to become American citizens in a constitutional sense. It will be well for those who maintained this doctrine to examine the 14th amendment of the constitution, by force of which all the descendants of Chinese, Japanese and Mongolians or every other nationality born within our jurisdiction will be citizens of the United States. Thus in less than three generations these millions of other races and languages in Hawaii, Cuba and the Philippines, will be transformed into American citizens. It will also be wise for them to consider the authorities now existing, from the reading of which it may appear that all the permanent residents of Hawaii are now citizens of the United States by virtue of the act of annexation. Annexation, in whatever form it may be made, means citizenship for the inhabitants of the countries annexed.

#### SHALL WE HAVE TWO CLASSES OF CITIZENS?

Are we to have two classes of American citizens—some of a governing class and some of a subordinate class? Whenever this change shall have been accomplished, we shall have admitted the imperfectness of the form of government which our ancestors set up, and we shall have paid a fatal and humiliating tribute to the supremacy of the aristocratic and monarchical governments of the world.

The time has come when those who maintain the doctrine of expansion and sovereignty, and advocate the consequent public policy of which I have spoken, should put aside the teachings of Washington and disregard avowedly the example of the fathers of the republic.

#### ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND A DOUBLE HUMILIATION.

Already alarmed by the actual results of their departure from those teachings, and apprehensive of other evil consequences, they turn to England for succor and support. If an alliance with England has become a necessity then is America doubly humiliated—humiliated by the adoption of a policy which has created an apparent necessity for an alliance with a foreign country, and humiliated by the suggestion of an alliance with England, the country which of all others should be to us what the Declaration of Independence made England, and the people of England—"Enemies in war, in peace friends." Any arrangement with England, whether for mutual support or for common plunder, must become an entangling alliance, not less fruitful of evil than the alliance of 1778 between France and the United States.

If we are to enter upon an extra or an ultra continental policy, let us not present ourselves to the world as subservient imitators of England, nor as dependents upon her superior power. Let us stand and speak and act for

America and for America only. Any alliance with any nation contemplates undertakings, which, upon our own estimate of ourselves, are beyond our capacity. What must be the nature, the character of those undertakings? Did the contest with Spain grow in the brief space of seventy days to such proportions that the advocates of expansion and sovereignty were alarmed lest the country should prove to be incapable of its solution either by arms or by diplomacy? Or are we to co-operate with England in the division of the Chinese empire and the redistribution of the islands of the Eastern Pacific ocean? Is there no Monroe Doctrine for any nation but the United States?

And who so blind as not to see that an alliance with England for any purpose in the East means hostility with Russia, and with a probability approaching certainty, it means hostilities with Germany, France and Japan? Indeed, any alliance between England and the United States, however formal and indefinite it may appear in the phraseology used, must awaken the suspicions and excite the jealousies of the nations of the globe around. But if we are to form an alliance, whether for protection or for conquest, let our arrangements be made with a growing power rather than a decaying power.

Prophecies as prophecies are vain, but public action must always rest upon the probabilities of national public life. Counting national life by centuries, and viewing England and Russia as they appear to-day, which is to increase and which is to decrease with the progress of time?

#### ALLIANCES MEAN WAR, NOT PEACE.

But, more than all things else, why, why should we, a young nation, already great and powerful, with capacities equal to any exigency that is within the scope of any reasonable probability, why should we form an alliance with Japan, Russia or England? Any alliance or arrangement, by whatever name called, implies an obligation to act or not to act upon the judgment of another. Thus should we limit our power, thus should we, in some degree, become the servant of another, placing ourselves, voluntarily, under a qualified protectorate. After an experience of a century and a quarter of established, recognized and prosperous independence, are we to be tempted into an alliance with any nation for purposes either of peace or of war? But alliances are for war, and not for peace. Read the treaty of 1778 with France and note the consequences that followed. Read the history of the alliance which resulted in the Crimean war. Except for the alliance that war would have been impossible. Neither of the allied parties would have entered upon the contest unaided. The alliance made the war possible. Again, I say, alliances are formed for war, and not for peace.

But why does England now turn to us, and why do her statesmen now speak approvingly of an alliance with the United States? We are told that we are of the same race, that we speak the same language, that the same blood runs in all our veins, that we are all and alike the worshippers of Shakespeare and the admirers of the great lights of English literature. Have we not been this and these for two and a half centuries, and, since we disappeared as colonies, has Great Britain ever, until now, sought for any closer tie than the tie formed by a common treaty of peace and friendship? Have not the war with Spain and the occupation of Manila bay stimulated, if

those events have not caused, the sentiment in England in favor of an alliance with the United States? If our possession of the Philippines shall become permanent, we are thenceforth to participate in the affairs of the Pacific, and in the adjustment of those affairs our friendship and an alliance with us may be important to England. Her adversary, her natural enemy in the East is Russia, and an important point will have been gained by England if a feeling of antagonism between the United States and Russia can be substituted for our long-continued and unbroken friendship.

Whichever way we turn for an alliance we are to create enemies. That the nations of the world may be our friends our treatment of them must be just and equal to all alike. An alliance with any one invites and provokes the hostility of all others.

#### BRITISH COLONIAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT UN-AMERICAN.

The suggestion has been made that we may govern outlying possessions as England governs her colonies, whom she admits to no considerable self-government. That is the phrase of Senator Hoar as he has been reported. He may have said "whom she admits to no inconsiderable self-government." England has two or more systems of civil government for the provinces and countries that are under her rule. It cannot be said that any system of self-government exists in British India, and I assume that we are not referred to British India for our American policy. On the other hand, Canada may be quoted as a colony in which people manage their own affairs with but little interference from the home government. The difficulties that have arisen in the management of foreign affairs in which the Canadas have had a direct interest, justify the opinion that our government would be greatly embarrassed if similar colonial arrangements should be established between the United States and Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. It is manifest that the interest of those islands, in foreign affairs, especially in matters of trade, would not correspond to the interests of the United States.

There are degrees of subordination, but in Canada and in Australia, as in India, the inhabitants are subordinated to a government in which they are not represented. All these forms of government are un-American. To us they are alien institutions. Their acceptance by us is an admission that our form of government is incapable of indefinite extension, and it is a verdict of wrong-doing against our ancestors who carried on a seven years' war in support of the doctrine that there can be no taxation without representation.

There are limits to any system of self-government. There must be some preparatory training on the part of the peoples. A government organized as is our government may receive and assimilate foreign elements from time to time, but in what quantities none can foresee. Although I have objected to the acquisition of Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, I yet maintain that they should be treated as we have treated the peoples and territories acquired of France, Spain, Mexico and Russia. First of all, the inhabitants so acquired should be recognized as citizens of the United States; next, territorial governments should be set up, and upon the understanding that there may come a time, and that there will come a time, when from the presence of numbers and of other favoring conditions, they will be admitted as states into

the American Union. I am of opinion that this policy, however hazardous it may appear, is a less dangerous policy than any form of political subordination which can be devised.

This view of duty and of public policy should have led to conservative action upon measures touching the jurisdiction of the country.

#### WISDOM OF THE POLICY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Time and experience have not lessened my confidence in the disposition of mankind to make advances in the principles and agencies of self-government.

In the year 1796, in his historical speech on the Jay treaty, Fisher Ames made this startling declaration, which, in a half century was transformed into a prophecy by the events in Van Diemen's Land: "If there could be a resurrection from the foot of the gallows," said Mr. Ames, "if the victims of justice could live again, collect together and form a society, they would, however loath, soon find themselves obliged to make justice—that justice under which they fell—the fundamental law of their state."

I regret to observe that there are statesmen, some of whom had a part in the work of reconstructing the government at the close of the civil war, who now question the wisdom of the 15th amendment of the constitution, by which the right to vote was guaranteed to the freedmen of the country. I do not share their doubts. On the other hand, I think that time and experience have demonstrated the wisdom of the policy then adopted. The freedmen of the South have made great advances in political knowledge of the business of government, and the white people have made signal progress in the recognition of the equality of all men before the law. The evidence is seen in the fact that the votes of negroes are received and counted in one-half of the old slave states, and that perceptible gains have been made in the other half.

Overmuch reliance, however, must not be placed upon this experience when we contemplate the extension of the suffrage to the million and a half of untrained inhabitants of Cuba, or to the extension of the suffrage to the eight or ten million in the Philippines, many of whom are yet in a condition of savagism. The negro of the South had had some training in political affairs. He had attended political meetings in towns and villages, and he had been a listener to conversations and debates in communities where political action was the leading topic of thought and discussion.

Our success with the negro, whatever may be the degree attained, does not justify the experiment with untutored populations concerning whom no obligation was upon us.

The negro was a resident of the United States. He had no abiding place elsewhere. He could not be expatriated. We had only one alternative: His elevation to citizenship and a practical recognition of the doctrine of political equality, on the one hand, or the establishment of a race aristocracy on the other.

If our political ideas and institutions are of a superior sort, the superiority is due to centuries of training in England and in the United States, and of such training all the Asiatic races are signally deficient. In Europe and America the Latin races are engaged even now in an uncertain struggle for the maintenance of institutions

framed on the model of our declaration of independence.

#### HOW THE THREATENING EVILS MAY BE MOST AVOIDED.

The great error, the error from whose sad consequences there is no certain way of escape, has been committed already in the extension of our jurisdiction over the islands of the sea and over the races that occupy them. The question before us is this: By what policy can the more serious of the probable or possible evils be avoided?

First of all, let us abide by and maintain the principles on which our government was framed. This, I say, should be done without regard to any ulterior consideration. Some of the requisites are these: (1) Citizenship, universal and co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the country. (2) Local self-government, and upon the basis of ultimate admission into the United States. (3) Freedom to travel, to labor and to engage in business in any part of the country.

These conditions imply the early abandonment of military government, a form of government always hostile to republican institutions.

Next, neither the successful revolutionists in Hawaii, nor the revolting insurgents in Cuba and the Philippines, should be recognized by us. Nor should the Catholic church or any other church be consulted by our authorities, or heeded in the conduct of public affairs. The churches will be protected in their rights of property and in freedom of worship undisturbed. Nothing more ought they to ask; nothing more should they secure. Finally, the nation should provide for a system of public instruction in which the English language should be taught as the language of the country.

As the limitations and exactions are fundamental in our scheme of government, they should be enforced and accepted as the basis of the organizations out of which states are to be formed.

I do not trouble myself with a conjecture as to the time that may be required for the transformation of these untutored millions into capable and trustworthy American citizens. I say only this: Give to any people an opportunity to govern themselves, and out of their experience they will gain in capacity for self-government. In thought, I quote again the prophecy of Fisher Ames.

#### DIFFICULTIES CERTAIN TO ARISE.

Nor do I delay you with an enumeration of the difficulties, possible or probable, that are to be encountered in the exercise of jurisdiction, over the territories and peoples that we are acquiring. Outside of the possible or probable difficulties, there are difficulties which we can foresee: difficulties that are certain to arise, and which are uncertain only as to their magnitude, cost and duration. Standing armies, quartered in distant regions, and under the control of military chieftains or civil governors, corresponding in their functions to the provincial pretors of ancient Rome; a navy capable of defending these remote and disconnected possessions against the most powerful of the nations of the earth, or otherwise to be preserved by humiliating alliances, destined at some time to be sundered violently; and all to be supported by an all-pervading and burdensome system of taxation upon the inhabitants and industries of the United States.

#### INHABITANCY ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS IN COLONIZATION.

I pass on now to one serious aspect of this most serious

condition of affairs which, as far as I have observed, has not been considered by anyone in a public way, unless Mr. Bryce may have taken a similar view in an article which I have not read nor seen. Seneca said of the Romans, "Wherever the Roman conquers he inhabits." Inhabitaney is the essential condition to success in the work of colonizing new regions. England may be cited as an example to those who urge us to take up the role that England may soon be compelled to lay down. I do not speak of political relations—they may be broken—but England will live in Canada and Australia, for Canada and Australia are inhabited by Englishmen. But what of Egypt and India? Whenever the political power of England shall be withdrawn from Egypt, the Egypt of former days will reappear. England has sent officers, rulers and administrators of various sorts to India, but the English emigrant, who went forth in search of a home for himself and his family, is not to be found in India.

England's rule of a century in India has not changed essentially the habits and customs of the people, nor wrought the overthrow of their ancient religion. England has conquered India, but she has not inhabited India, and her influence will disappear when her dominion as a ruler passes away. The English church is not an accepted religion by more than a very small minority of the inhabitants of India, and the political institutions of England will disappear with the withdrawal of political and military power.

The accessible parts of India are within the tropics. These parts are occupied to some extent, and for temporary purposes, by Englishmen, but they are not inhabited by Englishmen.

The same statement applies to Ceylon and to Jamaica, and to the tropical possessions generally. But not thus with South Africa. That country has an English population. It is inhabited by Englishmen, and English ideas and English institutions will remain whatever may be the political fortune of that part of the African continent.

#### WAR AGAINST CLIMATE.

Are we to overcome what, to England, has been an obstacle for a century? Can we carry on a successful war against climate?

Mark the experiment of the hundred days' war with Spain. Bring before your mind the array of young men who went out from our cities, towns and hillsides to do service for the country. They were animated by an enduring courage, moved by a lofty patriotism, and in health and strength they were the select of our vigorous population. Bring before your minds the appearance of those who return, and contemplate the fate of those who do not return!

I neither assail nor defend the department of war. State your account. Charge against the department whatever you please as the consequence of its misdoings and its not doing, and there will remain a sum of horrors due to climatic conditions that will prevent family emigration from the United States to Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, not for our time only, but for all time. A small number of Americans will reside in the islands for special purposes and for limited periods. The majority rule, however, will continue in the hands of the existing populations and be continued for generations, in the hands of their descendants. The develop-

ment of the human race is obedient to fixed climatic laws.

There are no great men and no great races in the regions where the icy hand of winter is never relaxed; and the law of human progress is arrested in the broad zone where nature never purifies herself by the influence of autumn frosts.

#### COLONIAL GOVERNMENT A FORM OF SERVITUDE.

In the order of events colonial possessions exact a form of servitude on the part of the possessor. England is forced to accept a degree of subordination to her colonies.

Consider the long and unwholesome controversy that England has carried on with the United States, while we have argued and pleaded for the protection of the seals of Alaska—animals that, from their human-like appearance, habits and intelligence, excite our admiration and compassion at once—and yet England has subordinated its own opinion of what is right and just to the demands of Canadian poachers on the Pacific coast.

Her subordination to Turkey is more exacting and more permanent. The Sultan is the head of the Mohammedan Church, and it is believed that he has the power, as he has the power, to promote rebellion among the Mohammedan subjects of the British Queen. It is not, then, an unreasonable conjecture that Lord Salisbury feared to apply force to Turkey for the protection of the Armenians in the valley of the Euphrates. Thus are the rulers of colonies brought into subjection to the colonies that they rule.

The questions to which I invited attention in my opening have now been considered.

On these questions and the discussion in which I have indulged, I impose two other questions, namely: Is there any statesman or taxpayer who can approve of the acquisition of the islands named, and upon the certain assurance that one branch or the other of the alternative proposition must be accepted by the country? Or is there a statesman who can name a third proposition, and a proposition different in substance and not in form merely, that he will defend before the country? In the presence of accomplished facts the important question is this:—WHAT OUGHT NOW TO BE DONE?

Hawaii is annexed to the United States, and Porto Rico is a possession of the United States. Without hesitation I say give them territorial governments upon the American basis, with the largest opportunity for progress and for statehood in the American Union.

Cuba is not a possession of the United States, and our policy in regard to that island should correspond to the declaration of Congress. Cuba has been freed from the dominion of Spain and upon the understanding that the inhabitants of the island are to set up and maintain a republican government. If the United States is bound to Cuba, the obligation hath this extent only—that the inhabitants shall be free from any interference while the work of organization is going on.

This obligation can be kept easily, but it will not be accepted and acted upon in good faith by the leaders who have carried on the war against Spain. From the first their ultimate object has been the annexation of the island to the United States. That object they will pursue through many years, and with the tenacity that they have exhibited in the 30 years of contest with Spain. In the contest now before us, the land owners and the political leaders of the insurgents of Cuba, transformed into ardent friends of the United States, will receive the sup-

port of a large body of the people of the United States, especially in the manufacturing and trading districts of the country. Every attempt to frame a popular government will be resisted, and any government that may be set up will be denounced as a failure. Aside from political considerations there are, however, three large classes of Americans who are interested in adhering to the declaration of Congress.

First, the taxpayers, who, in case of the annexation of the island, must supply the deficiency in revenue, say not less than \$60,000,000 a year, caused by the loss of duties on sugar and tobacco brought from Cuba to the United States.

Second, the mass of American laborers, of every grade and occupation, who will be forced into competition with the millions of underpaid and unclothed workers of the tropics.

Third, the owners and workers of land whose interest in the sugar producing industry is to be destroyed.

My conclusion, however, must be this: After such a survey of the situation as I have been able to make, and notwithstanding the declaration of Congress, and notwithstanding the many valid objections to the annexation of Cuba, I reach the conclusion that there is much reason to fear that the project for annexation will have become an accomplished fact in the near future.

#### SPANISH ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC SHOULD BE ABANDONED.

Even more serious are the questions that must arise from our possession of Manila bay and the capture of the city of Manila. These acquisitions are, and for the moment only, military lodgments made in time of war, and they cannot be treated as the conquest of the Philippine islands. They constitute standing ground for diplomatic debate, or for further military undertakings. The conquest of the Spanish islands in the Pacific ocean was no part of the purpose of the war, as the purpose was declared by us, and the seizure of those islands may be treated, wisely and properly, as a means of compelling Spain to yield jurisdiction over the island of Cuba, which was the one only avowed object of the war. Spain has surrendered all jurisdiction over Cuba, and thereon the government of the United States may with propriety, wisdom and justice, surrender its temporary possessions and all jurisdiction in the islands of the East, and that without controversy, or debate, or thought of compensation.

If we assert a right in those islands on the basis of conquest, then and thenceforward we are, and are to be, parties to questions and controversies, not with Spain and Aguinaldo only, but with many countries that have interests and establishments for business in the islands.

Consider one question: By our constitution the duties levied upon foreign products must be uniform throughout the United States. Presumably our system of duties is enforced in Hawaii as it is in the city of New York. The trade between New York and Honolulu is coastwise trade, and duties are not imposed upon American products. Upon the annexation of the Philippines the trade between those islands and other countries will be diminished seriously. Will England, France and Germany be content while we take into our hands the trade of the 10,000,000 inhabitants of the Philippines? My propositions are these:

First: Give to Hawaii and Porto Rico territorial governments and upon a liberal basis.

Second: Insist upon an independent government for Cuba, and give no encouragement to the project for annexation.

Third: Abandon the Spanish islands of the Pacific without controversy, debate or negotiations with anyone.

To some, to many, perhaps, the policy that I commend, may seem insignificant when compared with the permanent possession of all the islands on which our flag has been set up.

I have not been influenced by the circumstance that our flag has been set up in foreign lands as evidence of temporary possession gained by force and to be held by force. Conquests in war are temporary until jurisdiction is recognized by the losing party. The flag as a symbol of established right, follows legal recognized jurisdiction. There can be no dishonor in the abandonment of the Philippine islands. The sovereignty has never been in us.

If it be charged that I am reducing our acquisitions to the minimum quantity, then I admit the justice of the charge. Such has been my purpose. Every acquisition in the tropics is freighted with misfortunes for the country. As we diminish the extent of these acquisitions we lessen the sum or moderate the intensity of our misfortunes.

### The Final Touchstone as to War.

BY HENRY WOOD.

While the phenomenon of war is visible and objective, war itself is entirely within the mind of man. The action of armies and navies commonly called war is only war's outward expression. The latter is secondary. When collective passion rises to such a pressure as to find embodiment in fitting instruments, the visible signs are named war. But the term is applied to a symptom rather than to the disease. The real culprit hides himself beneath a great pile of rubbish. While the metaphysical philosophy inculcates only a recognition of the good, war is the dominant recognition of evil.

We are now prepared to take what may seem a bold step, and affirm that the greatest harmfulness of war does not consist in its material desolating touch, the bitterness of pain, the tragedy of wounds, the carnage of battle, nor the accompanying harvest of disease. Terrible and revolting as these concomitants appear to us, the monster which overtops them all is the great tidal wave of collective hatred. This is behind all bullets and shells, and all fuses are ignited by its heat. Among the millions of a great nation which is in the throes of strife, not one in a hundred loses life or limb in battle, while the deadly *spirit* of destructive antagonism rankles in the national heart, to its utmost territorial limits. Consciously or unconsciously, all are immersed in a great psychical sea of hatred, and, aside from actual combatants, the one and absorbing impulse towards the other millions is destruction. The more complete such destruction the greater the rejoicing. The passion becomes so general and consuming that it might truly be diagnosed as a sweeping and collective monomania. Any normal and true sanity must include a measure of love and sympathy towards every other human brother, of whatever race or name. Any so called patriotism or religion which limits this outflow to national boundaries is a sham and a deception. A true evolutionary or even humanitarian view shows that nationality is but artificial. The race is nothing less than a solidarity.

Hatred is more disintegrating to its subjective possessor than to its assumed objective. Its blight begins at the core. It glories in the destruction of thousands of innocent men when they happen to be on the "other side." From its very nature, enmity dwarfs the soul and stunts every normal and wholesome impulse towards growth in virtue and Godlikeness. The judgment of wholesale brute force is blind, and has no guarantee of justice. Even if war seem to have a righteous excuse, its corrupting character is inherent and indelible. Human brotherhood, love and unity are so deeply engraven as normal in the constitution of man, that a reversal of them is not only abnormal, but positively deadly. The Sermon on the Mount, with its injunction, "Love your Enemies," is so vitally a part of man's life that its violation, so long as it continues, constitutes "the unpardonable sin." The very nature of the case determines it. That peculiar "sin" is not an act, but a condition. "God is Love," and his nature is the economy of the cosmos. Even the "stars in their courses" turn against him who tramples upon universal law. War is often more dangerous to the victorious than the defeated nation. Its "flaming sword" turns every way. To violate the basic principles of one's being is to invite subjective penalty, until amid the bitter dregs of an unnecessary and dearly-bought object-lesson one in the last, desperate extremity "comes to himself."

While we will not aver, as some one has vividly depicted, that the invisible forms, or astral bodies, of those who pass out amid the strife of the battle-field continue the destruction in which they are so absorbed — hardly aware of the loss of their cruder shapes — yet what a boundless contrast between such a removal and a transition which is in any degree ideal. What confusion! What darkness! What a psychical obsession by the demon of destruction!

But the war system is drawing near to its end. Moral, ethical, and even political differences among nations are soon to be adjusted by ideals of right rather than by brute force. Through the merciful and beneficent progress of spiritual evolution, the countless multitude of souls which in the past has been ushered into the unseen, quivering with convulsive struggles, and fresh from the fields of conflict, is not to be duplicated in the future.

The keynote of the great Christian ideal as expressed by the "Heavenly Host" was, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and goodwill towards men." However we may differ regarding the degree of literalism or symbolism involved in the song Celestial, there can be no difference of opinion as to the principle declared, or that it enunciates the rule through which man's highest development is to be worked out. The final touchstone by which every objective institution, system or phenomenon must be judged may be summed up in the question, Is it based upon love and goodwill? These form the all-inclusive, human ideal. Whether on this or the next plane of existence, it is the only possible creator of that condition of harmony called heaven. It is progress upward and onward. Every war is an evolutionary turning backward, a bringing of the brute again to the front.

All differences of less than an international magnitude have been conventionally provided for, and vengeance, even so-called righteous vengeance, has been outlawed and constituted a crime. When the evolutionary step from the brute to man was taken, a large residuum of the former was



brought over. The new veneer, though very apparent, was yet very thin. The working unit was the individual, there was belligerency toward everything beyond. Slowly the limit extended so as to include the family, and step by step, to take in the clan and the tribe, and it has now reached the nation. Here we are still lodged. Patriotism is yet construed to be, regard for those within the national limit, with an inferred and illy concealed jealousy and antagonism towards all outside. Politics, ethics, poetry, fiction and literature with practical unanimity are here encamped. When will they move on? When will all humanity be practically included? So soon as the whole family of man is seen to be an organism. In the past it has seemed to be but a mass of disconnected and even antagonistic elements. The highest good of each was supposed to be included only in itself. But the dawn of the great truth, that HUMANITY is ONE, cannot much longer be postponed.

What an utter inversion of all logic to give relatively small crimes repulsive names, while that on the most gigantic scale is counted, not only excusable, but laudably patriotic and even glorious. The rising of the war spirit into overt activity is rarely the result of any deliberate and well-reasoned purpose, but rather of a general cumulative and contagious passion. The principles of the Sermon on the Mount are not only designed for practical use, but are positively scientific. William Penn and his associates put them into actual demonstration. They lived in the midst of ten powerful and barbarous Indian tribes, with no military defence whatever. They were armed, though without visible weapons, and were strong with unseen strength. But as the brute still depends, both for defence and aggression, upon its horns, claws or beak, so men put their trust in armies and navies, giving little heed to the compelling force of moral ideals. Nearly all wars have come, not from a dispute as to any vital principle, but from racial or religious prejudice, personal or party ambition, selfish hunger for territory, or a lawless antagonism falsely labeled patriotism. There are plenty of plausible excuses, but it is mainly through such incidents or weaknesses that passion assumes the character of a tidal wave, and a nation is swept into that wholesale destructive spirit whose outward manifestation is called war.

Millions who would scorn to play the bully in any lesser relations will applaud themselves for doing it on an international scale. If at the outset of a conflict there are misgivings or objections among the more thoughtful majority, they are swept away by a loud and aggressive minority, and by a well-known psychological process the movement soon carries all before it. While there has been no ethical change in reality, that which seemed unnecessary and unholy becomes righteous. On the surface every war is undertaken for some justifiable and beneficent purpose. But were it possible to eliminate all the elements of selfishness, personal and collective ambition and military glory, subtly present in multifarious combination, what would be left?

But as a wholesome optimism shows that good comes out of evil, may not war be justified upon such a principle? It is really a question of how dearly good shall be purchased. So long as men insist upon paying a very high price for what may be had for the asking, war will have a negative utility. There are some things which each generation insists upon learning through bitter experi-

ence. One advantage in this is that the knowledge gained is very thorough. To drive out a lesser evil by means of the sum of all evils is revolutionary rather than evolutionary; nevertheless the purpose is often accomplished. If "war is hell," it can never be desirable until, in a dire emergency, hell is needed as a medicament.

During the prevalence of war the whole psychical atmosphere is surcharged with ideas of destruction. Weapons, armaments, murderous inventions, sieges, charges and conquests are the staple mental pabulum. Every mind is filled with pictures of strife and carnage, and everything not pertaining to war is at a discount. Unless of the warlike variety, literature is flat, fiction dull, art insipid, history lifeless, and science tame. The enginery of war is all important. There is no glory but military glory, and no heroism but that of the sword. The glamor of the pomp and pageantry of war alone is brilliant. The white-winged fleets of commerce are transmuted into gigantic vehicles of death and destruction. The peaceful uprearing of decades is levelled in a day, and the slowly accumulated savings of a nation are squandered with a prodigal rapidity. Human life in all its phases is overshadowed by the dark cloud of wholesale slaughter. The gospel doctrine of non-resistance is unrecognized, and dependence is still centered upon carnal weapons.

The future political ideal among nations is federation, but this can come only through a previous federation of heart and soul. We are members of one another, whether in smaller or larger combination. The world is materially tied together in many ways unknown in the past, but goodwill is the strongest and only normal bond. The weal of each is more and more the weal of all. Profoundly viewed, there are no "diverse interests." Universal goodwill would usher in a veritable millennium—a kingdom of heaven upon earth.—*From an article in the "Journal of Practical Metaphysics."*

### Patriotism.

BY MARY A. HALEY.

What is the meaning of this inspiring word patriotism, of which we hear so much in these troubled times? The word itself is found in the Greek, Latin and other languages and relates to something "founded by our fathers," so that country and father were almost synonymous. In some cases they were really so, as in the early Greek history, when a father died the state adopted the child and instead of one father he had a hundred. In later days patriotism is defined as the love of country. All emotions of love or hatred must find expression. What is the best way to express our love of our country? Is it in raising flags from tower, house-top and liberty poles, accompanied by bands of music and speeches from fire-eating orators? Is it to fasten little flags to our dining-tables while we feast on food branded with mottoes of vengeance? Is it to wear the national colors in soiled and crumpled neckties and hair ribbons till the whole world seems "one mingled flood of flame and light?"

If our neighbor prefers to keep his property unadorned, are the nation's interests advanced by the act of the patriots who paint his dwelling with the standard colors, and plant his lawn with tissue paper flowers in red, white and blue? This is done by the same patriots who shoot and burn each other every Fourth of July. Do any of these things show love of country? Do they not rather

show love of noise and love of display? It reminds one of Johnson's definition of patriotism in the quaint lexicon that contributed more to the general amusement than to the public benefit. He styles patriotism, "The last refuge of a scoundrel." A later writer says that patriotism is only another form of selfishness. This is true, for it is the extension in ever widening circles of the love of self, of family, and of kindred, till we feel that all "Mankind are brothers and the world our home."

Let us turn to Bishop Berkeley's definition. "Where the heart is right, there is patriotism." Yes, in the heart, not in banners and fire crackers and fish horns but in the heart. The heart that swells with pride at the country's success in the arts and industries animates the true patriot.

Our country may be represented by men unworthy of their high position, and though bound by their acts to carry the burdens they lay upon us and to be partakers in the common glory as in the common ruin, we may be the truest of patriots and yet not stamp with our approval all that the government does. John Bright in England opposing the Crimean War and James Russell Lowell in America opposing the Mexican War are notable examples of men, who were ready to sacrifice life itself, if necessary, for the good of the country, yet dared to differ from the administrators of the government.

Patriotism is best shown when each individual in the country does his or her best for the united whole. This royal road is open to all; rich or poor; strong or weak. Whoever develops what is best and noblest in himself and by his example stimulates those around him to lead a better and higher life, is doing something to make the Country grand and heroic. He may receive no honors, and no pensions, and when he dies, no muffled drums may accompany him to his last resting-place; no stately monument at his Country's expense may guard his sacred dust; no flags on Memorial Day may decorate his grave; yet he is as true a patriot as the one to whom all these tributes are paid, for "Where the heart is right, there is patriotism."

## The Causes of Anarchism in Italy.

BY E. T. MONETA.

Translated from "*La Vita Internazionale*."

A little more than a year after the assassination of Canovas de Castillo, the president of the Spanish Ministry, by the hand of an Italian, revolutionary anarchy has again given evidence of its existence by killing a gentle and good woman, an empress who had known more of the griefs of the royal station than of its pleasures. And again this time, along with the horror awakened by the assassination and the immense pity felt for the victim, all Italians have had aroused in them a sense of profound mortification, by the knowledge that the assassin is one of our fellow-countrymen.

After Fieschi, who with an infernal machine made an attempt on the life of Louis Philippe; after Orsini, who threw bombs in the pathway of Napoleon III. and instead of him, killed and wounded a number of innocent persons; after Caserio, who stabbed President Carnot; after Angiolillo, who took away the life of Canovas, comes also this other wretch and adds a new Italian name to this sad list of regicides and political assassins.

What are the causes of this disgraceful distinction which abroad casts so much discredit on the Italian name, and arouses the violence of the common people against

Italian workmen at Trieste, in Gorisa, in Dalmatin, at Vienna, at Berlin and in other cities of Germany?

The Catholic press, as was to have been expected, sums them all up in one, viz., the weakening of the religious sentiment. The Conservatives find the causes in the propagation and diffusion of too advanced political and social ideas; the Liberals, in the policy of the government, which is always more or less arbitrary, expensive and careless of the real needs of the country, and which through the excessive burdens of taxation has sown misery and discontent in the ranks of the laboring people. The Democrats and the Sociologists find the origin of the evil in the corruption of the parliamentary system, and the Socialists in the whole present social order, which makes competition between man and man the basis of existence.

We believe that there is some truth in all these charges but that the parties are wrong when they shift from themselves to others the blame for the condition of inferiority in which the country finds itself in point of morality and political character.

The causes are many and complex, but wishing here, for the sake of clearness and brevity of reasoning, to sum them up in a single one, we will say that it consists in the want of a high moral sense in the greater part of our statesmen and members of parliament, in whose hands are placed the destinies of the country, the life, the liberty and the substance of the citizens.

When, as candidates for election, they solemnly make promises which they know they will never be able to keep; when in the Chamber, they give their votes for bills which they themselves strongly disapprove, in order not to displease the ministry from whom they hope to receive favors; when they impose upon the country protective duties and taxes out of proportion to its economic strength, in order to favor the interests of certain classes of proprietors and certain industries; when they confess that Italy has not a single interest in Africa to defend and yet squander money and sacrifice soldiers in inglorious wars; when one of them, made head of the government, passes from an alliance contracted with the leader of the radicals to bloody repressions and sieges, and after having, with his policy, brought mourning and misery into many families, and shame to the country, finds in parliament a majority which approves his policy and continues it—how can it be expected that a people thus governed will have faith in justice and occupy a high grade in the scale of political morality?

How can you hope that men of the lower classes will develop a sentiment of high respect for the human personality, when they do not see it respected in the acts of the parliament and of the government?

Liberty cannot be fruitful without a moral basis, and the example of morality always works downward from above.

To restore the moral sense to the political classes who direct affairs, to transfuse it into politics and into the public acts of each day, to make it the chief basis of public education, ought to be the desire and purpose of all who wish to see our country seriously advance on the road of progress and merit the respect, the credit and the sympathy which it received from the most civilized peoples in the first years of its political resurrection.

Without this, vain will be the hope that revolutionary anarchism may no more secure in Italy those of its partisans who are the most disposed to kill and to be killed.

### Sumner's More Excellent Way.

The Editor's Table of the *New England Magazine* for October is devoted wholly to a discussion of "Charles Sumner's More Excellent Way," and a vindication of the great statesman's position on "armed peace" against the criticism of President Eliot in his Alumni dinner Speech. The Editor says:

"With President Eliot, therefore, we should be slow to believe that we have any long or fundamental controversy. But with his word at Harvard in June, with any reflection upon Sumner's argument in 'The True Grandeur of Nations,' we do have controversy. We can think of nothing more dangerous or deplorable, especially at this time in America, than encouragement to our educated youth to view that great argument and vision as vicious or fallacious. We believe that in the line of Sumner's thought lies the hope of the world; and we believe that those who think as Sumner thought, should, without recourse to any generalities, to anything remote in time or place, apply that principle firmly and sweepingly to the situation through which the republic has been passing and the situation which confronts us to-day.

We have spent \$300,000,000 in a war with Spain. We are in the outer circles of the maelstrom of a policy which means larger armies, larger navies, costlier forts and more of them, and all the paraphernalia of the old world militarism which we have prided ourselves on being free from,—with the corresponding burdens of taxation, the devotion to waste and destruction of the immense resources which might otherwise go to development and progress. The man who does not see that we are in the outer circles of this maelstrom is a fool; and the man who, seeing it, has no forebodings is not a student of history. Is this way of spending money, which is now proposed to the republic,—to put Sumner's question directly to ourselves,—a wise way? Is it protective, is it constructive, is it good business, is it common sense, does it pave a good road into the future, is it the economical and promising way to secure the results we claim to aim at, will it make us a truer and safer democracy, and will it help the world? Was Sumner right, was Longfellow right, or was he not, in claiming that if half the wealth bestowed on camps, given to maintain

armies and navies, were given to redeem the human mind, to educate the human race, there would soon be no need of armies and navies?"

"If our republic is to be true to itself, if we are to help civilization forward and not backward, then the young men of our universities and all of us who look at war and national defence and national grandeur in the old way have got to be born again,—nothing less than that,—baptized with the spirit wherewith Charles Sumner was baptized, and have our eyes opened to see that his way is the only right or sensible or efficient way, and that now we are wasting our substance and defeating ourselves. The revolution in the point of view is as radical as the difference between Ptolemy and Copernicus; but when we go through it, things fall at once into order, we find ourselves in a rational world with right means for right ends, and our old notions of what

is wise and prudent and necessary for the defence and upbuilding and influence of the nation instantly dissolve, stamped all as vicious and fallacious. Our thoughts on what it is that makes a nation strong need, almost all of them, to be turned inside out. Our economies and generosityes are all Ptolemaic. We boast of public and private munificences in education and philanthropy. We need to understand that we are yet in the kindergarten of munificence as concerns all positive, constructive and real things. It would sometimes seem as if, were the devil privileged to organize the world so as to thwart struggling men most effectually, wasting their accumulations and cutting forever the margin of civilization, he would choose precisely what he now sees, the dominance of false political ideals and of gross unintelligence as to how men and nations should spend their money."

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The recent peace jubilees at Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia and other places have been for the most part glorifications of the war with Spain. Arbitration, friendship with England and peace in general received some attention, but the chief features of the exercises and demonstrations were laudations of the navy and army, and of the heroes of the war.





BOSTON, DECEMBER, 1898.



**I**F a policy of peace clearly answers to the teachings of the gospel; if it is presented to us as preparing the last stage in the progress of human fellowship; if it is more likely, even at the present time, to establish justice than war, what can we do to advance it?

We can avoid and discourage all language in regard to other nations which is in any way inconsistent with the respect due to their position.

We can endeavor to understand their feelings, difficulties, temptations, and not to measure them even unconsciously by the standard established for us by our traditions and beliefs.

We can adopt as a rule for our own temper the memorable clause in Penn's treaty with the Indians, which bound the contracting parties not to believe evil reports of one another.

We can labor with patient and resolute effort to gain judicial impartiality, if we are required to act as judges in our own cause where arbitration is inadmissible.

We can keep our eyes steadily fixed upon the goal of our faith, and move towards it, in quietness and confidence, whenever the way is opened.

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.



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# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in

behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## The Encouragements of the Year.

The year now closing has tested the faith and the loyalty of the friends of peace. In many respects it has been a year of discouragements. The Far-Eastern question has been distressingly unsettled, and war in the Orient has constantly threatened. Great Britain has just ended one of the bloodiest of her campaigns against native races on her colonial borders. She has been on the verge of hostilities with her great neighbor France, the navies of both countries having been hastily rushed into preparation for war. France and Germany have shown little signs of reconciliation over the question which has for nearly thirty years separated them, and their preparations for war have been maintained with the utmost tension. Great Britain has increased both her navy and her army budgets, and her imperiousness in all quarters of the globe has never been more pronounced nor the irritation against her greater. If Russia has had a change of heart, which

many hope, the effect on her international conduct has not yet had time to appear. More disappointing to the friends of peace than any of these things—for these were all more or less expected—has been the war between the United States and Spain, with the threatening complications which have grown out of it, and the extension of *American militarism* already surely following it.

With all these movements of the war spirit and so much actual war before them, it has not been easy for the advocates of peace to find encouragement, except in the consciousness of the rightness of their cause and the consequent certainty of its ultimate *future* triumph. Not a few whose attachment to the cause has depended almost entirely on the outward evidences of its prosperity have become hopeless and decided that peace effort, in the present condition of the world, is wasted. They have either "fallen away" and gone with the multitude to glorify war or the seed of peace within them has been "choked and become unfruitful."

But to those who look deeply into the movement of events the year has offered some strong encouragements. Many have encouraged themselves that the war of this country with Spain over Cuba, and the war of Anglo-Egypt with the Dervishes, will either work directly, or be overruled, for the promotion of peace. But this is not the encouragement of which we speak. Whatever peace is won in one quarter by war is very apt to be offset or more than counterbalanced by strife and conflict in another unless the movements engendered by war are counteracted by other influences.

The chief encouragement of the year has been the fact that the opponents of war throughout the civilized world have been more numerous and more decided and more outspoken than ever before since civilization began to have a name. The peace associations, now numbering more than four hundred

and forming a coherent coöperating body in all the civilized nations, have entered a strong and virtually unanimous protest for peace at every point where war has occurred or threatened to occur during the year. Outside of their ranks the same protest has been entered by a large number of men and women whose convictions in many cases are quite as radical as those of the members of the peace organizations. Beyond these is a still larger number who have only given their voice for war with the greatest reluctance, and whose support of actual war has been of the most perfunctory kind. Looking at matters in the large, this fund of anti-war sentiment is of the utmost significance. It has not been extended enough and strong enough to prevent outbreaks of hostilities, but it has proved its vitality and staying and growing power in the face of most unlooked for obstacles. The world has heard its voice and felt its touch in the very midst of the noise and confusion of the clash of arms. As matter of encouragement we place above all other considerations this clear fact of anti-war public sentiment, of which unnumbered evidences might be brought from the press, from the pulpit, from the school, from the jurist's office, from the business world, from the literary circle. The faith of the opponents of war rests upon this well-grounded growing sentiment, conforming itself to right and truth, and not upon the present changing phases of international politics which are, as at present directed, certain to be almost as disappointing one day as they were encouraging the day before.

But this rapidly growing peace sentiment has got beyond the private rostrum. It has actually uttered its voice in practical international politics in a way hitherto unknown. Two events of the year will be forever recorded as among the greatest in the annals of human progress. While the fleets and armies of the United States and Spain were preparing to meet each other in the old barbarous way of brutal violence, Italy and the Argentine Republic were quietly negotiating a general treaty of arbitration. Before the Spanish-American War closed, this treaty was completed and *ratified*. It is now in force, the first of its kind ever made. It is a better treaty than that drawn by Pauncefote and Olney, as will be seen by examining its provisions. We Americans, who sold our birthright and disgraced ourselves by rejecting the Olney-Pauncefote

treaty, have been too busy with shedding blood and noisily boasting of the "glory" of our "humanitarian"—imperialistic war, even to know what Italy and Argentina were doing. Not one American in a hundred thousand knows that such a treaty has been made, though America is the mother of Arbitration. But the deed has been done,—a deed of the new civilization whose glory will eclipse forever the "glory" of the "humanitarian" war of the United States.

To the other encouraging event of the year, more than usual space is given in this issue of the *ADVOCATE*, in other columns. While General Kitchener was leading his forces up the Nile, to slaughter, with modern "Christianized" implements of war, a whole army of Dervish "fiends," who were trying with old-fashioned weapons to defend what they believed to be their rights, the Czar of Russia was dictating his great manifesto, inviting all the nations to send representatives to a conference on the reduction of armaments. What shall be said of the bloody "glory" of Kitchener, over whom England has been going wild, as compared with that of Nicholas II., who has made himself, as events since the 24th of August have proved, the interpreter of this mighty, widely developed anti-war sentiment of which we have been speaking! If the wars and rumors of war of which the year has been so full have been discouraging, the peace and rumors of peace which have forced themselves into notice in spite of the noise of battle and the strained preparations for battle, are full of encouragement.

War with its "glory" is passing. Not even the United States can succeed in maintaining its respectability, however large a navy or army she may imagine herself into the necessity of building. If the immediate future of our own beloved country is somewhat uncertain and the war clouds hang dark everywhere, the year closes with a real sunburst of hope for the wider humanity, which is greater than any country. We are a year nearer, in every sense, to the beginning of the reign of universal peace, and both truth and hope encourage us to cheerful and unremitting effort. In a few days we shall all be reading and thinking again of the great Christmas Message, "On Earth Peace, Goodwill to Men." There is much, very much more peace on earth and goodwill among men than there was on that night when these words of promise were first uttered. And yet more is just before us.

### A Vulgar, Commonplace Empire.

The most significant utterance of the past month on the Philippine question was that of Senator Hoar at Worcester, Mass., on the first of November. It has had the effect of arousing and strengthening the anti-annexation sentiment throughout the nation as nothing else has done. The nature of the problem confronting the country and the danger of a false and un-American solution of it were stated by Mr. Hoar in a most instructive and impressive way.

As to the danger confronting the country, as the result of the war with Spain, he said: "In my opinion, we are in a great danger—greater danger than we have encountered since the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, save only the danger that the slaveholding rebellion might succeed. The danger is that we are to be transformed from a republic founded on the Declaration of Independence, guided by the counsels of Washington,—the hope of the poor, the refuge of the oppressed—into a *vulgar, commonplace empire* founded upon physical force, controlling subject races and vassal states, in which inevitably one class must forever rule and other classes must forever obey."

It is perfectly clear that there are but the two alternatives, here so forcefully stated by Senator Hoar, between which to make a choice. If the Philippines, in their present condition, are annexed, the policy of subjection and government by physical force follows inevitably. No advocate of annexation would think of allowing the Philippines to come in on an equality with any home state or territory, with universal suffrage. No American, loving his country and loving humanity, ought to hesitate an instant as to the choice he will make—a republic, with equal political rights, enlightening and lifting the world by its great example, or "a vulgar, commonplace empire founded upon physical force." The method of subjection and force toward the Philippines and other islands may appeal to the ambitious, to those who exalt self at the expense of others, to those who want a quick, short-cut method of reaching "destiny"—whatever that vague word may mean,—it may appeal to those who believe that commerce and civilization and even religion can be really promoted by the sword and repression, to those who forget that civilization and commerce and destiny are not leaped into but grow,—but it cannot appeal with the least fascination to any man with the real American spirit in him.

Senator Hoar is not dazzled by the example of England. Her colonial policy is founded, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, on inequality. "Our institutions are founded on the doctrine of equality." If we are to outstrip her in national power, we must follow our own path, not hers. Carrying this thought further, he might have added, if we are to

surpass her in the uplifting of humanity—and herein has always lain the chief glory of our country—doubly is it true that we must stick to our own path. No one who really knows the vast and growing expensiveness, the everlasting entanglements, the ceaseless irritativeness, the crying blood-guiltiness of England's colonial policy, the dangers besetting her in all quarters, so that Lord Salisbury in his latest utterance declares that she cannot relax, even for the sake of the Czar's appeal, one iota of her military and naval preparations,—no one who really understands all this will, if true to his country and its great history, want this nation to abandon in the smallest measure the pacific principles and methods which, in the short space of a hundred years, have, in spite of weaknesses and errors, carried her swiftly to the very top of national greatness and influence in the world.

"The highest service the American people can render to mankind and to liberty is to preserve unstained and unchanged the republic as it came to us from the fathers. It is by example and not by our guns or by bayonets that the great work of America for humanity is to be accomplished."

That is an utterance worthy of an American Senator. It is full of moral insight and of the highest order of patriotism.

Senator Hoar denies *in toto* the so-called right to "buy and sell peoples, men, women and children, like sheep." "Whoever heard of such a doctrine on the soil of America?" Another denial of his speech deserves special regard. He is, strange to say, almost the only public man in the nation who has declared unqualifiedly that there is no such thing as a right of conquest. "For one," he says, "I deny this alleged right of conquest. Human beings,—men, women, children, peoples,—are not to be won as spoils of war or prizes in battle. Such a doctrine finds a place in the ancient and barbarous laws of war. But it has no place under the American Constitution. It has no place where the Declaration of Independence is a living reality. It has no place in the code of morals of the people of the United States."

It is one of the most startling phases of the popular blindness now affecting the people so widely, that right of possession by conquest is assumed without question by so many. We hear on every hand, "They are ours by the right of conquest." How can the nation fail to become "a vulgar, commonplace empire founded upon physical force," when citizens, public and private, so far forget themselves as not even to question the old vulgar, commonplace allegation that "might makes right"! It is cause of serious alarm that it should be found necessary for a distinguished Senator to publicly state a principle of Christianity and of American morals which the least

citizen of the republic ought to hold as dear as "the apple of the eye."

What, then, is to be done with the Philippines? Senator Hoar does not favor turning them back to Spain. Give them, he says, a chance to govern themselves. Give them support, countenance, assistance in working out their own destiny. They are too far away from us and too unlike us to be made a part of us. But we may help them to help themselves. We may even, if necessary, call other civilized and Christian nations into our counsel and invite their cooperation. With this view the people of the nation, when they think, will certainly be largely in accord. It is to be hoped that the Senate also, in whose hands the fateful subject will soon rest, will see it in this light.

Senator Hoar believes that annexation, with the entanglements which it will necessarily bring, in the struggle and scuffle for power in the East, will inevitably result in the necessity of maintaining a navy perhaps *ten times* as great as at the present time, and an army of *hundreds of thousands* in number; that it will require a trained governing *class*, or caste, for the East; that it will necessitate taking the war power out of the hands of Congress and centralizing it in the President; that it will increase many fold the national debt and make the national taxgatherer the most frequent and the best known visitant to every American house. These things, he says, are all involved in "this wild and impassioned cry for empire." He "disbelieves and hates the notion that the American people are to submit to such a transformation." The "flag does not stand for trade and dominion, but for manhood and self-government." "The doctrines of the Declaration of Independence are eternal verities, not the makeshifts of a generation."

Unless the American people accept this lofty interpretation of American political principle and duty and act in accordance with it, in this hour of gigantic temptation, if, abandoning the foundations on which the national structure has been builded, they are led on by the "wild and impassioned cry for empire," the leadership of America in civilization is gone. She will have no second opportunity. The best that will remain for her will be to struggle slowly and painfully up again with the powers founded on physical force, to whose level of ambition and greed and bloody strife she will have sunk herself.

### A Great Loss.

One of the greatest losses occasioned by the war with Spain has been that which the country has met with in the death of George E. Waring, Jr., of New York. For his death may fairly be set down to the account of the war. The circumstances are known to the whole country. Col. Waring was not in the

war. He was, in fact, like so many other intelligent and judicious people, opposed from the start to the whole business. But when he was asked by President McKinley to go to Havana as a special Sanitary Commissioner to report on the health conditions there, he undertook the duty with readiness and devotion. When he came back, after six weeks of careful investigation, with his report practically completed, he was stricken down with yellow fever and died after a few days of sickness.

The whole country has felt the loss greatly. Mr. Waring was the foremost sanitary expert of the nation, and his experience and judgment were being more and more drawn upon from all parts of the land. The story of his turning New York City from one of the filthiest cities in the world into one of the cleanest reads more like romance than reality. At the request of the Business Committee, he told this story, or the part of it relating to the settlement of disputes among the workmen, at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference in June last, and he was often called upon to tell it in other places, which he always did in a modest, simple and yet marvellously impressive way. It might seem extravagant to say that Col. Waring, if he had lived, would have been worth more to the nation in the ten years or so of active service which might reasonably have been expected of him than the entire Philippine islands, if annexed, will be worth in any way in a hundred years. But it would be difficult to show in what respect this seemingly extravagant assertion would be false.

Colonel Waring's work was to save life and not to kill. He took great pleasure in it. He did it intelligently, devotedly and with an executive efficiency rarely known. Though his death has come unexpectedly and prematurely, there is this to rejoice in, that his work was so well done that the memory and the influence of it will never perish out of the nation. We shall always be a cleaner and healthier people because of him. We do not see why his last service is not to be set down as one of the truest and highest heroism, though there has been little noisy display over it as compared with that gotten up in many places in recognition of those whose deeds were bloody and destructive.

Colonel Waring presided, it will be remembered, at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference in June last. Though he had been at one time a soldier and was not a radical peace man, yet his opinion was strong that war is needless and ought to be done away, by the substitution in its place of rational, peaceful methods of adjusting disputes. In one of the brief speeches which he made at the Conference occur these words:

"I am not yet an old man. I was 'brought up,' as we say in my country, in a village in Connecticut, a perfectly simple, law-abiding, rural community.



There was not a boy of the age of fourteen or fifteen in that town who did not either discuss with his friends or feel under his jacket the personal bearings of the questions, 'What should I do if I should ever be challenged to fight a duel?' 'If anybody called you a liar, would you challenge him?' It was a fundamental idea which, I think, was at that time implanted in the minds of all boys. They felt that they could not get out of the moral obligation to fight a duel, if they were called liar or coward. Now, what has become of all that sentiment, not only in Connecticut, but throughout the country, even in Memphis? It has all gone, gone in the direction in which we believe that the idea will go that all troubles between nations must be settled by murder."

### The Suffering Doukhoborts.

We call attention to the circular letter printed on another page and signed by William Dean Howells, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. George Dana Boardman and others, asking for funds in behalf of the persecuted Doukhoborts in Russia. Some time ago our columns contained an extended account of the sufferings and hardships inflicted upon the Doukhoborts,—a Christian, peaceable, industrious people—because of their unwillingness to do military service. Since that time the Russian government has consented to allow them to emigrate from the country at their own expense.

The friends of peace in England, especially the members of the Society of Friends, have interested themselves in the matter and have subscribed large sums of money to assist the Doukhoborts in emigrating. A considerable body of the sufferers have already reached Cyprus where their support has been provided for, as required by the English government, till the year 1900. But several thousand of them still remain in Russia. They can do nothing for themselves. Two or three years ago their homes were broken up. They were banished from their native province, and carried into the region of the Caucasus, where it was hoped by the Russian officials that they might be forced to give up their Christian belief that war and military service of every kind is wrong. But in spite of distress and imprisonment and exile they have remained faithful, and knowledge of what they are enduring for conscience' sake has gradually made its way throughout the civilized world. A few of them are living in exile in England and are doing all in their power to secure relief for their suffering brethren. Those who have attempted to enable them to get out of Russia hope to get funds enough immediately to bring those who still remain to Cyprus. The purpose is finally to bring as many of them as possible to the United States and Canada and locate them in some of the more thinly settled districts of the West,

where, after being started, they will be amply able to take care of themselves. A generous response to the Committee's call for funds ought to be immediately made. The rigors of the Russian winter have already set in, and there must be great suffering, as during the past two winters, unless help reaches them without delay.

We understand that a movement is on foot to try to secure from the Czar a decree of clemency for these people. He has probably known very little about them. When their condition comes to be fully known to him, it seems impossible that the author of the recent peace manifesto, which has given so much hope to the world, should refuse to revoke all decrees against these good citizens and allow them to remain in their own country and pursue their callings in peace.

### The Peace Treaty.

The Commissioners at Paris have practically finished their work. Spain has agreed, under a solemn protest against the course forced upon her, to give up the sovereignty of the Philippines, and to accept for "improvements" in the islands the sum of twenty million dollars. Cuba and Porto Rico she had already surrendered, in the protocol, and also an island in the Ladrone group. There are some minor items of the treaty touching the Carolines, cable and coaling stations and an "open door" policy in the Philippines. By the time this reaches our readers, the treaty, momentous beyond any of modern times, will have been formally prepared and signed; and the Commissioners will be on their way home.

It was a foregone conclusion what the treaty in the main would be. All that has been done in two months of demanding and yielding might have been done, as we said in the beginning, in a few days at Washington without any commission. The United States government has done what it started out to do. Spain has had no choice; the negotiations have been simply a slow way of getting an ultimatum accepted by her. She has been helpless and our government has told her that the only possible interpretation of the protocol was what we wanted it to mean.

The judgment of all Europe outside of England, and, if the truth were known, in a good deal of England, is that the United States has pushed her advantage to the extreme and shown no regard for generosity. The knowledge in Europe of the powerful imperialistic sentiment prevailing in this country strengthens the conviction that our government in its severe demands upon Spain has proceeded as a self-seeking conqueror rather than as a brother in the family of nations. Our "humanitarian" war is, from its actual results so far, being interpreted not unjustly as really a war of conquest and national

greed. Whether this shall remain the true interpretation, will depend upon what the next act in the drama reveals. If these conquered territories are annexed outright to the United States, as now seems to be the purpose of the Administration, which has strayed farther and farther from its original intentions, the judgment of the civilized world, present and future, will declare, and have a right to declare, the war to have been essentially one of self-aggrandizement, mercenariness and conquest. Our professions of humanity will go for nothing, however much there may have been in them.

If the loss to Spain of her colonies were all that would be involved in the ratification of the treaty soon to arrive in Washington there would be little difference of opinion about the matter. It seems no harsh judgment to say that she has by her misgovernment and oppression fairly forfeited all rights of sovereignty in these territories. The inhabitants of them wish and have wished for years to be free from her dominion. They ought, therefore, of right, for both reasons to be free.

But the ratification of the treaty, as it will be brought home containing the provision for the payment of twenty million dollars to Spain, will mean the annexation of the Philippines, unless the Senate shall provide specifically to the contrary. This we still hope the Senate will be wise and courageous enough to do. Many of the ablest men in the Senate are opposed to annexation on the ground that such a policy will be ruinous, under existing conditions, to the character and real mission of the republic. Opposition to it throughout the country is also strong and steadily growing as men have come to think the problem out seriously. An Anti-Imperialistic League with headquarters at Washington has been formed having in its membership many of the most eminent, experienced men in the country.

Believing as we do that annexation is not necessary in order to the fulfilment of the nation's present duty to the territories wrested from Spain, that it will result, for reasons given in another article, in serious impairment of the national life and character, and lead quickly and inevitably to a dangerous and burdensome enlargement of the army and navy and entanglement in the territorial squabbles and unworthy contentions of the war powers, in a word, to the certain decline of the republic, we must utter this last word of protest before the treaty is acted upon by the Senate. We ask all our readers who are like-minded with us to copy, sign and forward to Mr. Erving Winslow, Washington, D. C., the following protest, which is being circulated for signatures by the Anti-Imperialist League:

To the President and Congress of the United States:

The undersigned

Protests against any extension of the sovereignty

of the United States over the Philippine Islands in any event, and over any other foreign territory without the free consent of the people thereof, believing such action would be dangerous to the Republic, wasteful of its resources, in violation of constitutional principles, and fraught with moral and physical evils to our people.

### Editorial Notes.

Is Long also among the imperialists? One feels instinctively impelled to ask this question on reading the Secretary of the Navy's recent report and some of his utterances on the results of the war.

Mr. Long went into the navy department a very conservative man, strongly opposed to war, a great friend of arbitration and opposed to any but the smallest increase of the navy necessary for police purposes. There are now building 55 war vessels of all classes several of which, including three first-class battleships, have been contracted for since he became Secretary. He now recommends the building of three more battleships at a cost of \$3,600,000 each, three cruisers at a cost of \$4,000,000 each, three cruisers at a cost of \$2,150,000 each, and six cruisers at a cost of \$1,141,800 each. Here is, in addition to the many millions now going into the new vessels, an outlay of over \$36,000,000 more recommended to be made upon the navy within the next *three years*. "With the territorial acquisitions of the present year, if the Philippines are also to be annexed to the United States, its outlying territorial possessions will be so great and so extended that this increase of naval force will be necessary," he says.

He also recommends that the number of enlisted men in the navy be raised from 12,500 to 20,000 and that a naval reserve be established. Here, then, in this proposed enlargement of the navy we have one of the most mischievous outcomes of the war. However men throughout the country differ as to other things, they seem unaccountably agreed everywhere that the navy must be increased. The exploits of the navy seem to have entirely blinded the country as to the dangers and enormous burdens to which a policy of naval expansion will surely lead. If the Philippines are not annexed, the mischief is going to be great enough anyway. If they are annexed, Mr. Long's recommendations will fall many times short of what will be deemed necessary within the next ten years. There will be no stopping place short of a navy larger than that of Great Britain on which one hundred twenty-five millions of dollars a year are now spent. If we are to "take a hand in the affairs of the world" in the sense meant by those who are clamoring for such a policy, no peer will be allowed to remain on the sea. Is it possible that the nation will go into such a course of stupendous folly with its eyes open? It can become a great steel-clad, meddlesome,

domineering "world-power," if it is willing to pay the huge cost in money, and in what is indefinitely more valuable than money. The nation will have shut its eyes, deliberately or with a thoughtlessness as deadly as deliberateness, if it allows its chosen representatives and leaders to launch it on such a wild and shoreless sea. Let the people arouse themselves to what is going on at Washington before it is too late.

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The following persons, all active workers in the cause of peace, have recently become members of the American Peace Society:

Rev. W. E. Heywood, Dorchester, Mass.; Miss M. E. Daniell, Boston, Mass.; Miss Jean Louise de Forest, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. Elvira C. Peabody, Brooklyn, N. Y.; W. T. Sabine, New York City, N. Y.; Mr. M. M. Forney, New York City, N. Y.; William Lloyd Garrison, Brookline, Mass.; Florence H. Crowell, West Yarmouth, Mass.; J. F. Crowell, West Yarmouth, Mass.; Louisa Jay Bruen, White Plains, N. Y.; Isaac Brooks, Baltimore, Md.; E. P. Platt, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Max Landsberg, Rochester, N. Y.; Catherine E. Farwell, Boston, Mass.; Miss L. M. Sweet, Arlington, Mass.; Alexander C. Wood, Cinnaminson, N. J.; Ellen K. Buffum, Providence, R. I.; Ernest Howard Crosby, Rhinebeck, N. Y.; M. M. Bailey, Portland, Me.; Francis J. Garrison, Roxbury, Mass.; William L. Pearson, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Samuel R. Shipley, Philadelphia, Pa.; John M. Shrigley, Williamson School, Pa.; Dr. M. L. Holbrook, New York City; Albert Geiger, Boston.

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The Baroness von Suttner, president of the Austrian Peace Society, had an interview of an hour with Count Muravieff during the Russian Minister's visit to Vienna. The Count expressed his strong hope that the initiative of the Czar might draw to its support the whole world. It might take time and there are many difficulties to be overcome. The simple arrest of the growth of armaments would be a great attainment, and this he thought might be all that the Conference would immediately result in. The Count expressed his sincere sympathy with the work of the peace associations, with which he has for some time been acquainted. The more the idea of peace is promulgated among the people the more easy he says it will be for the governments to realize it. The support of the press he said would be very valuable to the cause of peace; unfortunately it is often opposed to it. The Russian Minister declared his pleasure at the favorable reception accorded the Czar's rescript. When the Baroness told him that she was happy to grasp the hand which had written the famous document, he replied: "I had nothing to do with it; my august master is the sole author of it."

We give on another page an editorial from the *Anglo-Russian*, published in London, which states frankly the point of view from which the Czar's peace manifesto is regarded by those Russians, at home and in exile, who are struggling to bring about Russian civil liberty. We do not wonder at the unfavorable view which they take of the matter. There are many reasons which justify them in doing so. The same view has suggested itself to many who are not Russians. The *Anglo-Russian* thinks that the Czar's manifesto has had the effect, for the time being, to "shut the eyes and ears of the world to the scenes of misery and starvation which at the present moment afflict whole provinces in Russia. It has paralyzed the hands of the workers for internal reforms and liberty." We do not think this is true, at least in America. On the contrary, the manifesto has aroused many of the friends of Russian freedom to make new efforts in that direction. They feel the essential incompatibility between the Czar's proposal for the reduction of armaments and the severe repression of liberty practiced in the Russian empire. We shall be greatly mistaken if the Czar's peace manifesto does not prove a powerful lever for the lifting of freedom, civil and religious, in Russia to a position hitherto sought in vain. The *Anglo-Russian* itself grants that "the Peace Conference may do much good on broader international lines," and that "any benefit to the world at large must, in the long run, react beneficially on the welfare of Russia also."

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Another view of the Czar's appeal is that represented by an article in the *Contemporary Review*, written anonymously by a soldier. This writer believes in the sincerity of the Czar's personal wish for peace, but he thinks the benevolent feelings of a Czar and the practical action of Russia have small relation to one another. The political situation he declares to be such as to be far more powerful than the personal sentiments of the Emperor, autocrat though he be. The statesmen who guide Russian affairs have therefore concealed under the Czar's wishes their own aggressive purposes. They are determined upon Russian expansion. They mean ultimately to bring pressure to bear upon Afghanistan, upon India and still further upon China. They are not ready for this now. They must have ten years of peace for preparation. An early war would spoil all their plans. They must build railroads, southward to the Persian gulf, eastward to the coast. They also propose to extend Russia to the north of Norway and get control of the great Varanger fiord which is nearly all the year free from ice. Again, in the crisis which this writer sees approaching in Austria the Czechs and other non-German nationalities are likely to appeal to Russia.

It is therefore a great stroke of policy on the part of these astute statesmen to take advantage of the Czar's

desire for peace, in order that they may gain time for the development of their military resources and power. This "soldier" does not tell us how the purposes of these wily statesmen will be promoted by the Czar's Conference, provided it should meet this winter and the work of reduction of armaments should actually be begun. Nor does he give any information as to how the astute plans will be forwarded if the Conference should flatly fail. A few months of playing with the Czar's sincerity could certainly be of little use to them. We shall at least hope that these statesmen are not so bad as this "soldier" represents them to be.

A recent issue of the *Boston Herald* makes the following statement as to the Venezuela Arbitration:

"The arbitration proceedings between Great Britain and Venezuela are said to be the most elaborate in their character of any question hitherto submitted to international arbitration. These proceedings are going on under the direction of Prof. Martens of the Russian foreign office. Last March each of the contesting governments sent the historical documents and maps in support of its claims to the foreign office at St. Petersburg. The English preliminary case consisted of eight large volumes and an enormous atlas of the rarest maps of Venezuela and South America. The Venezuelan case was made up in four volumes and an atlas. The two contestants had each the opportunity of studying the preliminary historical presentation of its opponents, and last August the answers to these were made by each of the two governments handing to Prof. Martens a counter case, Venezuela sending in three new volumes and another atlas, and Great Britain presenting two new volumes and also a second atlas. Up to the present time the members of the court have received more than 2200 documents in the English, Spanish and Dutch languages, these covering a period of four centuries. Next month the two governments must furnish the chief arbitrator and members of the court with their final conclusions, or rebutting printed arguments, which will close the preliminary procedure. Next spring the international court, under the presidency of Prof. Martens, is to meet in Paris to hear the verbal arguments of those representing the two contesting governments, and after this will give its decision, which will be both final and obligatory. This may seem like a tremendously slow and expensive means of securing justice but no matter how expensive it may be, it is incomparably cheaper than war, and, so far as the ends of abstract justice are concerned, is infinitely more effective."

The third Sunday in December is to be Peace Sunday again this year. The peace societies throughout the world are asking that it be observed everywhere in the churches, as far as possible. Many ministers already observe the day regularly, as it comes round each year. Others do not. The same is true of Sunday schools. No subject can be more appropriate for a special exercise, either in the church or the Bible school, than that of peace. It lies at the very heart of the gospel. The

troublesome times through which we are passing make it doubly important that the voice of peace should be heard, loud and clear, and often, from every pulpit in the land. Let our fellow-workers in all parts of the land lay the matter before their ministers and try to secure their co-operation, for at least one of the services of the day. Our friends will do us a great favor by sending us accounts of any peace services which may be held in their communities.

The International Peace Bureau at Berne has issued its seventh annual report, covering the period from August 1st, 1897, to July 1st, 1898. The Commission of the Bureau, chosen at Hamburg in August, 1897, was composed of nineteen members representing eleven countries. Mr. Elie Ducommun, of Berne, has continued his most efficient services as Secretary of the Bureau. The "*Correspondence Bi-Mensuelle*" has been regularly published by the Bureau, and sent out to the peace societies and the friends of peace in all countries. The report notices the work of the Bureau in executing the resolutions of the Hamburg Peace Congress, in sending out an appeal to the nations in reference to the Spanish-American war, in distributing various documents to the peace societies, in preparing for the "peace manifestation" of the societies on the 22d of February, and in arranging for the peace congress which was to have been held in October of this year, but which it was found necessary to give up. The Bureau has received from societies, individuals and states during the year 9,638 francs, and disbursed 8,136 francs. The budget of expenses for the year 1893-99 is placed at 8,170 francs. The governments of Switzerland, Norway and Denmark have all contributed to the funds of the Bureau the past year. The Bureau still has on hand 270 copies of the Report of the Hamburg Peace Congress. The Secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, will be very glad to receive contributions for the work of the Bureau the current year.

The system of spies, though not theoretically inseparable from war, is practically so. For this deceptive business there is not only no justification in morals; it is utterly condemned by the most elemental principles of morality. The account given in the November *Cosmopolitan* of the gala way in which the only United States spy in Spain during the recent war palmed himself off as a German physician and thus by leading a lying life for months got into intimate association with leading Spanish officials fills one with a sense of the deepest shame not only because of the depths of falseness to which such an individual descends, not only because of the moral darkness of a government which, seemingly without compunction, employs such an agency, but also because of the low general moral state of society which permits such

doing and even glorifies it as something of a high intellectual order, counted worthy of the first place in a magazine article. We do not wonder that this spy sometimes felt his "conscience smite him hip and thigh." The relation in which he put himself is one totally unworthy of any human being standing face to face with others of his kind. The spying business is possibly not the lowest part of the business of war, but it is perilously near the bottom. There is no lower degradation of human nature than the loss, voluntarily incurred, of the spirit of truthfulness—and spying drives straight toward this loss. A man of conscience can never—never—get the blot of it off his soul. No end can, therefore, ever justify it—either private or public.

In an article on "The Battle of Omdurman and the Mussulman World," by Rofüddin Ahmad, in the *Nineteenth Century*, which discusses in a very able way the relations of England to the Pan-Islamic Revival, occurs the following paragraph in regard to a proposed board of arbitration between all Islamic states:

"I have already referred to the universal regret felt (among Mussulmans) for the enormous loss of life at Omdurman. The Mahdi was not a recognized ruler, he was a rebel, and the Egyptian Government could not avoid a war with him. But suppose, in future, differences of opinion arise between recognized Muslim states. Can Islam afford to see a war between them? Certainly not. To avoid such a war there is a proposal to memorialize the Sultan of Turkey to issue an encyclical inviting all independent Muslim states to a conference at Mecca with a view of establishing a Muslim international arbitration committee, which would consist of the ablest jurists that the Islamic world possesses, and who would be altogether independent of the governments of Islamic countries. Such a proposal suggested itself to many Islamic minds when the Czar's encyclical appeared, but it has gained ground since the battle at Omdurman, and is likely to receive a practical shape in reasonable time. The Christian governments cannot have any objection to that proposal, considering that the Emperor of Russia himself puts forward a similar proposal on a very high and even impracticable basis and also because it does not affect them in the least. A war between two Muslim states has not taken place for some time; but it is not unlikely that foreign intrigues may so complicate affairs between two Muslim countries that a settlement by diplomacy may become impossible, and an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword indispensable. In order to avoid such calamities, which are by no means imaginary, some steps must at once be adopted. No one can take the initiative in this matter more appropriately than the Protector of the Holy Places and the greatest ruler in Islam. No better place can be suggested for the conference than the city which gave birth to Mohammed and his religion. And surely no better time can be mentioned than the present, when peace conferences are in the air in the Christian world. Nothing is more palatable to the Sultan Abd el Hamid than attempts tending towards the reunion and revival of Islam. It is expected, there-

fore, that his Majesty will lose no time in ascertaining the views of Mussulman states regarding the proposal."

In the death of Sir George Grey England has lost one of her best colonial governors—"the maker of New Zealand." "The idea that subject territories are to be exploited for the benefit of the ruling race was," says *War or Brotherhood*, "utterly foreign to the policy of Sir George Grey." He is described as having ruled according to the principle that "a ruler exists for the benefit of the ruled." His sympathies went out to men of every color, he was free from race prejudice, he defended the natives against the encroachments of Englishmen, he even opposed successfully the Colonial Office in attempts at injustice. His patient efforts to understand and help the natives won him their unbounded love and attachment. Nearly every American knows the name of General Kitchener; we doubt if one in fifty thousand ever heard the name of Sir George Grey. He was too good and great a man to be most highly honored either at home or abroad. But his character and work were the kind out of which civilization is builded.

The thirty-third anniversary of the Pennsylvania Peace Society was observed in Philadelphia on November 24th. There were meetings afternoon and evening. We have no particulars in time for this number. Addresses were announced to be given by Hon. John W. Hoyt, Professor Edward P. Magill, President John W. Shrigley, Miss Sarah J. Farmer, Dr. Agnes Kemp, Professor Daniel Batchellor, Alfred H. Love, Howard M. Jenkins and others. The President of the Society is Judge William N. Ashman of the Orphans' Court. The Society, in connection with the Universal Peace Union, of which it is a branch, has been very active in its peace propaganda during the past year.

A new experiment in Christian communism is being made, in Georgia. "The Christian Commonwealth," organized in January 1897, near Columbus, consists of about seventy persons who are trying to carry out in a communistic way in their daily lives the teachings of Christ as to brotherhood. The colony possesses several hundred acres of land which are rapidly being brought under cultivation. Every person who joins the "Commonwealth" gives to it all that he possesses. No person holds any private property except personal effects. The pledge of membership says: I accept as the law of my life Christ's law that I shall love my neighbor as myself. I will use, hold, or dispose of all my property, my labor and my income according to the dictates of love for the happiness of all who need. I will not withhold for any selfish ends aught that I have from the fullest service that love inspires." Every member does his share in the

necessary work, and receives from the community all that is necessary for his daily life. The community has its own post-office, named Commonwealth. It has an orchard, nursery-garden, sawmill, blacksmith-shop and dairy. It also has a printing-press and issues monthly a paper entitled "The Social Gospel," edited by George Howard Gibson and Rev. Ralph Albertson. The system is one of perfect communism. All land and capital are owned by the community as a whole, and there is perfect equality within the community.

The United States of Central America, to which allusion has been heretofore made in these columns, is at last a reality. The new republic, which is formed by a union of Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador, went into operation on the first day of November. Negotiations for the union had been going on for two years and more, and last August the Constitution was adopted. The Constitution of the new republic is much like that of our country. The president holds office for four years. The senate, the house of representatives and the judiciary are constituted nearly as ours. The capital of the republic is to be situated in a federal district to be purchased by grants from the three states. The elections are to be held this December, and until the president is inaugurated in March next the government will be administered by a council of three. Neither of the presidents of the three republics is eligible at the first election. It is thought that Guatemala and Costa Rica will ultimately enter into the new union. It is of historic interest to record that this federation of independent states into a larger state has come about without war and conquest, and it is to be hoped that the union will result in the maintenance of permanent peace in Central America—if the whole thing does not collapse.

The Rev. D. L. Leonard, in his "History of Oberlin College," recently published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston, says:

"Societies for the promotion of peace and of moral reform were numerous in the thirties and forties, and, as we scarcely need to be told, Oberlin did what she could to push forward these important reforms. Being loyal subjects of the Prince of Peace, war was abhorred except where unrighteousness, which was worse than war, was the alternative. But probably not many of the colonists, not even Elihu Burritt the great peace orator and organizer, shared the unswerving faith in the irresistible potency of weapons purely spiritual possessed by one of the Oberlin deacons, who when the Rebellion burst forth would not have a soldier sent to the front, but instead would enlist whole legions of praying men and women, and transporting them down to Mason and Dixon's Line would kneel and make mighty supplication until the entire rebel host should lay down their arms!"

The latest information in regard to the Conference on reduction of armaments proposed by the Czar of Russia is that all the nations represented at the Czar's court have notified him that they will send delegates. It is now thought certain that the seat of the Conference will be St. Petersburg. Each of the governments represented, will send three delegates. This will make the gathering the most numerous, in point of nations represented which has ever met, and it will certainly be composed of the most eminent and progressive statesmen of the age. The date of the Conference has not yet been definitely announced. Count Muravieff has been making a tour of some of the capitals of Europe. As soon as he returns to St. Petersburg the remaining preparations for the Conference will be completed and the date, which is expected to be early in 1899, will be announced.

### Brevities.

The Woman's International Disarmament League, with headquarters at Paris now has over two hundred thousand adherents.

. . . The International Arbitration and Peace Association has started at 40 Outer Temple, Strand, London, an international reference library consisting of books treating of arbitration and peace.

. . . "Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army."—*Edward Everett*.

. . . The Federation of German Women, composed of ninety societies with a membership of sixty thousand, is making a great demonstration in favor of the Czar's manifesto.

. . . In an article entitled "Future Peace and its Representatives," just published in the *Revue du Midi* of Odessa, Mr. Lussman says that the peace propaganda is making steady progress in Russia.

. . . The Autumnal meeting of the London Peace Society was held at Exeter on the 18th of October.

. . . Dr. George Dana Boardman of Philadelphia has just published a revised and enlarged edition of his admirable brochure on the "Disarmament of Nations, or, Mankind one Body."

. . . In connection with the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Count Sclopis, president of the Geneva Arbitration Court, Mr. Frederic Passy of Paris presented to the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences an important paper containing some unpublished letters of the Count, treating of the Alabama arbitration and of the general subject of international law.

. . . "Restrain thyself, woman, and utter no shout; it is not right to rejoice over slaughtered men."—*From the Odyssey*.

. . . The London Peace Society has sent out fifty thousand circular letters to the ministers of the United Kingdom asking for the observance of Peace Sunday.



... "The only way to harmonize war and the Bible is to substitute Moses for Christ; for in all Christ's sayings there is not one expression in favor of war."—*George Dana Boardman*.

... The January number of this journal will contain an article on "War and Parentage," by Dr M. L. Holbrook, editor of the *Journal of Hygiene and Herald of Health*.

... Mr. William T Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, has been making a tour of the European Capitals in the interests of the Conference proposed by the Czar.

... The French Peace Bureau, recently organized at Paris, has received a silver medal from the Exposition at Dijon, at which it had organized an exposition of all the French Peace Societies.

... The Synod of the Vaudois Evangelical Churches of Italy has taken official action in support of the Czar's manifesto, and has set apart a day for prayer for the early triumph of international peace.

... It is estimated at the Treasury Department that the cost of the war with Spain will, by the end of the present fiscal year, foot up two hundred and forty million dollars.

... Carl Schurz, in a speech against imperialism, in New York, on Nov. 3, says that if "we must dare to be great," we must first of all dare to be sane and honest and truthful.

... Senator Proctor, whose speech in the Senate last spring did so much to bring on war with Spain, now says that there is for the United States "no logical stopping place short of the whole of the Philippines." Cuban "humanitarianism" and imperialism seem to be closely akin.

... The protocol between Chili and Argentina for the settlement of the Puna de Atacama dispute, under which W. T. Buchanan, United States Minister to Argentina, is made arbitrator, was approved by the Chilean Congress on November 4th. All military preparations have been suspended.

... The new French premier, Dupuy, on taking office declared it the purpose of the ministry to maintain the supremacy of the civil power as the fundamental principle of a republican state.

... The treasury deficit for the month of November was ten millions and more, or about four millions less than for the preceding month.

... The so-called Cuban republic has ceased to exist, the officers having resigned their powers into the hands of a Cuban Assembly which has met to consider the future government of the island, and has appointed a Committee of five to have charge of affairs, and to visit Washington and consult with our government.

... Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, the efficient and indefatigable superintendent of the Peace Department of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, after a busy autumn of work in the Eastern and Central States goes to California for the winter.

... Late news from the East indicates friction between the Japanese and the Russians in Corea. Japan is said to be landing large detachments of troops in Corea with a view of driving the Russian forces out, because of the capture and shooting of Japanese officers by the Russians.

... Speaker Reed is reported to have said that some folks "seem to think that we can furnish canned freedom for all the heathen."

... The war tax is likely to remain among the permanent results of the war. It is among "our new possessions," a part of our "manifest destiny."

... The war investigators have got as far as Boston in their perambulations, but as yet they do not seem to have manufactured any lightning.

... In the farewell banquet given to him at Ottawa on Nov. 1, Lord Aberdeen, the retiring governor-general of Canada, devoted the most of his speech to the growing friendly relations between the United States, Great Britain and Canada. "It is, in the main," he said, "want of knowledge which produces want of friendliness."

... The "Peace Jubilee" to be held at Atlanta this month has been renamed and is to be a "Demonstration over our victorious Arms," or, as the people of the city propose to call it, "Atlanta Jubilee." It will doubtless be as far from a peace jubilee as its recent predecessors have been.

... A new commercial treaty between France and Italy has been drawn, granting mutual favors. The negotiations have been going on for two years.

... Hon. Robert P. Porter has been sent by the President as a special commissioner to Cuba and Porto Rico to study and report upon the business needs of the two islands.

... The mints of the world turned out, in round numbers, four hundred and thirty-eight millions of dollars in 1897.

## Requiem.

BY IDA WHIPPLE BENHAM.

Ye solemn bells in the high belfry swinging  
Muffled in weeds of wo,  
Toll, toll! to the deep miserere ringing  
From the groined aisles below!  
Thou grizzled sexton, shake them to and fro,  
Thy tremulous hands like birds that would be winging  
Though tethered to the leash; O soft and slow  
Sweep the long curves in cadence with the singing;  
Toll!

Toll for the dead! toll for the dead—our brothers  
And those they called the foe,  
The thousand sons of mourning Spanish mothers,  
Lost where the sea-winds blow.  
Toll! let the tone reverberating wo,  
The sob, the muffled grief that chokes and smothers,  
From the deep silence of the belfry flow,  
A requiem for our dead and for those others;  
Toll!

Whose voice called to the Sword, "Be thou our master?"  
 Whose breath was quick to blow  
 War's smouldering coals into a wide disaster?  
 Whose hands made haste to sow  
 Hate's poisonous tares among the wheat to grow?  
 What specious tongue was bold to gloze and plaster  
 The front of truth lest men its face should know?  
 Who led the sheep unto the wolf—what pastor?  
 Toll!

Toll! toll, ye bells! for manhood's choice and flower  
 Slain in the morning glow.  
 Toll! let the knell roll from your ancient tower  
 For joy and hope laid low.  
 Toll, toll! 'twas man that dealt to man the blow!  
 Would he had vindicated reason's power,  
 Would he had overcome by faith! but no,  
 The doves fly moaning from your ivied bower—  
 Toll!

Enfield, England, June, 1898.

## The Message of the Czar.

BY MARY C. FRY.

Listen! From a far land comes a word  
 Deep, majestic, strong,  
 'Mid the nations' fretful clamor heard,  
 Sweeter than a song;

Echo of that angel song of old,  
 Singing peace, goodwill,  
 Angel voices, tuned to harps of gold,  
 Singing, singing still.

'Tis a note of kingly might and love,  
 Smitten from the strings;  
 'Tis a message sent of God above  
 To earth's mightiest kings.

God can move the hearts of proudest kings,  
 Touch their lips with grace,  
 Send their words upon the swiftest wings,  
 To their chosen place.

## To Nicholas II.

BY KATHERINE HANSON AUSTIN.

"Te Duce, Caesar."

[*Quintus Horatius Flaccus Ad Augustum.*]

With bated breath the nations stand.  
 Our hearts salute the wondrous word  
 Wherewith, O King, thy lips are stirred,—  
 A word more potent than command.

Articulate at last, it sounds  
 The hope of millions waiting dumb,  
 Blindfold and baffled.—Lo! we come!  
 We know our leader. Hate hath bounds,

But love is boundless. Hate shall cease  
 In aeons yet beyond the dawn  
 Wherein our lifted eyes are drawn  
 To seek far-shining, sacred Peace.

## The Tolstoï Fund.

IN AID OF THE PERSECUTED DOUKHOBORTSI IN RUSSIA.

NEW YORK, October 25th, 1898.

Count Leo Tolstoï, whose seventieth birthday has recently been celebrated, writes to a correspondent in this country urging the raising of funds to aid in the emigration of the oppressed Doukhobortsi. These people—thrifty, industrious farmers, some ten thousand in number—form a protestant sect whose tenets resemble those of the Quakers. Their only offense is their refusal from conscientious scruples to serve in the Russian army. For this reason they have been repeatedly exiled from one part of the empire to another, and so persecuted and maltreated by the government officials that their position in their own country has become intolerable. With much difficulty they have obtained permission to emigrate to foreign lands, and steps have been taken to settle them, temporarily at least, in the Island of Cyprus, but it is hoped that they may eventually reach America. There is urgent need of funds to enable them to take advantage of the privilege to emigrate which has been accorded to them. A committee has already been formed in London to raise money for this purpose, and the undersigned have been constituted a committee to co-operate with them in America. It seems appropriate that such money as is collected should be offered to the Doukhobortsi through Count Tolstoï, and that in honor of the seventieth anniversary of his birth, it should be called the Tolstoï Fund. This cause lies close to the heart of the distinguished Russian and nothing could give him greater joy than its success. We appeal to all of our fellow-citizens who believe in liberty—in the freedom of man to abstain from taking up arms against his brother man—to contribute as they may be able to this worthy object.

Contributions of any amount may be sent to ISAAC N. SELIGMAN, ESQ., Treasurer of the Committee, Mills Building, New York.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, New York.

JANE ADAMS, Hull House, Chicago.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D.D., Philadelphia.

N. O. NELSON, St. Louis.

BOLTON HALL, New York.

ERNEST H. CROSBY, New York.

Committee.

## The Peace Meetings at Turin.

The peace meeting in connection with the annual meeting of the Society of the International Peace Bureau, at Turin, Italy, from the 26th to the 28th of September, was attended by forty-seven delegates representing thirty-nine European peace societies. The *Herald of Peace*, whose editor was present, says that the meetings, which took the place of those of the annual peace congress, "were of a very useful and earnest character."

The meeting opened with a great gathering in the Hall of the University on Sunday morning, September 25. The Turin Peace Society had arranged this meeting to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Count Sclopis, the president of the Geneva Court of Arbitration. Addresses were made by Signor Luzzati, a distinguished barrister of Turin, who gave a historical ac-

count of the life and work of Count Sclopis, by Senator Tancredi, vice-president of the Italian Senate, who spoke on the peace movement from the time of the Angels' song down to the rescript of the Czar; and by Mr. Frederic Passy of Paris, who gave a stirring eulogium on Count Sclopis, as a citizen, statesman, historian and jurist.

The annual meeting of the Society of the Peace Bureau met on Monday morning under the presidency of Fredrik Bajer of Copenhagen.

In the afternoon a general meeting of all the delegates present was held. This meeting and the subsequent ones were presided over by Signor Luzzati, who "conducted himself with singular courtesy and firmness." The first business was the reading of the report of the work of the Peace Bureau during the year. In this Mr. Ducommun, the secretary, referred to the Spanish-American war as a great disappointment to the friends of peace both in the Old World and the New, and to their earnest efforts to prevent hostilities. The report also discussed the new outbreak in Crete, the difficulties in Africa, and the Czar's proposal for a conference on reduction of armaments "which was hailed with the utmost satisfaction."

A telegram was sent to the Czar expressing gratitude for his proposal and earnest hope that it might bear all the fruits which he hoped and the peoples expected.

A telegram of "respectful homage" was also sent to King Humbert, to which the King sent a reply of thanks.

These telegrams led to an earnest discussion of the Czar's proposal and of the practical action which should be taken on it. The following resolution was adopted by a large majority:

"This assembly of delegates of peace societies expresses the hope that all governments will give their sincere adhesion to the proposal of the Emperor of Russia; and that the proposed international conference will meet without delay, and proceed as soon as possible to fix a term to the indefinite increase of armaments. The conference, to avoid all dangers arising during the term of its labors, should propose to the nations the conclusion of a general treaty of permanent arbitration under defined pacific sanctions. This assembly expresses the hope that the labors of the international conference will serve as a point of departure for the gradual adoption of international law, safeguarding the independence of each nation and assuring justice among peoples, as well as the substitution of the reign of peace for the barbarous *régime* of war and the ruinous state of armed peace."

In the evening the delegates were entertained at a banquet given by the Turin Peace Society. Speeches were made by Signor Luzzati, Frederic Passy, J. Novicow, Dr. Darby, Samuel J. Capper, E. T. Moneta, Eli Ducommun, Gaston Moch, and others, the exercises being "of a lively character and the enthusiasm growing with the hours."

On Tuesday morning a complementary resolution to the one of the previous day was adopted, asking the peace societies to organize demonstrations in favor of the Czar's conference, and instructing the Peace Bureau to take whatever steps might seem useful in approaching the Czar, the Heads of governments and Ministers of state, or the members of the approaching conference, "with a view to producing the largest amount of happy results from the proposal of Nicholas II."

A discussion then took place on the part which the press ought to take in the peace movement. The subject of Councils of Conciliation proposed by Mr. Hodgson Pratt was referred to the Peace Bureau to report on next year. There was also an extended discussion of the subject of permanent treaties of arbitration, and a resolution on the subject was referred to the Peace Bureau for further study.

The afternoon of Tuesday was devoted to the discussion of an extended report made by Dr. Adolf Richter, on the subject of a College of Official Arbitrators. At this meeting Count Gurowski, president of the Nice Peace Society, called attention to the difficulties between Chili and Argentina, threatening hostilities, and offered to defray the expenses of sending a peace delegate to these countries. A resolution was unanimously adopted appointing a committee to prepare a telegram to the presidents of Chili and Argentina, and also an address to be forwarded through the ambassadors of these countries. There was likewise discussion, at this session, of the subject of "Transformation of Armies" and of "The Adoption of Latin as a Universal Language," but no official action was taken.

In the evening an enthusiastic meeting was held at the rooms of the Philological Club, at which addresses were made by General Türr and others, and a reading given by the Baroness von Suttner from one of her works.

On Wednesday, after a vote confirming a previous decision that the Peace Congress of 1900 should be held at Paris, the subject of permanent arbitration treaties was again taken up. Three resolutions on the subject were adopted, one congratulating the Italian and Argentine governments on the treaty of this kind recently adopted by them, the first of its kind to go into effect. Professor Corsi, of Pisa, gave interesting particulars of this treaty. The second resolution declared the time propitious for renewing negotiations for an Anglo-American Treaty. The third resolution, moved by Mr. J. G. Alexander of England, expressed the conviction that the benefits of civilization ought to be extended by peaceful means alone, and protested against the destructive colonial policy practiced by European nations against weaker races. A committee was appointed to propose to the next peace congress some practical measure on the subject.

An "Appeal to the Nations," prepared by Mr. Ducommun, secretary of the Peace Bureau, was adopted by acclamation, and after the passing of votes of thanks the meeting closed.

In the evening a magnificent banquet was given to the delegates by the Municipality of Turin, at which speeches were made by a number of prominent European peace workers.

On the following day the delegates were taken on an excursion to Torre Pellice, in the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont. They were received by the authorities of the town, given a *déjeuner* at the Hotel de l'Ours, and then attended a meeting in the Hall of the Vaudois Church, where six hundred of the inhabitants were assembled. This meeting, the *Herald of Peace*, from which we have summarized these accounts, describes as an extended one, short addresses being given by sixteen different speakers.

We notice in the account of the Turin meetings the names of a number of the most prominent peace workers

of Europe, and also evidences that interest and enthusiastic devotion to the cause of peace are as strong as ever.

### Ex-Senator Edmunds' Opinion of Philippine Annexation.

1724 Spruce Street,  
Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1898.

My Dear Governor—Yours of the 2d inst. was duly received, asking me to state what I think respecting the proposed acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the United States. As you know, that archipelago consists of 1000 or 1200 islands, embracing 114,000 square miles, and extending over a large area of the Pacific and the China Sea, in the heart of the tropics. It is subject to, and frequently experiences, earthquakes and hurricanes. It contains altogether about 7,000,000 of inhabitants, being about sixty to the square mile, and just about double the population of Vermont to the square mile.

Before the war with Spain, I take it that nine-tenths of the intelligent people of the United States would have thought it bordering on madness to have taken those islands into our domain. Their population is almost entirely what may fairly be called savage, and absolutely incapable of anything that civilization would call self-government. And if their inhabitants were as peaceable as the best of other tropical countries, they would still be (as all experience has proved) incapable of governing themselves. Our only motive for their acquisition, therefore, must be the material advantages supposed by some to flow from our controlling the products of the islands and their trade. We get all the products of the islands now that we wish for, and on the same terms that other nations do. If we take them the cost will be precisely the same, unless we adopt the ancient colonial policy of Great Britain and some other nations, in controlling their trade exclusively, and allow it to be carried on only in our own ships. In that case, retaliation will certainly follow, and our ships and goods will be excluded, in like manner, from the colonial possessions of the great manufacturing and trading Powers, which would leave the balance of disadvantages vastly against us.

In a business point of view we must take into consideration the cost of governing the islands. This cost cannot, in all human probability, be met by the taxation of the inhabitants to any considerable extent. Nature supplies them with substantially all the food and clothing they require, and they are, of course, indisposed to labor or thrift. If we take them we must govern them by external power, and not through any autonomy of their own. This means a large and expensive civil list—governors, councillors, administrators, officers of justice, and so forth, and so forth, who must, in the main, be paid out of the treasury of the United States. The climate is, of course, very unwholesome for Americans, and the death rate of our officers there would be very large. It will also require an American army of defence and for the preservation of peace and order, of many thousand men, and an American navy of six or more ships, and probably 2000 men, all exposed, like the civilians, to the constant hostility of the climate, to say nothing of that of the inhabitants of most, if not all, of the islands. Are we, under such circumstances, to force a government upon them?

The present condition between ourselves and Spain in

regard to the islands is, as the protocol of armistice distinctly shows, that we have not obtained the islands, and that all our rights that were recognized there were those of holding the bay and city of Manila and their environments, until peace should be established. What was to be done with the whole group was left for negotiations, which our commissioners at Paris are now engaged in. If then, we are to get them without the cession of Spain, we must do it by force of further war against Spain, and probably by force of arms against the vast majority of the inhabitants, who, so far as I know, have shown no disposition to be annexed to the United States.

Are we, then, to attempt to force civilization and the Christian religion upon them, as Mohammed made his proselytes? This, of course, would be expressly contrary to our Declaration of Independence, and to the principles upon which the government of the United States rests. How many lives of their sons do Vermont and the other states of our solid and homogeneous Union wish to sacrifice to accomplish it, and how many more annually hereafter in governing these islands? Our few months' experience at Manila and in nearby Cuba and Porto Rico should make us awake to these questions. What "logic" or what "humanity" demands or even tempts us to this sort of "imperialism"? Let the advocates of such an enterprise point out definitely what are the grounds for such a course. Congress has solemnly pledged the national honor and faith that we had no purpose of territorial aggrandizement, even as to Cuba, only 100 miles from our shores. It is true, the victor in war is entitled to indemnity; but the victor who has made war for humanity has no right to be extortionate because he is strong. The cession of Porto Rico, and one of the Ladrões for a coaling station and refuge on the way from our Western coast to Asiatic ports is ample for every expense of the war that can be measured by money value. Even Porto Rico would be, as a part of the United States, an injury to us in the long run, but for its situation in connection with the Nicaragua Canal. Already some newspaper writers have opened the question of its admission as a State of the Union, with senators having an equal voice in making laws for this country with that of the senators from Vermont or New York or any other State. The sober-minded inhabitants of each of the States should consider the enormous danger of introducing such elements and such a power into the Senate, where all our States stand equal, and which, as John Adams described it, is "the sheet anchor of the Republic," and the only security of State rights.

Porto Rico, like every other tropical country, even if it were not already fully populated, will not admit of North American settlement and development on account of its climate. The experience of hundreds of years, all over the tropical parts of the globe, has demonstrated this. So it is only in view of its location in relation to the waterway across the continent that it is desirable to us. Why, then, should we wish, or be willing, to receive the Philippines?

I might enlarge upon this subject, but what I have said states concisely what I think, and why I am opposed to the acquisition of these islands.

I am sincerely yours,

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

The Hon. J. W. Stewart, Middlebury, Vt.

## The Czar's Peace Manifesto supported by a great meeting in Exeter Hall, London.

A great meeting to support the Czar's Rescript in favor of a reduction of armaments was held in Exeter Hall, London, at the end of October. Though considerable time has elapsed the readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will be interested in some account of the meeting, taken from the *London Daily News*:

The Bishop of London presided, and was supported by the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Guinness Rogers, Rev. B. F. Meyer, Rev. J. P. Gledstone and many others.

Letters of regret at inability to attend, but expressing hearty sympathy with the purpose of the meeting, were read, from the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. John Morley, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Canon Scott-Holland, Canon Wilberforce, Dr. Parker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Clifford and many others.

The Bishop of London on taking the chair, said:

"We are met to express sympathy with a proposal which will in the future be regarded as one of the most valuable contributions to human welfare made in this generation. An enormous stride has been taken in the great work of the promotion of peace by the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. All honor to him for making them! Whatever success they may meet at present they will stand forever on record as the aspirations of a generous and high-minded ruler. The question of European disarmament can never again be dismissed with a sneer as chimerical. It has been recognized by one who has exceptional means of judging, as a possible object of practical endeavor. From this position it will never recede. It will stand always as an object which Europe as a whole is bound to pursue. Consider what a proposal of disarmament implies, what the idea is on which it rests! The existence of huge military establishments and the prominence necessarily given to them in ordinary life creates in the popular mind the inevitable conception that the world is regulated by force only. In their internal affairs Englishmen have been foremost in striving to assert that the world ought to be regulated by justice. The Russian Emperor pleads that a better chance shall be given for applying this same principle to international affairs also. At present the appearance of Europe suggests that everything depends on force. The Czar asks Europe to consider whether the reduction of armaments may not be made, at all events, to such a degree as will put the idea of justice in the first place and leave the appeal to force as secondary. There is nothing visionary in that. It is an object which surely all Englishmen may unite in supporting with enthusiasm, for it embodies a principle which lies at the very foundation of our national life and forms the base of our national greatness. But if we want peace we must remember that, like other good things, it cannot come to us from the top; it has to be won by our own efforts, beginning at the bottom. The first step towards universal peace is that everyone should try to acquire a pacific temper. I sometimes wonder whether Englishmen are as successful in impressing on other countries their possession of that pacific disposition on which they pride themselves. There is a danger of our thinking that our character as good-hearted and well-intentioned fellows is so obvious to everybody that we need not pay much attention to the way in which we

express ourselves. We forget sometimes that the news travels very fast in these days, that when it first arrives it is not always quite accurate, that opinions are nevertheless formed upon it, and that these opinions spread in a day throughout the civilized world. I am not finding fault with those whose business it is to be the mouthpieces of public opinion. They interpret it with exceeding faithfulness, but I wish to plead with all men that true wisdom lies in stating opinions in moderate language with due reservation, and strict attention to courtesy. Let less powerful nations reject this rule if they wish. We are strong enough and great enough to show them a more excellent way. We are too old established a firm to be perpetually greedy of small gains. We need not be always anxious to carry fresh acquisitions to our imperial account. We can afford to trust to the inherent capacity of the British race always to hold a foremost place in the business of the world, whatever that business may be. We are in a position to set an example by cultivating a little more sympathy with other peoples than we sometimes express, and a little more generosity in our criticism of their undoubted errors and their obvious deficiencies in wisdom as compared with ourselves. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am speaking quite generally, not with special reference to that particular misunderstanding with France which at present is uppermost in men's minds. That question had not arisen when this meeting was first summoned. I will only say that the people of this country will think no time wasted that is spent in an attempt to settle the question by words rather than deeds. The methods of diplomacy seem slow to impetuous minds, but any method must be slow which aims at reaching wisdom and doing justice. Excited feelings must be allowed to cool before there is room for the exercise of right judgment. We, in this hall, are met as Christians to bear testimony to the truth that peace on earth is the first promise of the Christian message. We cannot turn our backs on anything which aims at setting that divine purpose in the forefront of human endeavor. In expressing our opinion on the Czar's message we will do so with nothing in our hearts but goodwill towards all men, desiring only the blessing of the peacemakers—that we may be called the children of God.

Dr. Guinness Rogers said:

"I cannot understand any Christian man reading the Czar's Rescript without thanking God that he is living in an age when a powerful monarch like the Emperor of Russia dares to put forward a mere piece of idealism—for I do not regard it as being more than that for the present. Ideals have to be looked at for a long time before they are translated into facts. There may be disappointment after disappointment; it may be years before we see the beginning of the good work which the Czar's Rescript outlines. But however distant the time, all honor to the great Emperor—who has faced the opposition of his own class, and possibly of his own Ministers, and has put before the world an ideal which is worthy of a Christian monarch. There are those who would have us doubt the Czar's sincerity. Who gave them the authority to be their brother's judges? What reason have they for pronouncing such a verdict? I do not see why the Emperor should have taken this step if he did not mean it, for there are some considerations which seem to be opposed to it. He is not following in

the beaten track of his predecessors, but is taking an original and independent line, certain to provoke severe criticism; and men will ask whether such a step is likely, from the centre of a great military system which is continually making aggressions, and whose diplomacy has been so peculiar in China. But the Czar must have anticipated these objections, and yet he has made his proposal. The question is how are we going to receive it? I believe the English people are essentially a peace-loving people—though I agree that there are sometimes appearances that seem to indicate the contrary. There is no large party in this country which believes in the policy of war. Then, if we desire peace, here is one whom we have been accustomed to regard as a great war-lord and our enemy, and he says, "Let us see whether we cannot stop this ruinous competition." It is our manifest duty to hail the proposal, and to take care that if any efforts of ours can secure that object it shall be carried to a triumphant issue.

The Rev. F. B. Meyer said: "I wish to express my pleasure that the meeting includes representatives of the Society of Friends, to whom belongs much of the credit for dissemination of the ideas through which the Czar's great proposal has come. The sentiment of Simeon must be in their hearts to-night, for they must think themselves about to depart in peace, having seen the consummation of much earnest work. Christian men must give the Czar credit for the highest motives. We remember that in 1860 his grandfather carried out a mighty reform by emancipating the serfs, that in the last few weeks the present Czar has thrown his mighty influence into the scale of righteousness, helping us to turn the Turk, bag and baggage, out of Crete. His Imperial consort has been reared in one of the purest Courts of Europe, and has been steeped in the influences which have moulded our own Royal family. For these reasons Christians refuse to interpret his action as the result of sinister or selfish motives. It has been said that the manhood of Europe will suffer if the war spirit is extinguished. I do not believe it. As long as great tracts of territory need opening, as long as savage races require reducing to order by civilized Christian men, as long as it is possible to perform such exploits as those of Major Marchand, who has wrought magnificently in making his way with only a handful of men through vast and difficult solitudes and as long as we believe that men are made by great thoughts and ideals, we dare not sneer at the Czar's rescript, or demand the continuance of war. We are not dreamers. We believe that the Emperor's proposal is within the range of practical politics. The loss of national honor would be more disastrous than war, but refusal to follow the beacon light of a great proposal like the Czar's would be still more disastrous. Therefore the Church of Christ will close her ranks in its favor. Free Churchmen—though I and many others present are—will be glad to follow in this cause the lead of men like the Chairman. We call upon all clergymen, pastors and teachers to spread so strong an opinion on the subject that war shall follow slavery and be seen no more.

The Bishop of Hereford said:

"Like all Englishmen I welcome this utterance of the Czar as a noble and much needed reminder. It reminds us that in the community of nations, as of individuals, we are called upon to act as Christian men, not as Ish-

maelites—as feeling that we are really brethren, and not meant to prey on one another. On that ground I thank the Czar, who is following the best and noblest traditions of his own family. We remember the emancipation of the serfs, and the emancipation of Bulgaria from the Turks, and now the Czar has added another jewel to his crown, which we trust and believe will shine forever. How is this utterance being received. In too many quarters it has been received with cynical criticism; in the country at large it has been received with much interest and general sympathy, but with no great amount of enthusiasm. It is inevitable that in some quarters low motives should be imputed, because a good deal of diplomatic and political life is so steeped in cynicism that nothing but a cynical judgment is to be expected. But the cynic is nearly always in the wrong when he imputes motives. More than half of the miseries and mistakes of life arise from feelings of suspicion and distrust, and the imputation of mean motives. Therefore we should judge of motives, as we would like our own motives to be judged. Let us trust whenever we are able to trust. We will therefore welcome the Czar's utterance as that of a sincere Christian man, as honest as we ourselves claim to be. But there is no great amount of positive enthusiasm. All agree with the Czar's message; there is no opposition; but many of us are not sanguine as to great results. It is natural that there should be such a frame of mind, though it is to be regretted, because, if this noble conception is to be carried out, who are to be the instruments? It will have to be carried out by the concert of Europe, and if there is one thing about which it is difficult to entertain positive enthusiasm, it is the so-called concert of Europe. But for all that—nay, all the more—we ought to honor the Czar for the action he has taken. We are here not merely to carry a resolution, but in the hope that this meeting will be followed by many such meetings throughout the length and breadth of the country to strengthen our rulers in supporting the movement begun by the Czar. We hope that before long the conference may meet, and that our best statesmen may be there. I should like nothing better than to see Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery sitting side by side at that Round Table, and speaking there in support of the Emperor of Russia with all the weight of the British Empire. In the meantime it behooves the British people to show that they are in earnest, and I hope they may be able to give something like an object lesson in support of the motion by drawing ever more and more in close relationship with our cousins in the United States of America and that that relationship may be placed on a basis never to be disturbed—on a treaty of arbitration for the settlement of differences, if any should unhappily arise. Such a movement would do more than anything else to help forward the movement of the Czar.

Rev. J. P. Gledstone said: "I have many times heard expressions of surprise that a proposal for the reduction of armaments should come from the Czar. Perhaps we have not sufficiently reflected that God's children are not all Anglo-Saxons. Even the leaders of the world's thought are not exclusively of that race. In Russia, for example, there is a leader of thought named Tolstoi, who has taught us some things which it is well we should know. Again, we talk about establishing a per-



manent system of international arbitration, but while we talk about it Italy and the Argentine Republic put it into practice. At the present moment we have cause to regret exceedingly that while one Court after another has sent messages to the Czar intimating that his invitation to a conference is accepted, England has not yet done so. I trust that the omission will soon be repaired. That true Englishwoman, the Princess Alice, once said that she longed to be loved for her own sake. If there is one man in the world who has that great honor and blessing it is the Czar. There is no more beautiful picture than that of the Emperor of Russia coming forth from the sanctity of his peaceful and happy home to try and make all homes equally happy and peaceful. John Bright used to say that Free Trade had brought happiness and comfort to thousands of working people. If, however, the Czar succeeds in his enterprise he will spread those blessings to an even greater extent. The Christian Churches are moving and will move in this cause. One of the best things that Christian people in London could do would be to assemble in St. Paul's Cathedral, there to join in united prayer for that blessing of God which alone can give success to the Czar's great work. If the Bishop of London will call such a meeting, which I as an old-fashioned Nonconformist would call a prayer meeting, it will be easy to arrange a service. All Christians believe in the Bible, and from that book the Bishop might frame prayers in which all would be delighted to join.

The Rev. J. Scott Lidgett said: "I am glad to express the absolute unanimity with which throughout the world the great Methodist bodies have welcomed the proposal of the Czar. Perhaps the greatest danger to the peace of the Christian nations arises not so much in the council chambers of kings as from the ill-regulated enthusiasm and short-sighted utterances of crowds and of the people at large. The great armaments, as Lord Rosebery has said, inspire awe, but it is possible for us to be proud of our achievements on battlefields and to talk of our armaments until we come to suppose that, if not an absolute good in themselves, they are at least a very modified evil. The higher life of the nation will be injured by the growth of the military spirit. What a change has come over Germany, from the philosophers and poets and lovers of liberty of a century ago to the drill-sergeant of to-day, and what a terrible price the great Republic of France has paid in order to bring her army from its state of disorganization to its present condition of military efficiency. It is the pressure of great armaments and the fear of bringing them into action which has paralyzed the concert of Europe. I trust the conference will be held, and that a reduction of armaments will be brought about."

The following resolutions were carried unanimously and with much applause.

"This meeting of the Christian Churches of the metropolis welcomes with unfeigned joy and thankfulness the proposal of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, to hold an International Conference to consider the limitation of international armaments, to seek means of warding off the calamities which, in consequence of their steady development, are threatening the whole world, and to adopt measures for the maintenance of general peace. It assures his Imperial Majesty of its warm and profound sympathy with his proposal, and expresses the hope that,

notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements which may have to be encountered, he will persevere in his beneficent object until some practical and permanent result has been achieved. And it respectfully but earnestly urges the British Government to give its cordial co-operation to the Emperor, by doing all in its power to facilitate the holding of the proposed Conference and to further its success, thus helping a proposal which, in its opinion, embodies the soundest policy of national welfare, and is calculated to promote the highest civilization of mankind.

"This meeting, composed of the servants and subjects of the Prince of Peace, reverently recognizes, in the proposal of the Russian Emperor, the guidance of Him who controls the hearts of kings and all who are in authority. It earnestly expresses the hope that all the Christian Churches in the land will do their utmost to secure recognition of the noble sentiments so opportunely expressed by the Emperor, and to promote the co-operation of the British people in the proposed Conference; and it desires the prayers of all Christian people, that God may bless the course proposed, preside over the deliberations of the Conference, and order its decisions for the welfare of the nations in accordance with His Divine wisdom."

## The Czar's Peace Manifesto.

### A Russian National Point of View.

In our article last month on the Czar's Peace manifesto, we joined the many enthusiastic voices in its favor, and "Gave the Czar what is the Czar's." As there are always two sides to every question and two standpoints upon which to take up our position, we must now give "Russia what is Russia's," and consider the weak and unsatisfactory aspects of the step made by the Russian Autocrat.

The "Daily News," of October 15th, publishes the first account by Mr. W. T. Stead of his mission to the capitals of Europe with regard to the Czar's peace proposal. Says the writer: "From Brussels to Paris, from Paris to Berlin, my pilgrimage of peace had been but a dolorous way, growing ever darker and more dark, until it seemed as if there was no hope." In St. Petersburg, however, he found "a glad confident morning again." This, in common language, means that in the constitutional and democratic countries of Western Europe the Czar's Manifesto was looked upon with distrust and coldness, but that the officials of Holy Orthodox and Autocratic Russia speak with confidence of their master's Ukaze to foreign Powers. As Mr. Stead feels a sacred awe before Russian Autocracy, and cares less for the other opinions he gathered, he feels happy and says: "I have now satisfied myself, and have absolute confidence in proclaiming aloud on the housetop that all the gloomy and disheartening suggestions of sceptical pessimists are without foundation. In this proposal for the meeting of a Conference of the nations on the subject of disarmament, there is no humbug, there is no nonsense. The Czar means business. That it is a certainty no one of the few but influential persons who are in the confidence of the Czar has any doubt at all." We are then told that the writer met and conversed with Mr. Witte, the Russian Minister of Finance, and with Count Lamsdorff, of the Russian Foreign Office. The two Ministers, like two

chatty schoolgirls, were glad of the opportunity of unburdening their souls before their English admirer, and they told him, if we may use a Muscovite expression, all their "Podnogotnuiu," or these secrets concealed under their finger nails. All this must seem very impressive and convincing to the mind of the kindly disposed and respectable English reader, but we must confess our own wonder at Mr. Stead's innocent confidence in everything the crafty Russian statesmen deemed it desirable to tell him. Not that we in any way mean to say that the Peace Conference should be rejected. Quite the contrary, we only too heartily join Mr. Stead when he asks that "from the heart and conscience of the great democracy of this country, there should be heard a response, overwhelming and universal," to any appeal for peace and disarmament. But we cannot shut our eyes to a circumstance which Mr. Stead and others fail to see, or do not care to talk about. Whoever is the originator and author of the famous Manifesto, the fact remains that it was proclaimed by the single will of one man, with the real approval or enforced consent of a few irresponsible counsellors. Now, we ask, is there any guarantee that tomorrow the same autocrat may not change his mind, repent of his lofty ideas, become a more *practical* ruler, and change, by the same autocratic will, everything he has ordered yesterday? Have there not been such cases in the past? Alas! the history of Russia, not to mention other countries, is but too full of such instances. Besides, Nicholas II. is but mortal, and even if he is quite sincere in wishing peace, he may die at any moment, and there may arise "a new Pharaoh who did not know Joseph," one with more warlike ambitions, who will destroy as easily as his predecessor has been building up. Again, the history of Russia is full of such instances also.

No, true friends of Peace must strive above all to destroy in its very source the power which has risen by militarism, rests on it, and is nursed by it. Autocracy must be destroyed in all its forms, and when nations, not kings, shall come to face one another in the full possession of their human rights and duties, then may we expect that they will arrive at the realization of their common interest in abolishing war and concluding treaties of everlasting Peace.

So far, the Czar's Manifesto has had an effect beneficial above all to himself. It has for the time being shut the eyes and ears of the world to the scenes of misery and starvation, which at the present moment afflict whole provinces in Russia. It has paralyzed the hands of the workers for internal reforms and liberty. The world is ringing with the magnanimity of the Autocrat, and everyone has been rendered deaf to the cry of his victims at home. The Press is busy with the sensation of the moment, reporting great meetings and great speeches, developing plans of national peace demonstrations, etc., and has neither space nor desire to concern itself with the internal condition of the Russian people.

Representing a Society and a paper which advocate before the world at large Russia's greatest need of all, that of Civil and Religious Liberty, we realize more than anybody else the blow dealt to our righteous cause by the Imperial declaration of peace and goodwill towards other nations. Autocracy, while silencing its own subjects at home by sword and bayonet, has now silenced its opponents abroad by a gracious invitation to meet and talk on

peace, and the tongues that uttered yesterday curses and condemnation, are now filled with praise and admiration. Czarism has triumphed, and we, who with aching heart and anguished soul, are watching its atrocities at home, must bow our head and keep our sorrow to ourselves, because Mr. Stead is happy in St. Petersburg, and sends to an awaiting world glad tidings of the glory and angelic goodness of the young White Czar and his ministers and advisers.

Has not this effect upon the public opinion of the civilized world been aimed at by the famous Manifesto? Russians of independent mind, more familiar with the inner-working of autocracy than Mr. Stead, do believe the Manifesto to be but one of those steps which Czarism systematically undertakes in order to reconcile and appease an outside world hostile to and menacing its very existence. The friendship of France was needed by the rulers of Russia in order to drive out Russian patriots who chose the cities of the Republic as centres for their propaganda of a Constitution for Russia. The Russian Government made no attempt to disguise its demands from the Frenchmen, for its ambassador formulated them officially and plainly asking that no Russian students should be accepted in French Universities, and no Russian propaganda be allowed on Republican soil. The Peace Manifesto now practically means for the Russian reform movement in England, what direct official demands meant for it in France. Over the length and breadth of Great Britain movements are on foot to organize meetings "to hail, to encourage, to thank the Czar, or to urge, to press, to request the British Government" to support the Czar's proposal. Who will listen now to the tale of woe coming from the land of the great noble idolized ruler? The agents of autocracy will avail themselves of all these demonstrations for the tightening of their yoke over the Russian people, as they did of the cries of the French: "Vive le Czar!" Now, as then, the Russian people will be told—in fact they are already told—that, at last, the whole world is acknowledging the superiority of the Divine Rights of their Heaven-appointed Ruler, that free England herself, who, but yesterday, cheered the opponents of the Autocrat, has now turned her back against them, and is at the feet of his Majesty. In a word, whether the world is going to gain anything or not by the sudden outbreak of humanitarianism on the part of Nicholas II., there can be no doubt that he has dealt a tremendous blow to the liberty and progress of his own subjects, and is now safer on his throne than any of his predecessors.

This is the significance of the Czar's Peace Manifesto from a *Russian national* point of view. As for other nations, it must be naturally left to their leaders to judge for themselves whether it is possible to gather grapes from thistles and roses from thorns.

While giving the above view of the question which is now agitating the minds of all thinking men and women, we must admit that in all probability Mr. Stead's views will prevail, because they are more comforting. Yet, we thought it our duty to our readers to state the case as it appears to ourselves, at the same time, praying that the forthcoming conference may be richly blessed with results, for any benefit to the world at large must, in the long run, re-act beneficially on the welfare of Russia also. —*The Anglo-Russian.*

### Undoing the Mischief of the Tower of Babel.

William Archer, in an article in the *Pull Mall Magazine*, on "America and the English Language" says that the English language "is a living organism, ceaselessly busied, like any other organism, in the processes of assimilation and excretion. It has before it, we may fairly hope, a future still greater than its glorious past. And the greatness of that future will greatly depend on the harmonious interplay of spiritual forces throughout the American Republic and the British Empire. The Anglo-Saxon race has done, and is doing, more than any other people to undo the mischief wrought at the Tower of Babel, and unless its sister commonwealths act towards each other with inconceivable and unpardonable folly, it will doubtless find in this fact its glory and its strength. What we want, and what I believe we are gradually attaining, is not political reunion or formal alliance, but simply a realization that each is indispensable, if not to the prosperity, at least to the greatness of the other. We want, not so much a "union of hearts," as a union of imaginations. An idea, an attitude of mind, is stronger than all the treaties ever signed, sealed and delivered. And we may perhaps indicate, however roughly and inadequately, the idea which is growing on both sides of the Atlantic, if we say that America requires England to complete her past, and England requires America to crown her future."

### Take Down the Constitution.

The *Boston Transcript* gives the following comment on the purposes of "inflated and expanded Americans":

"It is very fitting, in view of what the peace commissioners, acting under instructions from Washington, have cut out for us, that we apply the counsel of Captain Cuttle, with variations: 'Take down the constitution; look for the fourteenth amendment, and when found make a note of it.' It will there be found that 'all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States.' The first baby born in the Philippines, therefore, after the proposed treaty goes into effect, should that be our fate, be it Malay, Chinese or dwarf pickaninny of the Negritos, will be a birthright citizen of this great, glorious and absorptive imperi-

al republic. Referring to this phase of the situation, Senator Hoar said in his Worcester speech: 'If the Philippine Islands become ours, then under the late decision of the Supreme Court, every child born hereafter in them, becomes an American citizen, free to come, free to go.' Mr. Hoar is a pretty good constitutional lawyer and with the Supreme Court behind him his position seems impregnable. So the Filipinos and others in the archipelago cannot be kept "subject races" beyond the present generation, unless we change our constitution, which seems to be a decided misfit for the new conditions upon which we propose to enter. But the change in the constitution should come first. If we can violate its provisions, what is there that we cannot violate? To a true American that has seemed the most binding law in the history of mankind. But those who boast themselves 'big'

Americans, inflated and expanded Americans, seem at present to prefer license to law."

Lord Salisbury, in his Guildhall speech, gave it as his judgment that the appearance of the United States as a "world-power" in the East means war and not peace.

Congressman McCall of Massachusetts, one of the ablest men in the House, declares that the step proposed to be taken by the Administration in annexing the Philippines can be compared to "nothing less than hurling a planet from its orbit."

Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens of Portland, Me., at the recent convention of the W. C. T. U. at Minneapolis, was elected Frances E. Willard's successor as president of that organization. Mrs. Stevens is, as Miss Willard was, a strong friend of peace, and one of the Vice-presidents of the American Peace Society.

**"THE WHITE IS KING.  
WHEN THE ROSES BLOOM AND ROBINS SING  
AND EVEN WHEN THE SLEIGH-BELLS RING,  
THE WHITE IS KING."**

ALL THE YEAR ROUND THE WHITE IS KING.

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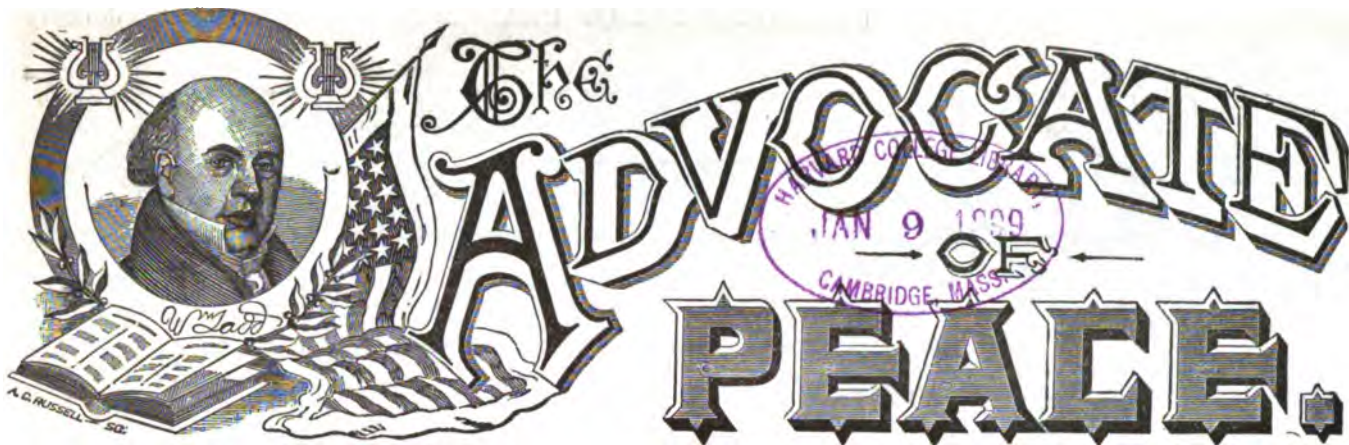


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BOSTON, JANUARY, 1899.



“**W**hat folly now”, the faithless critic cries,  
 With sneering lip, and wise, world-knowing eyes,  
 “To dream of peace amidst a world in arms,  
 Of swords to plowshares changed by scriptural charms;  
 Still shall the glory and the pomp of war  
 Along their trains the shouting millions draw,  
 Still dusty Labor to the passing Brave  
 His cap shall doff, and Beauty’s kerchief wave;  
 Still shall the bard to Valor turn his song,  
 Still Hero-worship kneel before the Strong,  
 And Church for State, and State for Church shall fight,  
 And both agree that Might alone is right!”  
 Despite of sneers like these, O faithful few,  
 Who dare to hold God’s word and witness true,  
 Still keep the path which duty bids you tread,  
 Though worldly wisdom shake the cautious head;  
 No truth from heaven descends upon our sphere  
 Without the greeting of the skeptic’s sneer;  
 Still lives for earth, which fiends so long have trod,  
 The great hope resting on the truth of God,—  
 Evil shall cease, and violence pass away,  
 And the tired world breathe free through a long Sabbath day.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.





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## Work for the New Year.

As another year opens, all those who are devoted to the cause of peace will be asking themselves how they may do most efficient service in its promotion. What is there new that can be done? How can the old principles be turned into fresh statements suited to the momentous needs of the hour? These questions we cannot answer for others. Every live worker will find his own way of answering them as new occasions make new demands upon him.

It will be helpful to all to remember that in peace work, as in all other work for the transformation of the world, we must be both theoretical and practical—intensely and thoroughly both these. The attempt to be the one without the other is to court failure from the start.

War is a great evil, a stupendous iniquity. Peace is the divinest of blessings, the loftiest of virtues. The principles and dispositions out of which war

springs, as well as the barbarous deeds of war, must be declared wrong in the most emphatic way; those which lead to peace and loving mutual service must be painted in the most living colors as worthy of the highest devotion. This must be done whether there is any war in sight or not. Peace talk of this kind is not mere rhetoric, not mere sentimental gush; it is the declaration of truth, and declaration of truth in the broadest general way, even in the most oft-repeated phrases and resolutions, lies at the foundation of all reform and progress.

Men who have no strong general convictions on any question, no ideas and theories which they cannot help trying to utter, even when there seems no immediate demand, will never do anything practical unless "jammed" by the crowd into so doing. The want of such convictions is the reason why so many people's apparent principles are so often hastily abandoned when there is the least danger that they will be practically tested. In reality, they have no principles on the subject, and are pulled about in any and every direction by the whims of expediency.

Too much importance, therefore, cannot be attached to the theoretical and ideal side of peace work. We have little respect either for the intelligence or the moral soundness of those who berate such workers as unpractical visionaries. Visionaries are the men who start the world up and keep it going, and there is no higher business than telling visions. Good men cannot "take the world as it is." They cannot be practical in that sense, and the cry against them, "be practical," is often nothing more than the expression of a wish to let things alone in their low and wicked course. So let the friends of peace everywhere keep on decrying war and uttering, in the closet and on the house-top, the great truths of brotherhood and peace which have been proclaimed so often during the century soon to

close. We must seek, by all the arts of legitimate persuasion, to win men to the acceptance of these truths. Only thus can we be sure of making any real progress toward the final abolition of war.

But at the same time we must be practical. We must continually hold up peaceful substitutes for war, and show their reasonableness and their applicability. We must go further than this. We must take up and thoroughly examine those "situations," those false and selfish national positions, out of which wars and rumors of wars arise. We must show the reasonable and peaceful way out of these situations. We must have positive solutions to offer. We believe that our principles are right; we must seek to apply them to all cases of dispute as they arise. We must make ourselves heard in private and through the press of our locality, when the tide of passion and senseless speech begins to rise. We have no right to dodge these burning questions. The temptation to do so is often very great, because frequently the situation is such that the only thing that can be done is to stand up in one's boots and protest against the mad course which is being entered upon, with the certain knowledge in advance that the protest will be unavailing. Peace workers often say, under such circumstances, "What is the use? Nothing can be done. Let us wait till the trouble is over, and then go on with our work, when people will be more open to the truth." But people are less open to the truth afterwards than before. Besides, the time to lift the voice against a wrong is the moment when the wrong is about to be done or being done. People who do nothing at such moments are justly open to the charge of being mere theorizers, or, worse still, weaklings and cowards.

The present outlook in many countries makes it certain that there will be in the immediate future plenty of opportunity for the friends of peace to enter vigorous protests against what they will in all probability not be able in the least to prevent. But intelligent protest is always useful practical work. Much of the best work of the world has been of this sort. It is often heroic work done in the face of misrepresentation and persecution. It sometimes costs heavily in more ways than one. It fails for the time, but it becomes a vital part of that common fund of advanced thought and moral force which by and by break down all opposition and sweep away the old evil forever. Wherever, then, we

cannot change a wrong course of events, let us at any rate be true to ourselves and our principles and enter our solemn protest, whether the wrong-doer be our own country or some other. Many of the friends of peace in different nations have a solemn duty to perform in this regard to their own country—a duty which, because of the blinding and paralyzing influence of false notions of patriotism, they have not yet had the courage to perform.

With the difficult and thankless work of the year, there will be much of an encouraging and joyful kind. The cause for which we toil is making steady gains and there will be triumphs, perhaps very great ones, before another winter falls. About these hopeful points—the Anglo-American treaty, the Czar's Conference on disarmament and others of similar character which may arise—all who long and strive for peace will throw all the weight of a passionate service and a "fervent prayer effectual in its working."

### Disarmament.

Disarmament is no longer a question of mere academic interest. The Czar's action has made it an intensely practical one. It is true, he did not say "disarmament" in his manifesto. But everybody knows that is what was behind his utterance, and that is what everybody that cares anything about the matter has been thinking of since that memorable day in August.

Disarmament has long been a duty of the civilized nations. It is doubly so now. Every day that they put it off they add to their sin and their condemnation. Not only so; they cannot much longer put it off without making unescapable the day of wrath and of unspeakable calamities which the present armaments are certain to bring.

Is disarmament practicable at the present time? The Czar has given, in his manifesto, the two chief practical reasons for believing that it is necessary; and if it is necessary, it is certainly practicable. First, the armaments of the powers have failed of their purpose. They have been intended, professedly so at least, to make peace more secure. That is why each nation, so say its rulers, has pushed its military preparation to the utmost limit, to prevent others from making war upon it. But Nicholas of Russia says that the general insecurity was never greater. Lord Salisbury agrees with him that "the material of war is terribly prevalent on all hands." Whatever temporary or local pacific effect they may produce, there is not the least guarantee of permanent freedom from war in these enormous accumulations of powder and shell, of war-ships and fortifica-



tions, of skilfully trained armies and navies. This being so, they ought not only to cease to grow, but to begin at once to disappear. So thinks the young ruler who is at the head of the biggest actual army on earth.

The second reason which Nicholas of Russia gives is that the present armaments are crushing the life out of the European populations. Now, to crush the life out of the people—that is, to cripple their industry, to make it difficult for them to get their daily bread, to burden them heavily with taxes, to rob them of the means of mental and moral improvement, to weaken thus their physical and intellectual powers,—is to commit national suicide. That is what the nations with the big armaments are slowly doing. They must, therefore, disarm, in part at least, or go to the wall.

As to the necessity and the practicability of disarmament in general,—of the nations not yet having big armaments, as of those which have,—the reasons are clear and strong:

1. Civilization has reached a point where armies and navies are not needed to ward off the attacks of lawless peoples. Piracy has disappeared from the seas. Commerce needs no protection in any quarter of the world, save in the most exceptional cases. The uncivilized peoples are weak peoples and indisposed to make any aggressive movements against the civilized nations. A military and naval force reduced to the proportions of a home police force would be amply sufficient to any nation for protection of commerce and as security against aggression from uncivilized peoples. The armaments of the civilized nations represent, therefore, their attitude toward each other, and the moment they wish to have it so, they can dispose of all but a police contingent of these armaments with the utmost security.

2. If the armaments are continued, they are certain, from their very nature, to grow and spread. The nations not now having large establishments will gradually, some of them rapidly, build them up. Every phase of the evil will, therefore, be widened and intensified, and the final catastrophe be more terrible. Immediate disarmament is, hence, a necessity, to save civilization from wider and deeper inroads of the immense evil which has already brought so much of the civilized world to impending dissolution, either through violence and desolation, or poverty and general degeneration.

3. Disarmament is required, again, because an all but infallible method of maintaining justice between nations has been found in arbitration. Any nation now having just ground of complaint against another can ask for, and as a rule obtain, the appointment of a neutral board of commissioners, before whom its case can have the fairest and fullest consideration. The civilized nations have all tried arbitration, some of them many times, and have found

it a thoroughly reliable method of securing justice. From the point of view of justice, therefore, armaments are entirely out of date. To continue to maintain them is to assert belief in the right of supremacy of the brutal instincts. There is no argument for their continuance, on the part of the civilized world, except that this so-called civilized world wishes to belie its assumed character, and remain a barbarian and a savage.

### “Russia As a Missionary.”

In an article in the *Independent* of December 8, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps pays a striking tribute to the Czar of Russia as a missionary. “It is not the least among the mischiefs and miseries of war,” she says, “that it impedes the movements of all ordinary philanthropies. Lesser suffering pales. Smaller claims are neglected. Other wails of distress are drowned by the cry of the great agony. . . All minor ‘causes’ yield to-day to the great wail of humanity, pleading for the annihilation of war.” Then she asks who heard this wail? Was it the church of Christ? “The very question would start a smile in the offices of the secular press, or of Wall Street.” “The Christian church has not seen fit to enter the great arena of the day, wearing upon her fighting arm the silver-white crown, badge of the Prince of Peace, whose name she bears.” Alas! that this declaration is so near the truth! “Was it the great Republic, standing for all that is ideal in human government, who seized the hour and the opportunity?” “Alas for the great Republic!” “She is haggling with a bleeding, beaten foe for conquests of which she should be ashamed.” “She has found no heart to utter the magnanimous cry for the cessation of war which her tremendous experience might well have rung from her lips.” It was left to the Czar of all the Russias, “to the vast, unlimited monarchy of the Eastern hemisphere, to the most powerful autocracy among civilized nations, to the greatest armed force of the world,” to make this sublime plea for universal peace. “What did, what could the wonder mean?” “One cannot easily understand what it may cost the head of the greatest of empires to institute an elemental reform like this.”

“The despot would dethrone the blackest tyranny of human history so quietly!” “The romance, the tradition, the brutality of war—half the material of letters, nine-tenths of the material of statecraft, God only knows how many parts the material of anguish—he would sweep off the earth by a stroke of whose grandeur he seems to be quite unconscious. The simplicity, the modesty of his appeal are only equalled by its trustfulness.”

The distinguished authoress does not hesitate to call Nicholas II.’s manifesto “the most important

document of this and of any age since the time of Him whose last political direction was 'Put up thy sword.'"

"It would be easy to put back the disarmament of Christian nations another generation or another century by unworthy scepticism or unchristian indifference to the royal deed of this young emperor."

"What is the Christian press doing to acknowledge this great claim upon its conscience and its power? It ought to ring from sect to sect and thrill from column to column with the magnificent chance which fate has put into its hands. Shall brute slaughter be expelled by the law of love, and no thanks to the religious classes or the religious journals? Shall Russia be missionary to American citizens? Shall the despot shame the Republic?"

Alas! that Mrs. Ward's questions must be answered as they must! The religious classes and journals of this country, and great masses of the citizens of the great Republic are so busied with the "glory" of arms and the purpose to help the nation to hold territories won by the unchristian law of conquest that they have little thought or space for the most Christian proposition ever made in the whole history of international policies. The Republic undoubtedly sympathizes with the Czar's proposition, but the course which she is just now taking will put the biggest of all difficulties in the way of its realization. If a nation like this must put sixty million dollars into its navy in the immediate future and during the next twelve months spend in the development of its army as much as the annual expenditure of the most military nation of the Old World, what sense, pray, is there in talking of reduction of armaments anywhere?

### Mr. Stead's Proposed Pilgrimage of Peace.

Mr. William T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, has done an immense service in helping to bring about the conditions of public opinion necessary to make the forthcoming Conference called by the Czar a success. He has made a trip to Russia and had two interviews with Nicholas II, and has thus been able to remove from the mind of the civilized world all doubt as to the real and earnest wish of the young Emperor to accomplish what he has proposed in his rescript. He has published also the re-assuring fact that three of the ablest of the Russian ministers who are closest to the Czar are heart and soul with him.

The success of the Conference Mr. Stead declares will depend very much upon the unanimity and enthusiasm with which public sentiment manifests itself from now till the time when the Conference meets in the early spring. In order to call out, concentrate and fittingly manifest public sentiment, he has pro-

posed (see the *Review of Reviews* for December) a Pilgrimage of Peace to be participated in by the United States, Great Britain, the great powers of the European Continent and seven of the smaller powers. This Pilgrimage is to be organized by National Committees named by Local Committees in all the prominent cities of the nations. The Pilgrimage shall start with a deputation of ten from the United States, carrying the President's blessing with it from Washington. It shall be re-enforced by a like deputation in Great Britain. Then it shall go to Paris after having been increased by one delegate each from the seven smaller powers. From Paris with ten leading Frenchmen added to the deputation the proposal is to cross to Berlin, and then to Vienna and Buda-Pesth, and Rome, fresh Pilgrims joining the procession at all these points. In all the points where the Pilgrimage passes there are to be receptions and speeches and public demonstrations in favor of disarmament and peace, and as far as possible similar demonstrations in all other centers.

Mr. Stead's idea is that when the Pilgrimage reaches St. Petersburg and appears before the Czar it shall be able to demonstrate to him "how passionately the people desire peace, how enthusiastically they have responded to his initiative, and how emphatically they bid him stand firm in the name of 'God and the people' and achieve this great good for humanity."

How much of this scheme, if any, shall be carried out, we are not able at this writing to say. It would be a magnificent thing, if it could be done. The proposal has aroused increased interest in the Conference, and public opinion is expressing itself more and more widely as the time of the meeting draws near. Messages of approval from organizations of many kinds have continued to reach Emperor Nicholas from all quarters of the world. He ought to know by this time, both from the official and the private approval accorded his initiative, that the heart of the world is with him. We hope he may be able to impart his own sincerity and earnestness of purpose to all the distinguished men who shall sit in the Conference—and we believe that he will.

There is one fear we have about the Conference—just one—and that is this everlasting talk about the maintenance of the *status quo*. Mr. Stead himself falls into this and thus greatly vitiates what he says. "The supremacy of the British fleet will receive international recognition as one of the fundamental elements of the *status quo*." No, no, Mr. Stead. The Conference will never recognize any such thing. If you go into the Conference, your English delegates, determined to maintain the *status quo* of the British fleet, you will kill the whole thing in less than a minute. The other nations are not going to concede to any one nation a supremacy which will forever

thereafter make them inferior. They ought not to do so. Such talk is the talk of a man of war and not of a man of peace. It is the *status quo* which is crushing and ruining the nations. The purpose of the Czar can never be reached if the *status quo* is long to be maintained. The *status quo* must be gotten rid of. That is what the Czar wants, and it is what all humane people want—the beginning, be it never so small, of disarmament.

### The Treaty and the Philippines.

The treaty of peace with Spain has arrived at Washington and will be sent to the Senate immediately after the holiday recess. According to the text of it which has been published, Spain by the treaty *cedes* to the United States the Philippines, as well as Porto Rico and the other Spanish West Indies except Cuba, the sovereignty of which she renounces.

The prospect is that the treaty will be taken up immediately and pushed to a vote, with every probability at the present time that it will be ratified. A few Senators are strongly opposed to ratification and will hold out to the last, but the Senate as a whole seems inclined to ratify it with little delay.

The Administration, judging from all indications, is determined that ratification shall mean annexation. The treaty is drawn that way. Everybody, of course, wants peace with Spain ratified, and every Senator would like to vote that way, but the treaty is so drawn that no one can vote for the ratification of the peace without at the same time voting for annexation. Much is said about ratifying first and then determining what disposition shall be made of the Philippines. But that is a mere ruse. When the treaty is ratified, if that little word *cedes* remains in it, the Philippines will be from that instant as much an integral part of the United States territory as Alaska or California or Massachusetts. It is a very clever stroke of the annexationists to want to get the thing ratified first, for the sake of the peace, and the question of disposition considered afterwards. What will there be to consider afterwards, except the manner of government? If the Administration had honestly meant that the question of disposition should remain an open one after ratification, it could very easily have had the word "renounce" used instead of "cede." It is this consideration which will justify all those Senators who are opposed to the extension of United States sovereignty over the Philippines in voting against the treaty in its present form, even though formal peace with Spain may have to wait a little. We wish that at least a third of them might have the clearness of vision and the courage to do so. There is no more danger of war now with Spain; the danger of

war and of one knows not how many other evils lies in the other direction.

However, even though the ratification of the treaty will annex the Philippines and make it much harder afterwards to undo what ought not to have been done, we do not yet despair that final and permanent sovereignty over them by this country will be ultimately refused.

Many Senators who will vote for ratification are opposed absolutely to such sovereignty. The subject will be taken up and discussed with great thoroughness when the question of permanent government of the far away islands comes up. Meanwhile, throughout the country, discussion of the subject goes on with increasing earnestness. It is the one engrossing topic of thought and of speech. The anti-imperialist agitation is gaining strength every day. The labor organizations are declaring against the military burdens and tyrannies which imperialist control of 8,000,000 of vassals on the other side of the globe will impose. The nation is being "shaken" and tested as never before in its history, and we cannot yet believe that when it has time to think it will deny itself and turn deliberately away from its political history and principles to a form of semi-tyrannical political control of vassal peoples which belongs to the past and not to the future.

It is not true, as is clamored by the expansionists in a last effort to beat down their opponents, that the anti-annexationists have nothing constructive to offer. If they offered nothing constructive, they would still be less blameworthy than those who offer that which is chiefly destructive. But what is it they propose? That the Philippines, who clearly wish to be free, should be helped to be free. That the United States, alone or with the coöperation of other civilized countries, should aid them in setting up and maintaining a government for themselves, through a period of twenty-five or fifty years, if need be. The anti-annexationists declare that if we can annex the islands and control them in the face of the rest of world, we can with just as much ease, with vastly less expense, with no denial of our political principles, with infinitely greater advantage to civilization and without plunging into a bottomless abyss of devouring militarism, help them to train themselves to self-government. It is the purest begging of the question to say that the Philipinos are incapable of self-government in some form. They have never had the opportunity to try it. If it is our duty to give them a stable government, it is our duty to make that government such as shall secure their freedom moral and political. The United States has no mission to go about the world establishing over unwilling peoples government whose stability is founded on the sword and on political inequality. Tyranny, under no matter what profession, is tyranny still. To attempt to solve the problem now pre-

sented in the Philippines in the way in which the fervid expansionists propose to solve it is to attempt nothing that deserves the name of construction. It is destruction in every aspect of it,—to the character and strength of our own country, to the struggling sense of freedom in the Philipinos themselves and to the higher Christian civilization whose foremost champion we have been through a century of growing light and hope.

### Editorial Notes.

The President on  
the Czar's Proposal.

The following passage is President McKinley's comment in his message on the Czar's manifesto:

"The proposal of the Czar for a general reduction of the vast military establishments that weigh so heavily upon many people in time of peace was communicated to this government with an earnest invitation to be represented in the conference which it is contemplated to assemble with a view to discussing the means of accomplishing so desirable a result. His majesty was at once informed of the cordial sympathy of this government with the principle involved in his exalted proposals and of the readiness of the United States to take part in the conference.

The active military force of the United States, as measured by our population, territorial area and taxable wealth, is, and under any conceivable prospective conditions must continue to be, in time of peace so conspicuously less than that of the armed powers to whom the Czar's appeal is especially addressed that the question can have for us no practical importance, save as marking an auspicious step toward the betterment and goodwill among them; but in this view it behooves us as a nation to lend countenance and aid to the beneficent proposal."

The latter part of this statement would seem patronizing if it were not so evidently sincere. How Mr. McKinley makes out that the question has no practical importance for us "under any conceivable prospective conditions," we cannot comprehend. He evidently did not grasp the full import of what he was writing, or if he did, he purposely meant to blind the country. England is spending this year on her army, in round numbers, \$100,000,000, France \$130,000,000, Germany \$120,000,000, Russia \$190,000,000. The regular army of 100,000 which is now asked for by the President and Secretary Alger is to cost, by estimation, \$167,000,000 the coming year, or about four times as much per soldier as the armies of Europe. Add to this \$50,000,000 for the navy and \$150,000,000 which we are paying for war pensions, and we shall have the colossal sum of \$367,000,000 to be paid in a single year for war purposes. The President must know that if our standing army begins to grow, excuses will be found for its further increase. It is not visionary, therefore, to say that, if the present tenden-

cies, operating in the nation, are allowed to act, the time is not far away when, in spite of our population and our taxable wealth, the question raised by the Czar will have for us an importance altogether different from that of mere goodwill to the rest of humanity. We shall soon need some goodwill shown to us.

North and  
South.

The President "has waded right into the hearts of the Southern people," it is said. He has led them in singing "America." He has exalted to the skies their "patriotism" and their "courage" in the recent war. He has told them that the time has come when the nation should help them in the care of the Confederate graves. He has even gone so far as to put on and wear a Confederate badge and march with old Confederate troops. The nation has been quick to respond to the sensible part of what the President has said and done in the South, but there has been a large feeling that he has been entirely too dramatic for a President and that in some of his sayings and doings he has gone much beyond the bounds of good sense, to say the least. We have the deepest sympathy with all proper and right efforts to wipe out the old animosities between the North and the South and to bring the two sections of the country into an abiding friendship. The animosity has been disappearing and the friendship growing for many years. The recent war has had very little to do with it, except to give it opportunity to manifest itself in certain directions by a portion of the South. But the roots of the reconciliation and re-union are not war-roots at all. They are the permanent, peaceful interests of the country, and both North and South have for many years been wise enough to allow themselves to be led by these interests to abandon their grudges and prejudices. What has pained us about the President's extravagances in the South is that there has been in them so much glorification of war, as if the recent war had been the chief glory of the century as well as the chief agency in cementing North and South. Some of the President's utterances and doings seem to reveal the real motive which was actuating him to say and do these strange things. He evidently meant to win his auditors to his expansionist policy. He knew that the South as a whole, as shown in a recent canvass of the leading newspapers, was opposed to imperialism. He has himself drifted so far out on the wild, fascinating sea of imperialism, that he seems determined by every hook and crook to carry all sections of the country with him. But for the necessities of his imperialist policy, William McKinley would never have worn a Confederate badge, or offered to turn the Confederate graves into national graves. We doubt if sober-minded men in the South itself will have as high a regard for the President as they would have had if he had acted

with more restraint and with less of "political" finessing.

Far From  
Satisfactory.

The Christmas number of *Harper's Weekly* says that "the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, so far as it deals with the revenues and expenditures of the government, is very far from being satisfactory. We do not say this because the estimates show an expected deficiency at the end of the current fiscal year of \$112,000,000, and for the fiscal year of 1900 a deficiency of a little more than \$30,000,000. We shall have to expect deficiencies for some time to come, and doubtless an increase of the bonded debt will be made necessary by the excess of expenditures over revenues. But this report is unsatisfactory mainly for its indefiniteness. It is entirely guess-work." But what else could the poor Secretary do but guess? What else can the Editor of *Harper's Weekly* do? What else can anybody do? We confess that the whole thing looks to us definite enough to be frightfully ugly. For the current year the military establishment is expected to cost ten times what it cost before the war, and for the next fiscal year five times as much, and thereafter? Five times as much! That would be as much as the biggest military establishment in Europe costs, and four times as much per capita of the soldiers. "But everything depends, after all, on what Congress decides to do in these directions, and while we may be sure that the cost of governing the country is to be greatly increased, we do not know with millions the amount of this increase." The pity of it is, that large masses of the people, possibly a majority, do not care to know. They shut their eyes to these things. While these big debts and estimates of vastly increased expenses are getting rapidly upon the national account book, they are shouting themselves hoarse to bring about the very conditions which will make certain the enormous future expenditures the only indefiniteness about which is the size of the proportions to which they will grow. If one ventures humbly to call attention to these very practical things, he is at once cried down: "Oh, you faithless 'little Americans', you forget our 'destiny', our responsibility to 'humanity'! We shall 'rise' to meet the great opportunity!" Yes, we shall "rise" to meet it; of that there is not the slightest doubt; some of us, or our descendants "a great while before day," in order to make the hard-earned money with which to pay the big bills. We shall "rise" to meet the occasion as France and Germany and Italy have "risen," and as Russia has "risen,"—Russia who is now on her knees in Wall Street begging the money which she cannot borrow in any money centre of Europe. A nation can "rise" to nearly anything to which it sets its head.

The Hull  
Army Bill.

The House Committee on Military Affairs has reported favorably the Hull bill to increase the standing army of the United States to 100,000 men. We are glad to see that a number of the committee are strongly opposed to the proposed action and have submitted a minority report and substitute bill. They base their opposition on the ground that "such an army is not necessary to be maintained in this country now, neither because of our relations to the islands of the sea, nor because of any necessity which in the past year has arisen in this country itself." The report declares that "such a standing army as the one proposed would in time of peace be a menace to the liberty of citizens, and in time of war would not be sufficient to meet successfully the armies of the first-class powers of the world. Happily, we are so situated that a large standing army is not a necessity and would be a luxury to be supported by the taxes of the people." The report shows that the Hull bill, if enacted into law, will impose a military expense of \$150,000,000 a year, saying nothing of the navy. After further setting forth the evils of large standing armies, and the danger to the liberties of the country in abandoning the policy which has been pursued so successfully so many years, the minority report proposes a substitute bill which provides for a standing army of 80,000 and a volunteer army of 50,000 to serve for two years. We wish there were some hope of seeing the Hull bill defeated. But there seems to be none. The "madness" is on Administration, Congress and people. We must learn of the evils of standing armies by actual experience. We have "tasted blood." Nobody shall restrain us. We will eat our fill, even if "government of the people, by the people and for the people perish from off the earth."

Cost of a  
National Crime.

Under this title Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston has published his estimate of what the war with Spain is likely to cost the nation in the immediate future. The title was suggested to him by the utterance of President McKinley on the 11th of April last: "I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression." Mr. Atkinson shows that before the war the average annual per capita expense for twenty years for the administration of the government was in round numbers *five dollars*, about half that of the military powers of Europe. This expenditure was likely to have been equalled by the normal income from the Dingley law when once fairly in operation. The present revenue of the government, including that from the war tax, is about *six dollars and twenty cents* per capita, or something over *ninety-one* millions in the aggregate more than the former expenditures. Mr.

Atkinson argues that this additional sum will probably be wholly insufficient to meet the increased annual expenses of the government which the occupation of the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico and Hawaii will impose upon the taxpayers of the country. He is probably fifty to a hundred millions within the mark when he says that the two hundred millions borrowed by the government by the bond sale will all be exhausted in the payment of the actual expenses of the war, if anyone can ever tell where the actual expenses cease and the incidental ones commence. Mr. Atkinson has appended to this treatise another entitled "The Hell of War and its Penalties," in which he sets forth, what every thinking person knows, that the cost to the nation, if it undertakes to keep permanent possessions in the tropics and send out considerable armies to control them, will be very poorly expressed in terms of money. The financial burden will be insignificant compared with the physical and moral corruption and degeneration.

In the case of the British army in India, in 1895, out of 68,331 men in the cantonments 36,681 were admitted into the hospital for venereal diseases alone. That is more than half. Of the 13,000 soldiers who return from India to England every year more than half have suffered from venereal diseases. How many of our people who are sighing for the flesh-pots of the tropics know that every regiment of English soldiers sent to Jamaica is completely used up in three years by death and disabling diseases?

#### London Peace Society.

The Autumnal meeting of the London Peace Society was held at Exeter, England, on the 18th of October. Sessions were held morning, afternoon and evening. Papers were read by G. E. Crawford, M.A., of Bristol, on "Armies and Democracies," by Dr. W. Evans Darby on "The Czar's Eirenicon," by Professor Macey, on "Some Necessary Accompaniments of a Peace Policy," by Miss M. L. Cooke on "Forces Making for War," and others. Speeches and remarks were made by Rev. J. T. Maxwell, of Plymouth, by the Right Hon. C. Seale-Hayne, M.P., Rev. John Stevens, D.D., of London, Mrs. Richardson of Plymouth, Rev. J. Pitkin, of Exeter, Rev. Herbert Arnold, of Exeter, Mrs. Ida Whipple Benham, from our own country, and others. The reports of the meetings show that they were decidedly successful and of a very helpful character. Naturally the proposal of the Czar of Russia for an international conference on reduction of armaments was the subject uppermost in the minds of all the speakers.

#### The Doukhobors.

By the time this paper reaches our readers, the first party of the Doukhobors will have arrived in Canada, if they have a favorable passage. The party, 1822 in number, left the Russian port of Batûm

on the 21st ult., on the Beaver line steamer Lake Huron. Count Serge Tolstoy, son of the famous author, is in charge of the party. They will land at St. John, N. B., and proceed directly to Winnipeg where they will be cared for during the winter. A second party will leave Batûm shortly on the steamer Lake Superior, in charge of Mr. Souleriyitsky, who has been prominently connected with the movement for their emigration. In the spring they will be allotted the lands just west of and touching Manitoba which have been given to them by the Canadian government. These lands consist of twelve townships of thirty-six square miles each, suited to general farming. The Canadian government has also decided to give them one pound (£1) per capita with which to commence their operations. There will be about six thousand five hundred of them settled in Canada, when they all arrive. There are eleven hundred others in Cyprus. Mr. Aylmer Maude, of Essex, England, who has done such efficient and unselfish service in making the arrangements with the Canadian government for the settlement of the colony, was recently in Boston and made us two calls at our office. Mr. Maude has spent more than twenty years in Russia and is a thorough friend not only of liberty but also of peace, being in sympathy with the Christian peace principles of the Doukhobors and of Tolstoy, of whose works he is the English translator. The whole matter of these persecuted, suffering Doukhobors is one of painful interest. It inevitably makes one think of the persecutions and wanderings of the Pilgrims in search of religious freedom. What this peace people is seeking is a still larger freedom of spirit and of practice, and all lovers of freedom and of progress will pray God's blessing to rest richly on their departure from the land of their persecution and their entrance upon their new career of peace and rest in the western world.

#### Courts of Arbitration.

We are indebted to Mr. Thomas Willing Balch of Philadelphia for a copy of a small book now out of print, entitled "International Courts of Arbitration," by his father, Thomas Balch. The book was first printed in 1874, and in 1896 was reprinted for T. W. Balch at Philadelphia by Allen, Lane & Scott. The interest of the little volume centers in the fact that it contains the letter written at Paris on March 3d 1865 and printed by the *New York Tribune* on the 13th of May following, in which Thomas Balch outlined, with the reasons therefor, a plan for a Court of Arbitration to settle the difficulties then existing between the United States and Great Britain over the Alabama affair. Mr. Balch was among the first, if not the first, to suggest arbitration for the settlement of the grave dispute, having mentioned the matter to President Lincoln as early as November 1861, and to European publicists and jurists earlier still. His is the credit, at any rate, of



having first outlined the plan which was afterwards substantially followed in the constitution of the Geneva court, and of having impressed his idea so strongly upon influential persons that after years it bore substantial fruit in one of the greatest international events of modern times. Besides its historical value in this respect, Mr. Balch's book has a general and permanent value in reference to the whole subject of arbitration and arbitration tribunals, and we are sorry it is out of print.

Boston  
Labor Union.

The Boston Central Labor Union, to which are attached 85 of the trade unions of the city and vicinity, have taken strong ground against the policy of expansion now pending before the nation. The Union has forwarded to the Massachusetts Representatives and Senators in Washington a letter asking their consideration of the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that we, the members of the Boston Central Labor Union, on behalf of the organized workers of Massachusetts, enter emphatic protest against the policy of imperialism, now being shaped as the result of a war undertaken in the alleged name of humanity.

Resolved, that while we ardently sympathize with the oppressed of all lands in their efforts towards freedom, we deem the best course for our government to pursue is to direct its earnest thought in modifying or ameliorating social and industrial conditions among ourselves rather than undertake the solution of still more complex problems.

Resolved, that knowing the tenor and impulse of the organized workers of our country, long the slaves of a vicious, pauperizing system of capitalism in an alleged free land, and victims of hireling bullet and judicial prejudice, we advisedly warn the national government against an aggravation of industrial discontent that cannot be avoided under the proposed imperialistic régime."

Christian Endeavor  
and Peace.

Mr. William T. Stead, who is doing such splendid work to make the Czar's conference a success, has sent the following message to the United Society of Christian Endeavor for the Christian Endeavorers of the world:

"The year 1899 brings with it a great opportunity. In the last nine years Christian governments have spent upon armaments for war a sum far exceeding five thousand million dollars. To abate this gigantic waste of the resources of civilization, the Russian Emperor has summoned all governments to a conference. That conference will fail unless vigorously supported by demonstrations of enthusiastic approval all around the world. I appeal to the Christian Endeavorers to do their part in evoking that enthusiasm and in giving it practical shape. Now is the time to act. Let each society be converted into a local peace committee, and undertake the duty of getting up steam for the Peace Conference. Otherwise, the responsibility for the failure of this great opportunity may rest on your heads."

## Brevities.

The Bishop of London this year recommended Peace Sunday to his clergy.

. . . The Delagoa Railway Arbitration Court at Berne "is making astonishingly slow progress," says the *Herald of Peace*. But it isn't killing anybody.

. . . France sells England three hundred million dollars worth of goods each year.

. . . The international federation of students, so much talked of, has finally been inaugurated. The first International Congress of Students was recently held at Turin, Italy.

. . . The President of the Argentine Republic, in his reply to the telegram and letter sent to him by the recent Turin Peace Conference says: "The peaceful disposition of my country ought to be known to all the world. The treaty recently made with Italy is the most eloquent proof of it. Arbitration is considered in the Argentine Republic as the most equitable and practical solution of all international differences."

. . . The American Bible Society distributes a million and a half copies of the Scriptures each year. In the eighty-two years of its history it has distributed sixty-four million copies, in one hundred languages. It maintains four hundred colporteurs in foreign lands. That is a work of brotherhood and peace of the noblest order.

. . . Dr. C. A. Bickford, editor of the *Morning Star*, has published, by request, in pamphlet form, under the title of "Christianity and War", an address delivered by him last summer at the convention at Ocean Park, Me. The address is annotated, and is a strong and valuable addition to the literature of peace.

. . . The German army is to be gradually increased by 40,000 men, the increase to be completed by 1903. This will require a yearly addition to the estimates of 8,000,000 marks.

. . . Ten thousand casks of strong drink sent to Manila were our first invoice to "our new possessions." They did not wait for the missionaries. They wanted to begin the work of "civilization" at once.

. . . Gen. Calixto Garcia, one of the most distinguished of the Cuban leaders, and the head of the Commission chosen by the Cuban Assembly to visit this country for consultation as to the future interests of the island, died suddenly at Washington on the 11th of December, from the effects of the sudden change of climate. Gen. Garcia was an unwavering advocate of Cuban independence.

. . . Mr. Oscar Straus, new United States Minister to Turkey, has been given assurances by the Sultan that a satisfactory settlement of all pending questions between the United States and Turkey, including the payment of an indemnity for American losses in Armenia, will be made.

. . . Claims to the amount of more than twenty million dollars have already been filed at the State Department

by American citizens for damages sustained in Cuba, Porto Rico and other Spanish possessions during the war. War runs everything into millions.

. . . At the thirty-second annual meeting of the Cobden Club on the twenty-fourth of November Sir Wilfrid Lawson quoted Mr. Gladstone as saying shortly before his death that in his opinion the two greatest curses of humanity are protection and war. Sir Wilfrid considered that a succinct statement of the views of Richard Cobden who had spent his entire life fighting protection and war.

. . . Patriotism has "gone to seed" in Philadelphia. The City Council has voted, 16 to 15, to give a medal to every Philadelphia man who enlisted in the late war with Spain, without regard to rank or service. The bill will be \$15,000. The resolution is said to have been opposed, in spirit at least, by every thinking man in the Council.

. . . The comparative strength of the six largest navies of the world is as follows: Great Britain 1,557,522 tons displacement, France 731,629 tons, Russia 453,899 tons, United States 303,070 tons, Germany, 299,637 tons, Italy 286,175 tons.

. . . The Anglo-American Joint High Commission for adjusting the differences between this country and Canada has not yet been able to get over the tariff difficulties. The Canadians are not willing to give up the 25 per cent preferential in their trade with Great Britain, and our Commissioners are unwilling, in consequence, to lower certain tariff rates. Peace be with them.

### Christmas, 1898.

BY SIR LEWIS MORRIS.

Another Century dies,  
In war and blood and pain.  
Our longing, straining eyes  
Look forth for Peace in vain.  
For Christ the myriads fall  
Butchered by Turk or Kurd.  
Comes there no end? Is all  
The hope of men in vain?  
Comes not the Lord again  
O'er all the earth to reign,  
As spake the word?

Slow are God's judgments, slow  
To man's impatient thought;  
Slow-paced the Ages grow,  
In vain the goal is sought.  
Armed to the teeth to-day  
The jealous peoples stand.  
Worse blight than of decay,  
Worse burden than of war,  
The enormous fleets and legions are;  
Dumb Terror speeding, fast and far  
O'er sea and land!

'Tis nigh two thousand years  
Since came the Prince of Peace.  
Return Thou, calm our fears,  
Make strife and war to cease.  
Thick clouds to-day of doubt  
Obscure our faithful sight.  
Shine, Blessed Sun, shine out,  
The storms of passion still.  
Again, O hidden Well,  
The wintry earth fulfil  
With Peace and Light.—*The Independent.*

### God Give Us Men.

"God give us men! a time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;  
Men whom the lust of lucre does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;  
Men who can stand before a demagog,  
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty and in private thinking;  
For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,  
Their large profession and their little deeds,  
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,  
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps."

### The Old Diplomacy, Arbitration and the Permanent Tribunal.

BY EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.

Let us remember, as a foundation in all these discussions, that what is called diplomacy is really as much out of date as is plate-armor or a mail shirt or archery or hunting with falcons. For a person who has eight days in the week nothing could be more entertaining than to study the origin of modern diplomacy, its development, and its preservation, now among the other etiquettes of the past. It has done a certain duty in the past, as plate-armor did, and as falcons did. But now what is done is done outside of its forms and its etiquettes, and these forms and etiquettes are preserved simply for record, or, if you please, to place the final seal on transactions which are wrought out elsewhere.

We still have ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary and chanceries and attachés. And so we still have plate-armor: there are two large factories in Europe which are devoted to the making of plate-armor which is very good plate-armor. The demand for it in the opera-houses is sufficient to maintain these institutions. And so we still have at the great cities ambassadors, who are very good fellows and do very good work. They prepare the way, in a fashion, and they keep excellent record of what is going on; but the business of the world is not transacted by them.

The world indeed, since this century began, has been looking round, more or less uneasily, for better methods of achieving its purposes than the methods employed, say by Philip II, Henry IV and Queen Elizabeth. The gentleman or lady who is studying the history of diplomacy may connect with this study the progress which has been made in new devices.

Of these devices the methods of what we call Arbitration are by far the most striking. They are so successful that we cannot but congratulate ourselves on their achievements. What is called Arbitration amounts to this: two nations have come to issue on some point which concerns them both;—a good instance is the arbitration of the northeast boundary question, between Maine on the one hand and New Brunswick and Canada on the

other. The United States had its construction of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, as to the line of boundary to be run, which was to be on the highlands which separate the waters flowing into the Atlantic from the waters flowing into the River St. Lawrence. The English government had another construction of this same article of this same treaty. The question at issue was whether the St. John River did or did not "flow into the Atlantic." It discharges into the Bay of Fundy, which discharges into the Atlantic. Was it then a river flowing into the Atlantic, or was it not? The United States said that it was, the English government said it was not, and that therefore it must not be considered in drawing the line of highlands.

The diplomatic system amounted to this, that the Secretary of State at Washington produced every reason in his power to show that in the minds of the seven men who made the Treaty of Paris there was but one thought: that they regarded all rivers which did not flow into the St. Lawrence as flowing into the Atlantic. If they made no mention of the St. John,—and they did not,—it was simply because it seemed to them so clear that the name of the bay which received its waters was of no consequence, that they classed it with all the other rivers on the south side of the boundary line. Against this the English government presented all their reasons for considering that the line should run south of the St. John, and that its waters should be treated as if they did not exist.

On an issue like this, diplomatists could spend hundreds of years if they wanted to. There have been such questions which have been open for that length of time. The United States government and the English government after a diplomatic discussion of fifty years determined to leave this question to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands. This does not mean that the king personally considered the subject; it means that he selected competent and impartial students who should consider it and who should report to him. The King of the Netherlands was a respectable person, who had no special prejudices in favor of either power. He accepted the proposal, and he made a report. His report was that neither of the two parties had maintained its claim, and that he would make a new line, between the two, not pretending that it was the line of the treaty, but pretending that it was a good line which they had better both establish.

Each party refused to be bound by the arbitration. They said he had not done what he was appointed to do; and the whole matter was left for further negotiation.

When, in the year 1842, Sir Robert Peel came into power in England, he determined to settle the question. He sent over to America Lord Ashburton, a gentleman who, as one of the Barings, had very large financial relations with America, and was well known and esteemed here. On our side, Mr. Webster was then at the head of the Department of State. Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster met, Mr. Webster brought together experts from Massachusetts and Maine, and so gathered a staff of seven people around him. He was the eighth, Lord Ashburton was the ninth, and they agreed together, as a body of men of sense, that they would abandon the old treaty of 1783, and make a new line. They made a line and that line is now the line between the two countries. This was no triumph of diplomacy; it was a frank rejection of

the old methods of diplomacy. And such a transaction is one of the movements of this century which show that old-fashioned diplomacy cannot be trusted in such affairs, and that you have to devise some method, as Sir Robert Peel did, more in consonance with what we may call the business habits of the time.

The intercourse of nations is so much larger than it was in the times of Queen Elizabeth, and the personal relations of individuals so much closer, that there is something absurd in the diplomatic pretence. It is absurd to pretend that any gentleman, however well informed, who represents the Queen of England, meeting with any gentleman, however well informed, who represents the President of the United States, can even begin to express or to carry into effect such arrangements as are necessary in the mutual intercourse or in the commerce between the nations called England and the United States. A very pathetic illustration of the failure of any reliance upon such agents was in the famous Jay Treaty of the end of the last century. Jay was a man as well informed as most Americans of his time. The English government, of course, took counsel which they thought good. But they made a treaty of commerce which made no reference to the fact that cotton was raised in the United States. Nobody connected with the treaty on either side knew that it was raised in the United States. And that treaty had to meet a terrible storm of indignation in America. The men of affairs, who did know that there had come in this new-born stranger who was to be a giant in the line of international commerce, were able to twit the diplomatists who had made that treaty with their ignorance of a factor so important.

It may readily enough be said, however, that the real business of diplomatists is not to open new channels of intercourse, but that it is to smooth the intercourse which exists and remove causes of complaint. Should there turn up ground of quarrel between the two nations, is it not well that there should be, at the capital of each, a representative of the other, who may make or obtain the necessary explanations? In theory this sounds very well. But what happens in practice?

Suppose in Delagoa Bay an American schooner is unloading lumber. Suppose a midshipman from one of the Queen's ships comes on board on some errand or other, and he and the American skipper get into a quarrel. Perhaps the midshipman has to be ejected forcibly; perhaps not. But each of them is very angry,—perhaps each of them is a little drunk,—and each swears revenge. So soon as the schooner returns to America her captain reports what he calls the facts at his headquarters. Before that time a report has gone to England of the insult given to an English officer. Here is ample ground for war, on the old theories of war. Jenkins's ear is not more important than the slap in the face which one of these two men may or may not have given the other. What possible chance is there of obtaining the truth in the diplomatic contest which is to follow? The American skipper and one or two of his crew are examined at Washington, and they tell the story in their own way and with their own color. Nobody cross-examines them, the offending parties have no opportunity to hear them; but careful statements of their evidence are laid before the proper officials in our State Department. They issue the proper instructions to the United States minister in England, and he, by virtue of his office, is bound

to take our side. He does take it, takes it through and through.

Exactly the same thing is gone through on the other side. Each government educates a set of men who understand about the Delagoa incident. These men persuade themselves of the absolute right of their own view. You could carry on discussion, on such a basis, for a hundred years, and come to no settlement. Neither party has any power to cross-examine witnesses. The cases are confessedly made up on *ex-parte* testimony, and have to run the chances of such *ex-parte* testimony in the decision which must be arrived at.

This Delagoa case is pure imagination. I do not know that we ever send lumber to Delagoa Bay. But anybody who will read the long and rather dreary discussions of the Venezuela case will see how great is the danger of pure *ex parte* opinion. It has been whispered that Lord Salisbury himself, when at last he was obliged to give his personal attention to the details of this controversy, was surprised to find what was the class of errors into which the advocates of England's claim in the English Foreign Office had been led by the documents which they had on their files.

Now there were more than seventy-five important arbitrations in the seventy-five years which followed the Treaty of Ghent. Here was an immense step forward in international relations. Our own country took advantage of arbitration in the well-known instance of the northwestern boundary, when we accepted the adverse decision of the Emperor of Germany; of the Alabama claims, when England accepted the adverse decision, and subsequently in the Alaskan contention. But while we acknowledge all that was thus gained, one cannot but remember how much dissatisfaction these awards gave, and one cannot but ask how much was to be expected from such tribunals.

For the purpose of these arbitrations, seventy-five distinct tribunals, more or less, were established; and these tribunals ceased to be tribunals as soon as the award was made. There was therefore in no case any prestige, in the court making the decision, gained by its earlier successes; nor indeed were the persons who constituted such tribunals in the least prepared by previous experience in the same line. They were all novices. Worse than this, in no case had they any power to call witnesses, excepting so far as the courtesy of the different states suggested. When the King of the Netherlands had referred to him the northeast boundary question which has been alluded to the English government had and knew it had in its possession, in the King's own library, a map on which the *American* line was drawn distinctly, with the manuscript statement, "This is the line agreed upon by the Commission." The English government did not consider that it was their duty to bring this map before the King of the Netherlands, and he never knew that it existed. Many years after Mr. Sparks discovered in France the celebrated "red line map," which favored the *British* claim, though it had no manuscript statement, and no one knew what was its origin. He gave the American government the knowledge of this fact, and they did not consider it their business to apprise Lord Ashburton of its existence. Every arbitration has been obliged to act with the consciousness that each party was putting its best foot foremost, and no one of them has had any power to call for

witnesses as to the existence of another foot or to cross-examine witnesses. The great arbitration of the Alabama claims was decided by a court which had only the testimony which the two countries brought before it, and which had to judge for itself of the value of that testimony.

Such are the reasons for saying that as the century has worked along, the progress of man has proved the necessity of a Permanent Tribunal between states, which should be in session all the time. It should be entrusted, first, with power to lay down certain fundamental principles of international law. This is not impossible, nor even difficult, for the study of the theory of international law has gone on, not interrupted by diplomats, who have not had much to do with it, but asserting itself more and more in the affairs of commerce and nations.

Second, this Tribunal, permanently established, must have power to call for witnesses, wherever they may be, and to authenticate written statements wherever they may be made.

Third, it must have power to establish its own rules of procedure, and it must fix reasonable times for the hearing and adjudication of questions brought before it.

Fourth, these questions must be international questions. The court is not established to define the rights of individuals, or to decide in their controversies. It is established simply to give to one nation an opportunity to prove a case in a contention with another nation.

Fifth, this court need not define, nor need anybody define, what class of questions the nations shall thus bring forward. Come who will! The court *exists*, and it exists to promote international justice. As was well said by a member of the New York State Bar Association, it hangs out its sign, "International Justice Administered Here."

Sixth, having hung out its sign this court hears all international cases brought before it. It hears counsel on each side, and examines the testimony which they bring forward. If necessary, it calls for more testimony. If necessary it refers questions to masters and it demands reports on side issues from experts. Having thus informed itself, this court pronounces its decision.

Now when that decision has been made, in such a way, no power can stand against it. New questions may be brought up; but that question, in the minds of men and in the public opinion of the world will be considered as decided. The question need not be asked what army or what fleet shall enforce these decisions.

In saying all this one is simply following the great analogy of the Supreme Court of the United States. There are forty-six states which submit all their interstate questions to the decision of the Supreme Court. Every year the Supreme Court decides such questions. It has decided such questions for a hundred years. Unfortunately, the Constitution itself waived the right of considering the question of slavery among those questions. But with the exception of this question, thus taken away from the decision of the Supreme Court, it has made no decision which has not on the instant been silently obeyed. *Vox populi, vox Dei*; and the will of the People of America expresses itself in the decision of the Supreme Court.

It should be remembered that the great treaty which has distinguished the names of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney failed simply on questions of detail respecting the cases which might and might not be brought before the

tribunal which they established. The treaty expressed this in these words.

#### ARTICLE IV.

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which shall exceed £100,000 in amount and all other matters in difference, in respect of which either of the high contracting parties shall have rights against the other under treaty or otherwise, provided that such matters in difference do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an arbitral tribunal constituted as provided in the next following article.

But it appeared at once that such a treaty was binding the hands of the men of the future. The men of the future will not like to have their hands bound; and will be very apt to protest against decisions made in advance, as to what is a "question of honor," for instance. It was therefore the great advantage of the other plan,—that presented by the New York State Bar Association,—that it prescribed no restriction on the questions which might be brought, if both parties agreed. It did not compel them to bring their cases to the international tribunal, any more than a man is compelled to bring an action against another man. If he prefers to let the matter grind along without trial he can do so. This open permission to the nations to use the new tribunal is probably necessary in inducing them to agree to establish it.

The different plans which have been suggested for the personnel of such a tribunal are interesting, but they are not fundamentally important. The important thing is that the personnel shall be such as to command the respect and confidence of the world from the beginning. If the United States of America commissioned its two most distinguished jurists to such a court, if England did the same, and France the same, there would be a beginning. Let these six gentlemen meet, and let them determine on three men well known in the world as students of international law, whom they will add to their number. Here you would have a tribunal of nine, well fitted for the beginning of this great enterprise. It has always seemed to me that it would be well to add to this tribunal six assessors, not of the same rank as the nine judges, but such as could represent the smaller states of Europe and America, and such as could be relied upon, perhaps in holding local inquiries in regions where such inquiries have to be made. If such a court existed, if only the questions between these three nations, England, France and America, were submitted to it, its decisions would at once attract attention and would command the respect of the world. At some fortunate moment, Germany would ask to be received into the circle of its operations. Russia would have the same wish, Austria would not be left out, and probably the smaller states would be more eager than the six great powers to join in so simple an arrangement for deciding questions of fact and law, such as make the difficulties between nations.

The court would be established, then, and it would exist. If established on a provision of sufficient dignity, it would so exist that nations would be glad to bring many cases under its decision. It will study such cases, and will make its decision. Such a tribunal as we propose would command respect for these decisions, however slight the subjects which were involved. The question (not in itself important) whether the interesting race of

seals shall exist or shall not exist in 1950, would be brought before it. Some wretched question of boundary between Costa Rica and Nicaragua would be brought before it;—whether the St. Matthew River were ever called the St. Mark, or whether that river exists at all;—some of the Venezuelan questions were as trivial as this. With every new decision the new tribunal would gain prestige and authority, and now any two nations which had cause for controversy, instead of having to create a new court, out of new cloth, with inexperienced judges and with no traditional forms of procedure, would come before the International Tribunal, knowing what testimony it was to bring, how it was to authenticate its claims, and sure of an impartial hearing of its arguments.

### War and Parentage.

BY M. L. HOLBROOK, M.D.

In the interest of unborn children we should, so far as possible, remove from the world those causes which, acting on the mothers, either directly or indirectly, may injure them by lowering the standard of their health, or by altering and debasing their moral and intellectual natures. One of the most potent influences for harm is war. War has generally been regarded as one of the ennobling professions. If we look upon it in its most favorable light, all we can say in its favor is that among the primitive and barbarous races, it has perhaps resulted in the preservation and spread of the most capable ones, and that it has at the same time welded them together into large groups, and finally into nations, and habituated them to those restraints which are necessary to social existence; but we no longer require it for this purpose, and the peaceful, industrial pursuits of civilization demand that wars should cease, because they interfere with these pursuits and especially should they cease in the interests of our children both born and unborn.

How can war injure children? We have already shown in a chapter on Prenatal Culture that when the mother is under the influence of any powerful mental emotion, such as fear, depression, anger and similar passions during the months in which the child is being developed in her womb, there is very great danger of permanent injury to it. Only the strongest mothers, those with the most robust health, or who have the most stable nerves, and who are rarely thrown off their balance, are capable of holding up against the intense excitements to which they are subject during some of the phases of war.

As I mentioned in my early work on Marriage and Parentage, Esquirol, a French physician, gives details of a considerable number of cases of children born soon after some of the sieges of the French Revolution, which were weakly, nervous and idiotic, on account of the fears to which the mothers were subjected. Like causes produce like effects. In every war where a city is besieged, even if women are sent away, they cannot be altogether free from anxiety and mental strains of a most unwholesome nature, and if some of them are soon to become mothers, the child not yet born must suffer. No one can estimate the vast number of children injured under such conditions, in the ages past. They have been only incidentally referred to in history.

Joseph A. Allen, in a recent number of the *Christian Register*, gives the results of some of his observations which bear on this subject. He says:

"So much is being said about war and its effects, that I am prompted to send you the result of my observations:

I was in charge of the Massachusetts State Reform School for several years, when every inmate (there were three or four hundred) was born before the Civil War—during the time of the great anti-slavery agitation, which did so much to educate the moral sense of the people.

I was again in charge of the same institution *when every inmate was born during, or soon after the war, when the mothers were reading, talking and dreaming of battles, and husbands, fathers or brothers had gone to the war.*

*I found as great a difference in the character of these inmates born before and after the Civil War, as exists between a civilized and a savage nation.*

*Those under my care the second time were much more difficult to control, more quarrelsome and defiant, less willing to work or study. The crimes for which they were sentenced were as different as their characters.*

It was not uncommon for them to be sentenced for breaking and entering with deadly weapons.

This difference was not confined to inmates of reform schools, but it was manifest throughout all classes.

After the war, crime increased rapidly. In Boston garroting was common, and was only checked by Judge Russell sentencing all such subjects to the full extent of the law.

Before the close of the Civil War, the State Prison at Charlestown, under Mr. Gideon Haynes, was, according to Dr. D. C. Wines, D.D., the model prison of the United States. Since that time it has been almost impossible to maintain proper discipline, owing no doubt to the more desperate character of the inmates.

Let us try to trace these effects back to their causes, and prove, if possible, that whatsoever a man (or nation) soweth, that shall it also reap."

But there are other ways in which war militates against the noblest motherhood. Camp life is a school for vice and prostitution. In Camp Chickamauga (which is a sample of all) during the war with Spain, on account of Cuba, the amount and baseness of the prostitution of soldiers with both black and white women exceeded description. In a single day forty-one cases of specific diseases applied to the physicians at the hospital for treatment. These things were not reported in the daily papers; they were too vile. The place was a hot-bed of vice, rather than a school of virtue and patriotism. In all European armies it is the same. In times of peace soldiers, from the highest to the lowest in rank, insist that facility shall be allowed them for the gratification of their sensual nature. The officers, not being permitted to marry unless they, or their wives, have sufficient income, keep their mistresses, and not a female servant near a camp is safe. The immoral influences here generated spread throughout society, lower the standard of ethics among both men and women in private life, and jeopardize the interests of children born and unborn, morally and intellectually, as well as physically.

But there is another view. "Great standing armies," says the Czar of Russia, in his note to the Powers, "*are transforming the armed power of our day into a crushing burden which the people have more and more difficulty in bearing.*" That is to say, the tax imposed upon the people of any nation to support its armies pauperizes, or keeps on the verge of poverty, a large portion of the race. It is war far more than any other cause which

has helped to this end. Now great poverty is a serious obstacle to the production and training of the young, and especially is this the case in the more populous countries—France, Spain and Italy for example. These countries were once the most powerful in Europe. They are no longer so. They have gloried in war, and spent enormous sums of money upon their armies, and burdened themselves with taxes which should have been reserved for the use of fathers and mothers in educating and providing for the needs of their offspring. War has been a principal means in crushing out the best life of these countries, and other nations which follow in the same path will in the end come to a similar fate. They may hold out a long time but not forever. "The mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceeding small."

It is because war is an enemy to the highest motherhood that women should array themselves against it. It is one of the greatest foes to the children they love so well. Women should insist that all governments can and should settle their differences by peaceful, rather than by warlike means. The industrial age may have its difficulties, but they are not unsurmountable. In it, if we are wise, we may have the time and the means to improve the race through a wiser parentage. I believe that thoughtful women, when they come to see the evils of war in their true light as they have seen the evils of prostitution and intemperance, will be its greatest foes.

## A Plea for International Arbitration From a Consideration of the Nature of War.

BY EDITH M. WAIT.

A paper read before the Medford (Mass.) Woman's Club.

When the vast thought of evolution, which had been struggling for expression through so many centuries, found its great utterance from the lips of Charles Darwin, the aversion aroused in many classes of minds when called upon to trace back an ancestral line to the lower animal orders was a real deterrent to the acceptance of the evolutionary doctrines.

In curious contradiction to this feeling of repugnance in man to admit himself an outgrowth of the beast creation, is the pertinacity with which he clings to just those traits which stamp him as near of kin to the bearers of claw and fang. He has argued down his objections, to be sure, in the thought that, though he may be an animal, he is yet the possessor of that attribute which raises him immeasurably above all other orders. He alone is able to guide his life by the light of reason. That is the great distinction; he is a reasoning animal.

But as we look back over the long, dark centuries filled with the acts of violence and cruel force, and stained with the blood of man spilled by man, we cannot think that reason has often held her torch to light the way; and when, in these later times, we find the world still groaning beneath the scourge of war, that hideous offspring of hatred and brutality, we are forced to admit that after all, even those peoples in the van of progress have travelled but a little way along the path of rationality, since even now at the time of greatest need for calm, restraining judgment, the snarl of the panther, the snap of the tiger are still uppermost.



But it is the very recognition of this fact, that if men fight they do so because of the old primeval instinct to tear and bruise, that should make us see the real nature of war, and realize that we should be thoroughly ashamed that it still survives among us. It leads us to ask ourselves what we mean by this word civilization, that is so often on our lips, to question if after all its ends and purposes can greatly differ from those of savage life, since we still use the methods of brutality, violence and cruelty in attaining them. Tradition has sanctioned war and bred a conviction that a thing so ancient must needs be venerable. The very suffering that it has brought to men, the prodigious sacrifice of happiness and life that it has called upon them to offer up, has made them feel that such anguish must have been endured for some great purpose. The idea has taken root that war is necessarily and inextricably interwoven with patriotism and a country's honor; that a man who fights for his country is unquestionably a patriotic man. So, as in past times, multitudes were found to forward the ambitious schemes of a Caesar or Napoleon, to-day other multitudes, even with freedom of action in their own hands, are willing to choose the way that jingoists and corrupt politicians and yellow journalists point out for them, to settle the dispute of nation with nation.

A better way will not be demanded with enough sincerity to make the demand succeed, until people cease blindly to accept precedent as a practical criterion of right, without considering that the usage roughly suited to one age may be but ill adapted to serve the purposes of a changed set of social conditions; or that, furthermore, this same precedent has, with equal justice, been made the vindication for every great evil from which humanity has shaken itself free. No reform will be possible until it is realized, in very truth, that war is a remnant of barbarism, a clog upon the progress of humanity, and utterly opposed to the morality that civilization claims to recognize, whether that morality be dictated by religious belief or ethical teaching. It would seem that the opposition of war to all morality should be almost self-evident; for morality has to do with the principles of right conduct, but it is difficult to apply the word right at all to a system which concerns itself only with might, and is therefore, from its very nature, utterly incompetent as a mode of determining any question of principle or justice. In the end reason must always decide such questions.

Killing men is a grotesquely inadequate means of inducing them to proper thinking. People are, for the most part, willing to admit, in the abstract, that a rude invocation to force is no appeal to right, and are almost unanimous in designating war in general "a terrible evil." But with each concrete instance the Jesuitical precept comes to the front. The end is claimed to justify the means, and the attempt made anew to wrest good from evil. It may be that benefits and ills never come to us unmixed; that we have no experience of a purity of good or evil. But that civilization has sometimes "gone forward on the powder-cart," as Lowell expresses it, is no proof that it would not have progressed more rapidly through a different agency; nor does it form an excuse for making any proposed good the justification for the choice of a means so obviously adapted to evil results. The only fruit of war that is certain and unavoidable is the suffering and

sin that it brings forth; of the good that may come through it, or in spite of it, no man can tell. It is matter for wonder that this has not long since been made manifest to all comprehension, for its inevitable horrors have been so often and so powerfully portrayed, that it would seem, in the words of William Penn, that "he must not be a man, but a statue of brass or stone, whose bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody tragedies of war"; but the very re-iteration of these tragedies has bred a certain indifference. The subject has become a trite one, and it is but rarely that the picture is brought before us with such vivid force as to rouse the mind to a true comprehension of the far reaching misery war brings in its train, to make us see why it needed a soldier, one who knew its real meaning, to give that one adequate definition, "War is Hell."

The suffering of man and beast on the field of battle is, too, such a small part of the evil. There is ever beside this the misery of helpless non-combatants; the desolation of the widowed and orphaned; the heavy burden of taxation to fall upon production; and beyond all the demoralization certain to spread through the community in perverted public taste and lowered standards of morality.

It would be a task both endless and vain to attempt to trace all the ramifying channels by which the poisoned current of war sweeps through the whole political and social system. That is no exaggeration which claims that there is no evil which it does not occasion, while it has much that is peculiar to itself.

Against this scene of misery may be set the virtues of war; the courage and self-sacrifice and devotion to an idea of patriotic duty which it calls out; virtues held in such high esteem that men have been led to look upon military glory as above glory of every other kind, and even to assert that the maintenance of warfare is necessary to the very end that these traits be preserved in their full vigor, lest, through their decay, society become weak and degenerate.

But war does not create courage, nor turn a coward into a brave man. It only reveals, as already existent, excellences which are far too rare and valuable to waste upon battlefields. Force that is turned from one channel into another is not thereby destroyed, nor prevented from reappearing transformed for a higher use. It is easier to be a good soldier than a good citizen, and civilization may yet teach us to find only that glory of the highest order which shall be guiltless of human blood. There is need of so much heroism to save men's lives instead of destroying them; heroism to bring happiness to humanity instead of misery; to educate ignorance; to purify vice and uplift grinding poverty; to sweep politics free of corruption; to reconcile the bitterness between labor and capital; to face the problems of social injustice.

The strong, brave, dominant natures are needed to do all of this; not to waste the substance of the world in smoke and flames!

Listen to such statements as these, and try to imagine what impression they would convey to a being who had not habituated himself to regard war as a necessary fact: "In twenty-five years of this nineteenth century civilization there have been destroyed in war 2,188,000 lives. During the same period there has been spent in maintaining wars \$12,199,700,000." What

beneficent possibilities have been squandered in all this misused force and wealth!

The conviction that this wasted force will one day be turned to the construction and disciplining of a society which will have no need to revert to destructive methods, has been voiced again and again as optimism has pointed forward to a regenerated society to come, where rationality shall replace violence and might shall no longer make right.

The doctrine of the brotherhood of man, taught by that Prince of Peace whose coming was hailed as the fulfilment of a prophetic vision, has been accepted by multitudes for nearly two thousand years, and still the world is not ready for it. It remains but little more than the dream of the enthusiast. Indeed the spectacle of whole nations, professing to find in the teachings of Jesus a practical guide for the conduct of life, while yet they uphold in action the very spirit he came to destroy, is so shocking that, thinking on these warring Christians, one hardly wonders at the exclamation of that bewildered Turk to whom the missionary expounded the fifth chapter of Matthew: "But these Christians are the greatest hypocrites in the world!" Nor does that statement of Ruskin seem exaggerated; "One can understand men who shall boldly say, 'There is no God,' but it is difficult to conceive how men should live to say with unblushing affront, 'There is a God, but he is a foolish God. He has put us under laws that are unworkable!'" It would seem as if the intellectual appreciation of what is good and true and beautiful were in advance of men's ability to express the conviction in actions; to make the thought a real one. Otherwise it is hard to see what is meant by a belief in the precepts of Him who brought a message of "Peace on earth, goodwill toward men;" who said "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you"; and who blessed the peacemakers as the "children of God." The very essence of his teaching inculcated a spirit which, if manifested, would make war in the individual or the nation an impossibility. He would have made the whole current run clear by purifying the spring, for these very passions which occasion war, he disallowed. . . . But the world of practise yields its allegiance to a curious form of reasoning which recognizes a code of morality to be binding upon the individual and upon communities of individuals up to a certain point, but which attempts to draw lines beyond which the moral law does not hold. Society within a state realizes that the very possibility of a corporate life is dependent upon a willingness to yield to the restraints imposed by law, and that the growth of the community is forwarded in proportion as these laws are founded on principles of justice and the mutual co-operation of its members. It is seen at a glance that a country rent with internal dissension is but little calculated to grow in strength and power to the attainment of its ideal. But in the relations of country with country the authority of moral law is held no longer binding. Humanity at large must progress as best it can under the rulings of the laws of lawlessness; its only court the arbitrament of war. Such a view can but lead to a short-sighted conception of all morality, as is indeed the case; else why do we find that theft and arson and murder, crimes of the first magnitude for the individual, masquerade under different names if only they be perpetrated on a scale vast enough; and that people persuade

themselves that, by a strange alchemy, a crime ceases to be sinful if only the responsibility for its commission be greatly divided and distributed.

In that noble oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations" Charles Sumner exclaims: "Crimes filling our prisons stalk abroad in the soldier's garb, unwhipped of justice. What has taught you, oh man! thus to find glory in an act, performed by a nation, which you condemn as a crime or a barbarism when committed by an individual? Each individual is an atom of the mass. Must not the mass in its conscience be like the individuals of which it is composed? How then shall we say the command, 'Thou shalt not kill,' applies—not to many, but to one only; that each individual is forbidden to destroy the life of a single human being, but that a nation is not forbidden to cut off by the sword a whole people? Viewed in the unclouded light of truth, what is war but organized murder—murder of malice aforethought—in cold blood—through the operation of an extensive machinery of crimes,—with innumerable hands,—at incalculable cost of money,—by subtle contrivances of cunning and skill,—or amidst the fiendish atrocities of the savage, brutal, assault? The outrages which it permits and invokes for professed purposes of justice must rise in overwhelming judgment, not only against those who wield the weapons of battle, but more still against all who uphold its monstrous arbitrament." To the mind stripped of delusive apology, Sumner's is the true judgment.

In the tangled web of existence a nation is no more self-sufficient than an individual; if the individual should be ruled by the good of the community, the true test of national action should be the good of humanity. The necessary interdependence of the peoples of the world is such that one nation cannot gain permanently at the expense of any other. Students of evolutionary thought tell us that this complex interdependence is bound to become more and more apparent to all understanding in the inevitable course of events; that warfare is so opposed to the aims of industrialism, that it must eventually die out. All the wonderful, space-defying inventions, bringing the different parts of the world together, not only for the purposes of commerce, but merging and amalgamating their thoughts as well, work to this end. The very progress of invention in improving projectiles on the one hand and fortifications on the other is tending to make war an impossibility. As John Fiske wittily expresses it, "we may perhaps hope that some of us will live long enough to see what will happen when a ball is fired with irresistible momentum against an impenetrable wall!"

As the complication of life steadily increases and the standard of living is heightened, there is increasing unwillingness to endure the burdens entailed by war, and to see the accumulations painfully stored by industrialism swept away. In a word, men will be forced sooner or later to see that peaceful means are the only means compatible with an industrial existence, and will cease to stigmatize as sentimentalists "those persons who prefer civilized and gentlemanlike methods of settling disputes to the savage and ruffianly business of burning and slaughtering." But, it is added, war can cease only *pari passu* with the establishment of peaceful methods for adjusting international disputes. If civilization means anything it means progress in the substitution of law for violence. Its advance can be forwarded only as nations become willing to give up their lawless freedom, just as

individuals do, to form a union of nations in a treaty of arbitration and peace, which shall create an International Court. Such a court would in each instance afford a beneficial delay in allowing deliberate public opinion to be brought to bear on irritating questions. It would tend gradually to develop an international consciousness, like that consciousness which preserves the order of each individual nation, until the sympathy and allegiance which are now confined to country should extend to Universal Man in a realization of the conception that all mankind is one great moral organism. . . .

The belief in the possibility of such a growth has been in the world in a systematized form, ever since the sixteenth century, when Henry IV. of France devised his scheme for a federal republic of Christendom, which he called "The Great Design," and when Hugo Grotius laid the foundations of the juridic movement against war, expounding his doctrines with such force that other minds took up the questions he had raised and formulated projects for universal peace. Kant, Locke, Montesquieu, Bentham and others presented the question from the standpoint of philosophy and economics, while the religious sentiment worked for peace in the writings of George Fox, William Penn and John Wesley. . . .

In order to convey an idea of the definite form which the movement has taken since the beginning of this century, I cannot do better than to quote somewhat at length from Mr. Benjamin F. Trueblood's suggestive brochure on "International Arbitration." Mr. Trueblood says: "The organized movement against war has followed two lines of development. The one, sentimental, for awakening and educating public sentiment, has manifested itself in numerous peace societies, the first of which was formed in 1815, in public lectures, through international congresses and conferences, and memorials to governments. The other, juridic, or that for the creation of legal remedies for war, has shown itself in an improved diplomacy, in an attempt to reform international law, and in the effort now made for the establishment of permanent treaties of arbitration and a permanent international tribunal. Since the time of the Treaty of Ghent between the United States and Great Britain in 1814, more than eighty important international controversies have been settled by arbitration, or an average of one a year for the whole period of eighty-one years. The United States has been a party to more than forty of these cases, Great Britain to not less than thirty; France has submitted ten difficulties to arbitration, Spain seven, Portugal six, Germany four, Italy and Holland three each; Denmark, Belgium, Russia, Greece and Turkey, two each; Switzerland one; Japan and Afghanistan three each; Persia, China and Morocco two each; Liberia one. All of the South American republics except two, and two of the Central American States have had arbitrations. It is seen that the nations here cited as having taken part in these pacific settlements cover a large part of the habitable globe, and include a number of countries not usually thought to be much civilized. The cases referred to include nearly every sort of question arising in the relations of nation with nation; questions of boundary and violation of territory; of trespasses committed and injuries received in time of war; of disputed sovereignty over islands; questions of seizure of ships, interference with commerce, fisheries, etc. All these difficulties, though

of exactly the same kind as those which in former times resulted in wars, often long continued, have been settled with no great delay, with a trifling outlay of money, and without injury to the self-respect of any country involved. The result of the decisions has been nearly invariably an increased mutual respect and a greater willingness to co-operate in all practicable ways for the common good. For more than fifty years past the number of these difficulties settled by arbitration has quite exceeded the whole number of international controversies which have led to war."

And now within the last few weeks the world has been startled by the peace manifesto of the Czar of Russia. The press has, in considerable measure, placed a cynical interpretation upon the sincerity of the Czar's attitude; but workers for peace may yet be justified in believing the message to be a genuine protest against the system of militarism which has spread through Europe; the genuine expression of a conviction that the huge standing armies, instead of insuring peace, are a constant provocation of war, fomenting the temptation to national disagreements, while at the same time the crushing burdens they entail are paralyzing national progress in wealth and culture. Thoughtful students have long recognized these truths. While they have predicted that the vast armaments must eventually become economically impossible, they have seen that in any case the system is ill-suited to secure its purpose, so far as that purpose is the maintenance of peace.

The possession of power is a constant temptation to use it, and the mutual distrust, to which these preparations testify, keeps alive the spirit of enmity, that law of human nature being general and fundamental in accordance with which nations as well as individuals respond to the sentiments by which they are addressed.

The prompt reply of acceptance which the message has received from the governments is a hopeful sign that some great practical good may yet issue as its result; some steps be taken which shall further strengthen and promote the cause of arbitration.

With the facts showing so much that is encouraging in what has already been accomplished, does it seem impossible that nations should finally come to yield all their difficulties to the peaceful settlement of arbitration? Impossibility is the stumbling-block which has been thrown in the way of every great reform, and which has yet been surmounted again and again. Since the beginnings of social life the weakness of human nature has been made the justification for every sort of transgression of right, the scope of man's capabilities having been judged by a standard far below that of his highest attainments. A more inspiring conception, and a truer, unless all hope of upward progress be vain, maintains that that of which the best human nature is capable is within the ultimate reach of human nature at large.

Much has already been outgrown. The idea of the justification of private revenge by blood has become abhorrent; the follies and wickedness of the old trial by battle are conspicuous to all; private warfare has vanished with the Middle Ages; the practise of duelling is fast passing away. The growth may yet go on to cover the broader relations of men's lives.

If the multitudes of ordinary men who feel and express the wickedness of war in times of peace would but maintain their principles sincerely when they are most

needed, would not allow themselves to be swept away by the war-spirit, that growth would be rapidly forwarded in the creation of a moral sentiment in the community which would be a real guarantee of peace; for the public conscience has greater power than material force, and is the actual safeguard of law and order. It has been truly said that "The goddess of peace would get to her throne much faster than she does, if every man who really believes that war is unholy and abominable would seriously take in hand his six nearest neighbors."

The especial obligation under which the people of the United States rest to act as the peacemakers of the world is a point which has been often urged, but which cannot be too strongly insisted upon, more particularly at a time when this duty is being lost sight of in the spread of a military mania which would rob the nation of the advantages of its unique position by impelling it into a career at utter variance with its most cherished institutions.

A country freed by geographical isolation from entangling complications with other countries should be the natural mediator of peoples, since it occupies, to a great extent, the vantage ground of neutral territory, while at the same time it should be able to demonstrate that high attainments are rendered possible where the development of natural resources and national ability is unimpeded by the clog of a huge military system. But the point of especial significance lies in the example afforded by a great federation of states bound together for mutual benefit, with the agreement that peaceful settlements of such questions as arise among them shall be reached through decisions based upon public law and voiced by a Supreme Court. Just in proportion as this peaceful federation is successful does it prefigure the possibility of the formation of a similar union on a yet more extended scale, in which nations shall submit to the jurisdiction of a tribunal sustaining the same relation to the whole world which the Supreme Court of the United States sustains to the States of this Union.

In tracing the growth of methods in nation making, John Fiske points out that groups of men have coalesced into large political aggregates in three ways, indicating successive stages of advance:

By "conquest without incorporation," where the conquered tribe has been annexed without admission to any share in the government; by "conquest with incorporation," where the annexed neighbors have been gradually permitted to take part in the government; lastly by federation which he pronounces to be the highest method of forming great political bodies, and the only method in which the element of fighting is not an essential. "Here," he says, "there is no conquest, but a voluntary union of small political groups into a great political group. Each little group preserves its local independence intact, while forming part of an indissoluble whole. It is the method which contains every element of permanence, and which is pacific in its very conception."

One hundred years ago Immanuel Kant saw this same thing when, in his great treatise on "Perpetual Peace," he declared that universal peace could come only with the universal republic, because republican institutions lead, by their very nature, to habits of peace and law. He looked for the first step to be taken when it should

happen that a powerful and enlightened people should form itself into a republic. He said that this would form a nucleus of federative union for other nations to connect themselves with. The conditions of freedom according to international right would thus be secured, and the federation, through the adhesion of other peoples, might be extended more and more. So the international state would come into being.

Does he not foreshadow a mission for our country, higher and nobler than that of imperialism with its attendant militarism?

A plea has been often made to women, urging that it especially devolves upon them to work for the overthrow of war, and claiming that they could put an end to the whole barbaric business if only they would. Doubtless the statement is made chiefly from a recognition of the fact that women, holding in their hands the education of the race at its most plastic and formative period, exercise a great power in shaping the principles of each growing generation. But beside this there is the deeper, underlying thought, that it is the maternal element in humanity which stands for constructive, protective love; the love that is patient and long-suffering and forgiving. So to the mothers of the race, as the fullest recipients of this love, falls in large measure the beneficent task of counterbalancing the destructive, disruptive impulses of society.

We women would do well to take this thought to heart. We can indeed find no higher work than the inculcating of that spirit of peace and love, which shall hasten the coming of the time

"When the war-drums throb no longer, and the battle-flags are furled,  
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world!"

### Lost, Strayed or Stolen.

*What has become of Arbitration?* Is it lost, strayed or stolen? Two years ago it was at the head of the procession, waving its white banner, making itself glorious, greeted with applause. The platform and pulpit were proclaiming it; and great assemblies blessed it. A chief justice was brought across the ocean to set forth its beauties with his tongue of eloquence. The Senate was called upon to give it form and force in treaty. Its speedy coming to full power and grand consummation was ardently expected. The whole English-speaking world was reaching for its hand; and the good Briton, the good Scotchman, the good American, and, if there are any other good people in the world, were all crying, "Shake, shake!"

But one day a French captain came to a little town on the Nile, a wretched kind of a town in a poor, miserable country, and put up a flag. And then Arbitration vanished. Like Cicero's Catiline, it went, it left, it got out. Or, to use an expression less Ciceronian and more commonplace, it fell over itself in its hurry to depart. Nobody on the other side of the Atlantic, except a few Quakers and a pious person here and there, wanted it to stay. Everybody, that is, nearly everybody, wanted war and wanted it right away. That brash French captain must get out of Fashoda, or something awful would happen. The Tory said so, the Liberal said so, the churchman said so, the Nonconformist, who has a monopoly on the English conscience, said so, the fight-

ing squire and the fighting parson and all the boys and men said so. And then the factories began to hum, making powder, shells, bullets, anything that would kill a Frenchman; and the navy yards groaned with new labor and vast preparation to redden the sea with all the blood on the other side of the channel.

And poor old Arbitration! Out of a job, friendless and alone, it could not come to America, for we are not sure that we are through with Spain, or that we might not want to kill some insurgent Cubans or Filipinos, or some Indians, coal miners, or other people. But of course after the war is all over, we should be willing to take it in, that is, until we want to make another. In the meantime, however, Arbitration being by its lonely self, will have some time and more food for reflection. It can ask itself such questions as these: "When am I wanted? When am I needed, or when am I not needed? Who wants me, the peace-makers or the speech-makers? What do they want me for? For my blessings, or for buncombe? Does anybody really want me, except somebody who is afraid of getting whipped? Why should I be asked to step in to keep English-speaking people from cutting one another's throats, and not to keep a Briton from cutting a Frenchman's throat, or a Dervish's throat? Is it only difference of throats? Is it only a question of whose ox is to be impaled on the horn? *If the strongest party is always to decide what is just, right and honorable, where do I come in?* If the lion is determined to lie down with the lamb only when the lamb is inside, what is there for me to do? And what am I here for anyhow? Was I born too soon? Had I come into this world a century ahead of time? When they get through dividing Africa, and taking their several portions of China, and there is nothing more on land or sea to reach for, will they want me then? Or must I wait until invention has made an explosive which will blow up a continent at a shot, and the big powers are afraid to tackle one another, before I can get down to real business?"

But depressing as the present aspect may be to Arbitration itself, the peace-makers and the speech-makers and the good editors should not lose courage. The theme is still ample and inviting. It is good for pulpit discourse, for platform eloquence, for fine editorials and for the tons of resolutions in solemn assemblies. But all who hate war and love peace, and want Arbitration to get a good hold, go forward and come to an expected end, would do well to work hard on human nature. For with the present vast amount of human nature on both sides of the sea, and on all sides of all seas, it must be admitted that the climate is rather oppressive to Arbitration.—*The Advance*.

### New Books.

**SOUTH AMERICA.** By Hezekiah Butterworth. New York: Doubleday & McClure.

This is one of the first attempts to write a connected story of the movement for freedom among the Spanish-American countries of South America. It is not, however, so much a history as an introduction to the history of South America. Mr. Butterworth prepared himself for writing the work by two trips into the republics whose history he sketches. He has a wide acquaintance with

the original authorities, and one wishes, as he follows the pages of the book, that the author had made more ample use of the abundant materials which were evidently at his hand. The work is written in a spirit of the utmost sympathy with the struggle of the countries south of us for freedom under the leadership of Bolivar and San Martin, and the reader will lay down the book with an increased desire to know more of the early history of the South American republics, some of which are soon to be so prominent in the world.

**CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL STATE.** By Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

This is one of the most important contributions to the literature of Christian Sociology which has recently appeared. Every page of it will be found instructive. The chapters on "Religion in Social Evolution," "The Conservation of the Individual," "The Socialistic Salvation," "Corporations and Co-operation," "Time and Taxes," "The Crime Against Humanity" (The Liquor Business), "The Redemption of Childhood" and "The Social Value of Liberty" are full not only of the truest Christian sentiment but of intelligent conception of the gravity of the evils now afflicting society, and of the methods by which alone they may be permanently cured.

The final chapter of the book treats of "The Passing of the War-God." Dr. Lorimer seems to believe in the essential incompatibility of war with Christianity, though he concedes with "sad perplexity" that war has been historically at times the scourge of God upon nations for their iniquity, that it has been an agency in human progress, even in the unfolding of the Christian faith. But after the attempt to justify it, its essential barbarism and unjustifiableness rush back upon him with such force that he confesses that "the cost both in life and treasure of warfare is such as to envelop the Christian mind in an agony of great darkness, even as our Saviour himself was oppressed by the blackness of the world's shame in the garden of Gethsemane." There seems to lurk in his mind a fear and doubt that his historic interpretation is not after all the right one, or not the complete one, and we believe that no truly Christian mind which attempts even partially to reconcile war with the teachings and spirit and mission of Jesus Christ will ever be able to rid itself of such feeling of perplexity. Light and darkness cannot be made to be alike.

But Dr. Lorimer believes most strongly that Christianity is ultimately to crush the war-god. It has already "diminished its rapaciousness and devilish cruelty." "Yes, the war-god trembles; the mailed deity will soon be deprived of worshipers. Like other infamous idolatries, the adoration offered at his shrine by ambition and cruelty shall be forever swept away. The war-god is passing, and though he passes through blood and flame, though he passes along a highway wet with tears, and his noisy alarm drum is drowned in the awful sounds of shrieks and groans of mutilated and agonized humanity—still he is passing, inevitably passing." The chief agency in putting an end to his reign, Dr. Lorimer believes will be "the common people, the lowly sons of toil, who will not long continue meekly to surrender themselves to butchery, besides putting their hands in their pockets to pay the bill."

# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and goodwill towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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### The Only Thing.

Love is the only thing which I need never outgrow. I am bound to outgrow everything else. How many gifts to my youth would be gifts to my old age? Wealth, fame, power, physical beauty, are all for the morning and the mid-day; they are little coveted at evening. But Love in old age can keep the dew of its youth. I have seen a virtuous attachment which was formed by the girl and the boy retain amid the shadows its morning glow. The heart never grows old with time. It may grow old with grief or bitterness or care; but not with time. Time has no empire over the heart. It has an empire over the eye, over the ear, over the cheek, over the hand, but not over the heart. The heart may be swept by storms, but not corroded by decay. It keeps no record of the flying years; it is untouched by the winter snow. The inscription upon its gates is ever this—"There shall be no night there."—GEORGE MATHESON.

### Christian Civilization.

A large, strong man, dressed in a uniform and armed to the teeth, knocked at the door of a hut on the coast of Africa.

"Who are you, and what do you want?" asked a voice from the inside.

"In the name of civilization, open your door, or I'll break it down for you and fill you full of lead."

"But what do you want here?"

"My name is Christian Civilization. Don't talk like a fool, you black brute. What do you suppose I want here but to civilize you, and make a reasonable human being out of you, if it is possible?"


"What are you going to do?"

"In the first place, you must dress yourself like a white man. It's a shame and a disgrace the way you go about. From now on, you must wear underclothing, a pair of pants, vest, coat, plug hat, and pair of yellow gloves. I will furnish them to you at a reasonable price."

"What shall I do with them?"


"Wear them, of course. You didn't expect to eat them, did you? The first step of civilization is to wear proper clothes."

"But it is too hot to wear such garments. I'm not used to them. I shall perish from the heat. Do you want to murder me?"




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"Well, if you die, you will have the satisfaction of being a martyr to civilization."

"You are very kind."

"Don't mention it. What do you do for a living, anyhow?"

"When I am hungry I eat a banana. I eat, drink, or sleep, just as I feel like it."

"What horrible barbarity! You must settle down to some occupation, my friend. If you don't I shall have to lock you up as a vagrant."

"If I've got to follow some occupation, I think I'll start a coffee-house. I've got a good deal of coffee and sugar on hand."

"Oh, you have, have you? Why, you are not such a hopeless case as I thought you were. In the first place you must pay me £5."

"What for?"

"An occupation tax, you innocent

heathen. Do you expect to get all the blessings of civilization for nothing?"

"But I haven't got any money."

"That makes no difference. I'll take it out in sugar and coffee. If you don't pay I'll put you in jail."

"What is a jail?"

"Jail is a progressive word. You must be prepared to make sacrifices for civilization, you know."

"What a great thing civilization is!"

"You cannot possibly realize the benefits, but you will before I have done with you."

The unfortunate native took to the woods, and has not been seen since.—*Freethinker*.

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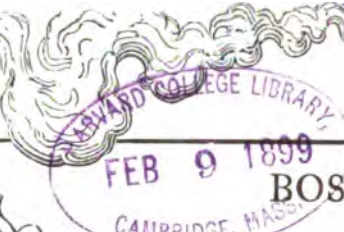
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# The ADVOCATE — OF — PEACE.

  
 FEB 9 1899

BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1899.

  
 INTERNATIONAL  
 ARBITRATION

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**A**H! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,  
 When the death-angel touches those swift keys!  
 What loud lament and dismal Miserere,  
 Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

Is it, O man, with such discordant noises,  
 With such accursed instruments as these,  
 Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,  
 And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,  
 Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,  
 Given to redeem the human mind from error,  
 There were no need of arsenals or forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!  
 And every nation, that should lift again  
 Its hand against a brother, on its forehead  
 Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,  
 The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;  
 And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,  
 I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace."

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

  
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# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1899.

No. 2.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

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MONTHLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

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## The Hope of Universal Peace.

A friend writes us in reference to the present condition of the world and the outlook for peace: "Its claims can only be accepted by faith. Reason has proved of no value in its support. To hope for it requires the heavenly gift of faith; for no human sign of progress is conclusive in its favor. Its real votaries form perhaps the smallest righteous minority upon our planet."

This comes near to being a cry of despair. There is still faith, but it is faith completely enveloped in darkness, without eyes, without any vision of coming light—a faith which it is impossible for any one to maintain long.

Is such an attitude of mind justifiable? We think not. There is, unquestionably, much to create such a state of mind, if one looks only, or too exclusively, at the confused surface of things. The time has not come when faith can be replaced by sight.

There are many dark clouds that one must look through. Militarism, as an organized institution, was never stronger than it is to-day, never more thoroughly entrenched in the plans of governments. It was never before so greedy, so aggressive, so determined to subdue all things unto itself. Wars and rumors of wars still come,—merciless, bloody, horrible. They come where they are not expected, and in most unlooked-for ways. Preparations for war—monstrous implements of destruction and huge armies of men—are nervously pushed forward, with a blind disregard of cost which would have terrified even Napoleon. Such is the seeming state of the world that only those with the sternest loyalty to duty, the profoundest faith in God and man, in the triumph of reason and goodness, can at times stand up against the pressure of the storm which rages about them.

But the real state of the world is more than the seeming. The storm, we feel sure, is a passing, not a rising storm. To our reading, there are many "human signs of progress" conclusive in favor of the early coming of universal and perpetual peace. So sure are we of this that we are willing to put our all into the cause and take chances with the hope. However furious the torrent of militarism, many of the sources which have supplied it are already drying up. It is a mountain stream impetuous below, but no longer fed by the springs in the hills. Private war is gone. Personal fights and the duel have nearly disappeared. The practice of carrying deadly weapons is out of date. The number of people to whom war is synonymous with glory is vastly less than formerly. What is done in war can no longer be done in civil society, as it formerly was, without the utter condemnation of the social conscience and punishment with social outlawry. Law has taken the place of violence in the internal affairs of nearly all countries. This is what we

mean by the fountains of war drying up. War was once universal—personal, civil, international. It is no longer so. Personal or private war is gone, civil war is nearly gone, international war alone remains in strength. These “human signs” are perfectly conclusive to a mind which reads by generations and not by years.

But this is not all. Commerce has grown in thirty years more than it had grown in any hundred years previously, and commerce is confessedly the pronounced foe of war. Organized labor,—the union of laboring men throughout the world,—is everywhere uttering its protest against war. Women are organizing against war, by *hundreds of thousands*, in the W. C. T. U., in the Woman's Disarmament League, in Women's Clubs and elsewhere. What does all this mean? These are objects of sight and not of faith only.

There are other signs, even more conclusive than these. The general growth of intelligence, of conscience and of tenderness, is perhaps the greatest of all. War is the business of barbarians and ignoramus, and it cannot long survive the general intelligence and humaneness which are swiftly covering the earth. Both rulers and peoples dread war to-day as it was never dreaded in the ages gone by. Why? Because it is so irrational; because it destroys happiness and its resources; because it involves such tremendous risks to every interest; because it imposes such vast burdens upon life. Men love life, and want to “see good days”—some in a lower, some in a higher sense. Therefore they detest war, an increasing multitude of them. This great sign in favor of “the coming peace” ought not to escape the attention of any one.

“The smallest righteous minority upon our planet” is not an expression which at all adequately describes the circle of the real friends of peace. They are no longer, if they ever were, an insignificant lot of people huddling together in secret, ashamed of their principles, fearing to let their voices be heard openly. They have become so numerous and so aggressive that they have made their hobby the common talk of the world. The clamor of recent war has not been able to drown their voices. Their faith has held, their numbers increased, their influence strengthened itself, in spite of the Hispano-American war, the campaign of blood in the Soudan, and the

snappings and snarlings of Great Britain and France at each other, across the channel. The Czar of Russia has openly confessed that he was moved in part to his great pronouncement by the utterances of the Peace Congress at Buda-Pesth, two years and more ago—a Congress representing four hundred organizations of peace workers in no less than fifteen countries.

This “righteous minority” which year after year shows its faith by its works, is so sure of its ground that it is eagerly and incessantly pressing its propaganda in every country where civilization has a name—in the press, in the pulpit, on the rostrum, in parliament, in the home, in the school. No war can any more break out, or even threaten, without their raising their united voice in protest. They dare to tell the most powerful governments, the most imperious sovereigns, that they have no right to hurl their subjects against each other in mutual slaughter, that there is a rational and humane way of settling disputes between rational beings, and that it is their business to provide it. They are creating a world conscience, an august moral tribunal of humanity at whose bench all war-makers are even now compelled to appear and defend themselves against the most serious charges ever brought against wrong-doers. This “righteous minority” has already grown large enough to be very troublesome, and before the public sentiment which it, with other agencies, is rapidly creating there can be but one fate for war—destruction.

If all roads lead to Rome, all the real processes of the civilization in which we rejoice are running straight to a common center, the peace of the world. So if we hear of wars and rumors of wars, let us not fail to read the true signs of the times.

### “Its Whole Past, its Whole Future.”

No speech has been delivered in this country, since the period just prior to and including the Civil War, which begins to compare in strength and importance with that made in the Senate on January 9th by Senator Hoar against imperialistic expansion. The occasion which called forth the speech was, is one of the gravest and most critical through which the country has ever passed. The question at issue is no less than whether the nation, in the whirlwind of temptation in which it has been caught, shall abandon the principles on which it is founded, and, for the sake of increasing its territory and showing its hand of force among the armed powers, adopt ideas and methods of expansion and government which are in principle despotic, which have been condemned by our whole national history, and away from which all Christian civilization is moving. Shall the nation continue to advance, to stand for the essential and everlasting principles of all prog-



ress, or shall it deny itself, sell its birthright, abandon its high calling, and turn basely back toward barbarism? Shall it turn its flag into a symbol of principles and practices for the overthrow of which the stars and stripes came into existence? That is the issue stripped of all gloss.

Senator Hoar was among the first to see the real nature and criticalness of the situation, and to sound the alarm while the Peace Commission was still at work on the treaty in Paris. He has been ably supported by nearly all the men of commanding ability throughout the nation—even preceded by some of them—and by a constantly increasing number of the masses. But his recognized position as the foremost of living Senators, his half century of public service, thirty years of it in his present position, his integrity and unquestioned patriotism and his strong attachment to the principles of his party have all peculiarly fitted him to render a service to his country, at this critical period, which no other man in the nation could have rendered. And this service he has rendered, with a high devotion to duty, which has risen above all ordinary considerations of self and of party.

We have not space to give even an outline of the speech. Nor is this needful, for it has doubtless been read by all the readers of our paper. If not, they ought not only to read it, but to study it, as one of the truest and most comprehensive expositions ever made of the character and purpose of American institutions. Senator Hoar spoke for the whole country, "for its whole past and for its whole future." He spoke for the fathers; he voiced the principles of the Constitution and its limitations; the spirit and purpose of the Declaration of Independence out of which the Constitution grew and by which it must be interpreted. He showed that, from the point of view of morality and of policy, the step which it is proposed to take in forcibly annexing the Philippines is not only not progress but retrogression of the worst sort. Technically the speech was a reply to one previously made by Senator Platt of Connecticut. Really it was an answer to all the un-American utterances of public men, of newspapers, of ministers of the gospel "preaching from their pulpits the new commandment to do evil that good may come," of which the country has been so astonishingly full. It was, speaking more to the point still, the voice of the country itself pleading for its own honor against the rashness and reckless perversion of its own children.

There is no reply to be made to Senator Hoar's argument, without a covert or open denial of the principles of the national Constitution and the great purpose for which the nation came into existence. The advocates of imperial expansion, of acquiring sovereignty by the so-called right of conquest, of

making peoples vassals "for their own good," have felt this deeply. Some of them have been much angered by the speech, because of its exposure of the untenableness, the hollowness and immorality of their position.

The effect of the speech—heard not only by the whole nation but by the whole world—has been very great. It has aroused and encouraged the opponents of forcible annexation as nothing else has done. Whether the result will be, as we hope it will be, to compel the modification of the peace treaty before ratification, is yet in doubt. But one effect the speech has certainly had, even if the treaty should be ratified in its present form and the Philippines thus annexed. It has made it impossible, we think, for the United States permanently to hold and to govern the islands as vassals. Mr. Hoar's plea has modified the character of nearly every speech made since on the opposite side in Congress or out of it. A few persons have unblushingly declared that we should take the Philippines by force, kill off half the population if this is necessary to subdue them, and then "civilize" the rest. But all the moderate men, those who, in spite of their false theories, have some real interest in promoting the good of the Filipinos, have hastened to say that they have no intention of robbing them of their liberty and forcing the sovereignty of the United States upon them against their will. In this direction the effect of Senator Hoar's speech has been remarkable.

It has seemed to us, after reading this magnificent exposition of the real spirit, history and mission of the United States, that it will be impossible for the nation to rush blindly on into the imperialistic chasm yawning before it. In some way, the providences of God and the good sense and loyalty of the people must save the country from such a wreck of its fortunes and hopes. If not, it will at least not have been without the true prophet's warning.

### What Moved the Czar.

The capacity to be moved in right directions, by proper motives, is one of the finest in human character. It is the supreme evidence of strength, as it is of goodness. This capacity the young Czar of Russia seems to possess in a high degree, if we may judge from the facts about him which are coming to light in connection with the origin of the great peace manifesto. All sources of information agree in attributing the rescript to the Czar himself, to his own benevolent initiative, to his own humanity of spirit. It is primarily, therefore, the revelation of his personal character, without which no amount or kind of external influences could ever have elicited from him such an utterance.

But the influences working upon him from with-

out were many and strong, and he seems to have had an intelligent appreciation of the weight of each and all of them, as well as of the enormous difficulties which would have to be overcome. He is said to have pondered over the subject for nearly three years, submitting his idealistic purposes to the most exacting practical analysis in order to make sure of his ground before venturing too far.

The depressed and disturbed condition of his own empire, caused largely by the exactions of militarism, was thoroughly known to him, and painfully felt. So was the general state of Europe. He had statistics on the subject prepared for him. His father, Alexander III., had laid the subject upon him, and he felt the solemn responsibility thus imposed. He had special counselors make reports to him as to the feasibility of certain plans for realizing his design. He had listened to the representations of an English statesman some five years ago. He consulted at least two European sovereigns, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Denmark, on some of the general aspects of the subject.

How much truth there is in the story of the connection of Queen Victoria with the conception and issuing of the rescript, we are unable to say. Some features of this story are very improbable and would, if true, take much of the heart out of the movement. The proposal of the Czar does not seem even remotely like a bit of practical political manoeuvring to prevent, or to put off till a more convenient season, a war between Russia and England over affairs in the East. Every word of the document gives evidence of a worthier origin than this. It is certain, however, that the Czar well knew and was deeply influenced by the well-known dislike of the British Queen for war. He was certain beforehand that he should have her undivided sympathy and support.

But if it is true that Emperor Nicholas was moved primarily by the general condition of his own country and of Europe, it is no less true that what hurried him to his decision was a recently published Russian book entitled, "The Future War, in its Technical, Economical and Political Aspects." This book seems quite as remarkable, in its way, as the Czar's rescript. It is the work of a learned Polish publicist named Bliokh. It contains six volumes and a supplement, and is a veritable cyclopedia of peace and war. The whole present condition of Europe seems to be summed up in its pages, and the arguments against war and in favor of setting up a European Court of Arbitration are presented in the most vivid practical way. The Czar, to whose knowledge the book came last spring, is said to have been not simply moved but startled by some of the statements and reasonings presented in it.

This remarkable book has not yet been translated from the Russian. The best account of it which we

have seen is that of Dr. E. J. Dillon in the November number of the *Contemporary Review*. From the account there given, Mr. Bliokh seems to have succeeded in bringing into his book in a most impressive way all the practical arguments against war which have been uttered by the advocates of peace in recent years. His purpose in bringing out the work was to create a powerful current of public opinion against militarism among those classes of society which are most influential in shaping political affairs. It seems remarkable, to say the least, that this treatise should have come out in Russia and have come to the knowledge of the Czar at just that "psychological" moment when he was already wrestling so earnestly with the great problem of an arrest of the ruinous growth of armaments.

Mr. Bliokh's voluminous argument condensed is that war is now out of date. It no longer fits in with the aims, the interests and the morals of modern society. The nations are so bound together in many ways that a disturbance of the equilibrium in one country produces an immediate breakdown in others. Preparations for war by one people engender preparations by others, so that a ruinous rivalry is the result, in which nearly all the substance of races and of individuals is swallowed up. The bloodshed which would result from the shock of the vast bodies of men armed with the murderous weapons of to-day would be such as to horrify all humane men and women. The possible number of killed and wounded would be overwhelming. The numbers of soldiers of the great powers are too vast to be useful. No general could direct such huge armies, and it is doubtful if mobilization could be effected smoothly. "A single breakdown in machinery of so many and such complex parts would spell immediate failure, and might possibly lead to irreparable ruin." The financial sacrifices necessary for the support and training of these countless troops are as ruinous as they are unprofitable. *Ten times* as much goes to military preparations as to educational purposes. A war between the Triple and the Dual Alliances, commanding more than ten millions of soldiers, would be inconceivably ruinous, because of the interests which would be immediately jeopardized, Europe having made such enormous economic progress since 1870. The author, of course, develops his argument with the most ample display of facts and figures. The difficulty of obtaining money, when war breaks out, will be as great as the need of it is imperative. The only way in which money could be had in sufficient quantities would be by the issue of unlimited bank-notes, the economic result of which would be frightfully disastrous. War having actually broken out would cost the great powers more than four million pounds sterling *daily*. The *annual* cost of a European war would be the fantastic sum of £1,747,120,000. In two years the ruin of

the belligerents would be complete and irreparable.

There is one section of Mr. Bliokh's book which we wish could be turned immediately into English and laid down on every Senator's and Representative's desk in Washington and upon the table of every editor in the nation. That is the section in which he shows that the growing commercial and industrial supremacy of the United States is due chiefly to the absence of militarism. The United States is now not merely by far the richest of the great peoples of the earth but the rate at which the national wealth is increasing is considerably greater than that of any other nation. It is becoming constantly easier for the American to compete with his European rivals. The "coming war" of the European Alliances "will afford him an admirable opportunity to seize and hold all the international markets which nature, skill or money can enable him to supply." Is it possible that the United States, under the impulse of the false ideas now prevailing, proposes to throw away this commercial and industrial advantage, and deliberately adopt the system which is ruining Europe?

Mr. Bliokh argues that unless an end be speedily put to the ruinous rivalry in war preparations, the utter breakdown of some of the European states and the economic paralysis of others must inevitably result. He then devotes a section of his work to showing the way in which militarism is ruining Russia. Even now a considerable portion of the Russian peasants never have enough to eat. The number of the famishing will increase in direct ratio to the increase of the population. In fifty years, without changed conditions, a considerable portion of the nation will consist of a *proletariat* which will not only be without fixed means of subsistence "but positively half naked."

Mr. Bliokh marshals all his "facts, figures and fears" in a great argument in favor of immediate partial disarmament and the establishment of an international tribunal of arbitration for the settlement of all misunderstandings. It is not often given to an author to find immediately such a powerful patron of his ideas as this Polish publicist has found in the Russian Emperor. Whatever may be the immediate practical results of the forth-coming Conference, Mr. Bliokh's book has had the seal of immortality placed upon it by the fact that Nicholas II. has heard its great argument and re-uttered it to the world in his famous Irenicon.

### Arrival of the Doukhobors.

The first party of the Doukhobors, of whom mention has already been made in these columns, arrived at Halifax, N. S., on the 20th of January, after a voyage of 29 days from Batam, and will go directly

on to the section of Canada which has been given them for settlement. The scene at their arrival is described as one of great impressiveness. When the steamer, Lake Huron, on which they had come, dropped anchor at quarantine, the decks were lined from stem to stern with the new comers, quaintly dressed in the garb of the Russian peasant, and singing with tremulous lips a hymn which being interpreted meant: "God is with us; he has helped us, and he will carry us through."

None of the party speak English, except one, Leopold Sulerjitzky, a friend of Count Tolstoy, who with two doctors, a lady and a gentleman, had charge of them and looked after their comfort while on the voyage. The party are described as of all ages. The men wear sheepskin coats, fur leggings and fur caps, and the women bright red skirts and thick woolen head coverings.

When they arrived at Halifax, they were met by the Canadian immigration officials, railroad officials, reporters, Prince Hilkoﬀ of Russia who has been in Canada for a year, and a deputation of the Society of Friends from the United States. It was every way proper for these latter to be present and be the first to welcome the Doukhobors, for foremost among those who have furnished the means and the encouragement for this remarkable emigration have been the Friends of Great Britain and of this country. When the tug bearing those who went out to meet the Doukhobors drew near the steamer, Job S. Gidley, a Friend of Dartmouth, Mass., lifted his hat and shouted: "Welcome, Doukhoborts, welcome." Twice the Doukhobors responded, bowing their heads almost to the deck. When those from the tug boarded the ship, the immigrants crowded around them with ejaculations and gestures indicative of gratitude and delight. Joseph Elkinton, a venerable Friend from Philadelphia, offered a prayer invoking the guidance and blessing of God upon these strangers just entering upon their new life in the western world. Hundreds of them stood about him with bared and bowed heads listening reverently as the words were interpreted to them.

The immigrants are described as a clean, healthy, strong-limbed and intelligent looking people. The Canadian deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr. Smart, was well pleased with their appearance, and said: "They are a splendid looking people, strong and healthy, and I am confident will make good settlers." Prince Hilkoﬀ expressed his delight at the safe arrival of the people saying: "I am to-day heartily glad that my poor, oppressed people have received such a hearty welcome, and especially that they have come to a country under the protection of the British flag."

One of the reporters, in describing the scene at the arrival of these Doukhobors, speaks of it as

"one of the most impressive in the history of any country." This it certainly was, if we take into account only the 2300 people who came on that ship, fleeing from severe and long-continued persecution and seeking a home where they should not be persecuted for trying to put into practice, in a simple and natural way, the teachings of Him whom the Russians as well as other professedly Christian people call their Master.

But this event means much more. It is a part of the great struggle now going on to rid the civilized world of the curse and tyranny of militarism, a tyranny than which none more cruel and heartless has ever afflicted humanity. The system of conscription has extended itself until only under the flags of Great Britain and the United States, of the great powers, is there any liberty of conscience left so far as military service is concerned. And there are many Americans and British subjects who so little understand and appreciate the real meaning of Anglo-Saxon civil and religious liberty that they would set up forced military service in these countries also. There is a steady effort being made on both sides of the water to do this. The conscription party in Great Britain is very strong, and the same is true in several of our states. The contest with these evil proposers is likely to grow more severe instead of less so, and it behooves every American and British citizen, who understands the real nature of his birthright, to be on the alert against every movement of this insidious foe.

The Doukhobors have been true to their principles for a hundred years. They have been persecuted and driven about as if they were soulless cattle, for no other reason than that they refuse to violate their consciences by taking part in man-killing or training therefor. They have finally had to leave their native land, in order to escape entire destruction. We trust that their presence in this hemisphere may prove a part of the good seed which shall save it from the degradation of conscription.

But the contest with militarism must be carried on, not simply to save Anglo-Saxon civilization from its worst and most degrading form, but that it may be driven from every country in Europe and all the peoples of the old world set free from its fetters. Anglo-Saxon freedom cannot be saved, unless we can at the same time save the rest of the earth. It is a shame, for whose description there is no sufficient adjective in the language, that after nineteen centuries of Christianity there should be any country on the globe calling itself Christian where an upright, industrious, Godfearing people like the Doukhobors cannot live in security of life and property. Russia is not the only military despotism. The Doukhobors could not live without persecution in Germany, or France, or Austria, or Italy.

It will be a greater shame still when it shall come

to pass, if it shall ever come to pass, that there shall be no refuge for such a people under the British or the American flag. But this will surely come to pass, unless the friends of civil and religious liberty, the friends of peace, singly and unitedly stand to their post and everywhere raise the cry of warning. The contest with the tyranny of militarism is growing steadily more pronounced. Even the Czar's peace trumpet has aroused the enemy to new activity nearly everywhere in Europe. They are greatly mistaken who suppose that this hoary evil will die easily. Like every other organized evil, it spreads and strengthens itself continually, and it will one day lay its hand again upon the Doukhobors in their new home, and upon many others too, if the friends of liberty and peace are not awake to the tremendous responsibilities to-day resting upon them.

### Editorial Notes.

**The Peace Treaty.** An agreement has been reached in the Senate to vote on the Peace Treaty on the 6th inst.

Its fate will therefore be decided when this issue reaches our readers. As we go to press the dispatches state that the Senate will pass a prior resolution declaring that the ratification of the treaty shall not be considered as in anywise determining the policy to be pursued by the United States in regard to the Philippines, nor as committing this country to a colonial policy, nor as embarrassing the establishment of an independent government by the people of the islands whenever such a proceeding shall give hope of success. The managers of the treaty have given up hope of its ratification without the passing of such a resolution. The value of the resolution will, if the treaty is ratified, consist entirely in its moral effect upon members of Congress. It will have no legal force whatever. We are opposed to the ratification of the treaty without amendment, for reasons heretofore given, but we shall expect, if it is ratified, that the rising tide of opposition throughout the country to an imperialistic colonial policy will ultimately compel Congress to act, in the final disposition of the Philippines, in harmony with the spirit and traditions of our institutions. Ratification without amendment will go a long way toward deciding the question in the wrong way, but it will not make a right solution impossible, even though it renders it every way more difficult.

**American Peace Society.** The Board of Directors of the American Peace Society met in regular bi-monthly session on January 23d. The subject of the Czar's Conference was further discussed, and a committee of three, consisting of the President, the Secretary and Dr. Charles G. Ames, was appointed to coöperate with other organizations and citizens of Boston in pro-

moting public interest throughout the country in the Czar's proposals. The following resolutions were introduced and, after extended and earnest discussion and some modification of their original form, were unanimously passed:

*Resolved*, that the sovereignty, or permanent authority, of the United States ought not to be extended over any foreign people without their free consent, acquisition of such sovereignty by the so-called right of conquest being contrary to the fundamental principles of morality, and also to those of our national constitution.

*Resolved*, that the annexation of the Philippine islands would be attended by great physical and moral evils to our people, would result in the waste of the national resources and would tend to international entanglements, liable to result in the demand for a great burdensome navy and army, which would be fraught with great danger to the Republic. Therefore, the islands ought not to be annexed to the United States, but allowed to set up a government for themselves, under such United States or international supervision as may be necessary to secure to the islands wise and stable government.

Lord Salisbury's formal reply to the Russian Emperor's call for a peace Conference was made the first week in January. He promised the cordial coöperation of the British government, and said that a British representative would take part in the proposed Conference whenever the invitation should be received. He expressed the hope that the invitation might be accompanied by some indication of the special topics which would be discussed in the Conference, as a guide in the selection of the British representatives. The British Premier has evidently been much influenced by the strong manifestation of public sentiment in England in favor of the Czar's proposal. His reply states that there are few nations, if any, which on the grounds of feeling as well as of interest are more interested in the maintenance of peace than Great Britain. He also feels deeply the menace of both internal and external tranquility which is caused by the immense burdens imposed on the populations of Europe by the present armaments, whose costliness and deadliness, however, he thinks have acted as a serious deterrent from war. The British Premier's reply is a virtual condemnation of the present condition of Europe, and a frank confession that it is every way desirable that it should be speedily relieved. What he says ought to prove a powerful moral support to the Czar's undertaking.

Following closely on Lord Salisbury's reply, Count Muravieff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has issued a second note to the powers in which he re-asserts the desirability of holding the Peace Conference. The Russian government thinks it possible and advisable to have a prelimi-

nary interchange of ideas by the various cabinets, in order to prepare the way for diplomatic discussion. The circular re-affirms that nothing touching existing political relations shall be discussed, and suggests that the Conference, when it meets, be held at the capital of one of the secondary powers, as at Brussels or Copenhagen. The Circular outlines ten points on which the Russian government thinks it desirable that an understanding be reached. They are as follows:

First, to agree not to increase naval or military forces and the corresponding budgets for a fixed period.

Second, to endeavor to find means of reducing the forces and budgets in the future.

Third, to interdict the use of any new weapon or explosive of a power fuller than now made.

Fourth, to restrict the use of the most terrible of existing explosives, and to forbid the throwing of any explosives from balloons or similarly.

Fifth, to forbid the employment of submarine torpedoes and similar contrivances.

Sixth, to undertake not to construct vessels with rams.

Seventh, to apply the Geneva convention to naval warfare.

Eighth, to neutralize vessels saving those wrecked in naval battles.

Ninth, to revise the declaration concerning the laws and customs of war elaborated at Brussels in 1874.

Tenth, to accept the principle of mediation and arbitration in such cases as lend themselves thereto.

It is clear that the Czar means serious business. If an agreement should be reached by the governments along the lines here suggested, militarism would receive a deep and dangerous wound.

Mr. William T. Stead, of whose proposed Pilgrimage of Peace we spoke in our last number, commenced publishing on the 10th of January a broadside entitled "War against War" in the interests of the Crusade of Peace. It is to be published weekly, at a penny a week, for three months, and is to be completed in twelve parts. It is to contain signed articles by leading writers, first-class sermons by first-class preachers, full chronicles of the Crusade, and character-sketches of the Crusaders. The purpose of the publication, and of the Crusade in whose interests it is published, is to arouse the citizens of Great Britain to coöperate in securing "such a vigorous and comprehensive expression of the will of the people as will assure to her Majesty's government the support of the nation in realizing the earnest desire of the Czar that 'something practical shall be done'." Mr. Stead has the coöperation of a general committee, of which the Bishop of London is chairman, appointed at a great meeting held in St. James' Hall, London, on Peace Sunday, the 18th of December. The first issue of "War against War" contains the Czar's rescript, the manifesto of the Cru-

Salisbury's  
Reply to the  
Czar.

War against  
War.

The Czar's  
Second Circular.

sade, the opinions of a number of leading British statesmen on the Czar's proposal. Many of these opinions were given in letters read at the great meeting in St. James' Hall, of which the sheet also gives an account, with a full report of Mr. Stead's address. We shall hope for the largest results from this movement inaugurated by Mr. Stead in Great Britain, for, as Rev. Hugh Price Hughes said at the meeting, "if England is in earnest" about the Czar's proposal, "the thing will be done." That England is in earnest and that her support will be given to the sublime undertaking of Nicholas II. is already manifest from the great popular movement going on in her cities and villages, and from the clear and cordial utterances of her public men. Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, has said in reference to the Czar's invitation: "I offer a most hearty tribute to the motive by which that invitation has been dictated. I admire the character which can have produced it, and as far as assistance and sympathy from us can help him in the task he has undertaken, that assistance and sympathy are entirely at his disposal. . . The era of this great proposition I think will be an epoch in the history of man. We earnestly concur with him (the Czar) in his views and desires." That is the utterance of the most authoritative voice in Great Britain, and we believe it represents the spirit and wish of the British people.

The Czar  
and Tolstoy

The Czar of Russia evidently appreciates the character and work of the great Count who is entitled, in many ways, to be considered the foremost citizen of his empire. While journeying north from Livadia, the middle of last month, during a stop for luncheon at Toola, the capital of the province of Toola, the Emperor sent a delicately-worded message, expressing his desire to see Tolstoy. Tolstoy accepted the invitation and soon appeared at the railway station, dressed in his peasant's garb. The Emperor kissed him on the mouth and both cheeks, the Count heartily responding. The Czar then asked his guest for an opinion upon the proposal for a reduction of armaments. At first, Count Tolstoy responded that he could believe in it only when his majesty should set the example to other nations. When the Czar mentioned the difficulties of the problem and the necessity of united action on the part of the nations, the Count expressed the hope that his majesty would be able to attain some definite results, or, at any rate, that the Conference might be able to devise some workable plan. The Czar thanked Tolstoy for his good wishes, saying that he would be pleased if the Count could be induced to lend his genius to the solution of the question. The Count replied that the Emperor might depend upon his coöperation, for he was already engaged upon a work dealing with the question, which would

soon see the light. It is needless to say, that this interview, if it occurred as the dispatches declare, is of much significance in showing that the Czar is not only in earnest, but also determined to enlist every influence possible in support of his purpose.

Among the ablest discussions of the "The Tracks of Our Forefathers." subject of imperialism which have come to our notice is the paper of Charles Francis Adams read before the Lexington, Massachusetts, Historical Society, and since published by Dana Estes and Co. of Boston. The title of the pamphlet is "Imperialism and the Tracks of our Forefathers." Mr. Adams deals with the subject purely from the historical point of view. He shows that in every feature of it, the policy of colonial dependencies which it is proposed to foist upon the nation, is in contradiction of all our distinctive national tenets and previous general practices. "Thus, curiously enough," he says, after examining one by one the principal features of the subject, "whichever way we turn and however we regard it, at the close of more than a century of independent existence we find ourselves, historically speaking, involved in a mesh of contradictions with our past. Under a sense of obligation, impelled by circumstances, perhaps to a degree influenced by ambition and commercial greed, we have one by one abandoned our distinctive national tenets, and accepted in their place, though in some modified forms, the old-time European tenets and policies, which we supposed the world, actuated largely by our example, was about forever to discard. Our whole record as a people is, of course, then ransacked and subjected to microscopic investigation, and every petty disregard of principle, any wrong heretofore silently, perhaps sadly, ignored, each unobserved or disregarded innovation of the past, is magnified into a precedent justifying anything and everything in the future. If we formerly on some occasion swallowed a gnat, why now, it is asked, strain at a camel?

. . . What is now proposed, examined in connection with our principles and traditional policy as a nation, does apparently indicate a break in continuity,—historically, it will probably constitute what is known in Geology as a 'fault.' Indeed, it is almost safe to say that history hardly records any change of base and system on the part of a great people at once so sudden, so radical, and so pregnant with consequences." In a letter to Mr. Schurz, printed with the address, Mr. Adams outlines a positive policy of proceeding in the case of all the territories wrested from Spain, which he defines as the American as distinguished from the European policy. This he calls a policy of "Hands off," the territories in question having their independence guaranteed and then left to



work out their own destiny. Mr. Adams' whole treatment of the subject is richly illustrated with instructive historical examples.

The Philippine  
Pottage.

A sermon by Dr. Henry Van Dyke of New York City on "The American Birthright and the Philippine Pottage" has been published by Charles Scribner's Sons. It is a powerful plea against the proposed "surrender of our American birthright of glorious ideals." Dr. Van Dyke says that "colonial expansion means coming strife; the annexation of the Philippines means the annexation of a new danger to the world's peace. The acceptance of imperialism means that we must prepare to beat our ploughshares into swords and our pruning-hooks into spears, and be ready to water distant lands and stain foreign seas with an ever increasing torrent of American blood. Is it for this that philanthropists and Christian preachers urge us to abandon our peaceful mission of enlightenment and thrust forward, sword in hand, into the arena of imperial conflict?" The chief argument, however, which he urges against the forcible extension of American sovereignty over the Philippines is that it certainly involves not only an entire disregard for, but a real surrender of American precedence and American principles. "How can we pass by the solemn and majestic claim of our Declaration of Independence, that 'government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed'?" "The cry of to-day is: 'Wherever the American flag has been raised it never must be hauled down.' The man who will not join that cry may be accused of disloyalty. . . So be it, then. If the price of popularity is the stifling of conviction, I want none of it. If the test of loyalty is to join in every thoughtless cry of the multitude, I decline it. I profess a higher loyalty—*allegiance to the flag, not for what it covers, but for what it means.* There is one thing that can happen to the American flag worse than to be hauled down, that is to have its meaning and its message changed." "May the luster of its equal stars never be dimmed by the shadow of the crowned imperial eagle." "God save the birthright of the one country on earth whose ideal is not to subjugate the world but to enlighten it."

New and  
Awful.

We have never laid any very great stress on what has been called the scientific argument for the end of war. The increase in the deadliness of weapons has had, so far, very little effect in inducing men to give up fighting. When they fight, they seem to delight in it just as much, now that it is becoming so largely a matter purely of scientific skill in the handling of weapons of awful destructiveness, as they did in the old "poetic" days of hand-to-hand encounter.

Victor Hugo once said that war would sometime die from an indigestion of cannon. But so far the dyspepsia has made no appreciable progress. However, this argument is considered by many a very strong one, and we often hear it uttered. A strong presentation of it is made in a very able address recently given by Rev. Charles R. Brown, before the Berkeley Club of Oakland, California. He says among other things:

"A single Lyddite shell fired from a British fieldgun into Omdurman in the recent campaign in the Soudan killed one hundred and six out of one hundred and eighteen men who had taken refuge in an iron mosque beside the Mahdi's tomb. This shell was made from picric acid by fusing carbolic and nitric acids. Picric acid has been recognized as one of the most terrible explosives, but so great was the danger of handling it that it was rarely used until the invention of Lyddite, as the new form of it is now called, discovered a method of fusing instead of mixing its constituents. Now it cannot only be handled without harm, but its power as an explosive is increased ten-fold. It will more thoroughly destroy adjacent objects and for a larger area around than any other explosive known, weight for weight. Solid masonry crumbles to dust within four hundred yards of one of these exploding shells. The killing of one hundred and six men out of one hundred and eighteen men in that company of Dervishes indicates the complete deadliness of this new and awful weapon."

From the scientific development in warlike implements of which this is only one illustration, Mr. Brown argues that the "heart" is all being taken out of war, and that soon men "will refuse to lend their more sensitive nerves to be the sport of the brute forces now scientifically lined up against them." Whether this be true or not, these deadly instruments are more and more revealing the essentially inhuman and irrational nature of war, and those who are determined that war shall cease to exist find in these monstrous developments of the death-power the strongest of reasons for pushing their propaganda forward with all the wit and resources at their command.

A Crime  
Against Humanity.

Mr. Urbain Gohier, author of "*L'Armée contre la Nation*", contributes an extremely valuable article to the January number of *Concord* on the relations of "France and England." He says that "after 1870, France had two ways between which to choose. She might then have stopped her military history. She was not really diminished in size, because the Empire, which at its fall cost her two Departments, had brought her two in 1860. With the real arrival of democracy an area of peace, labor and material and moral progress might have been opened. Her intellectual hegemony over the civilized world

would have been sufficient honor for a great nation ; a few square miles of territory more or less would have mattered nothing." Instead of taking this wise and noble course, he says France has been following a "dream of revenge." Out of this has grown an "extravagant foreign policy." France has "protested against the rape of Alsace and Lorraine by plundering the countries of defenceless yellow and black men." As to hostility between France and England, which "a criminal press has been laboring for ten years to re-awaken," he says: "A war between France and England would be a frightful crime against humanity. Civilization would be set back two centuries by it. England is the holy land of liberty, her ultimate refuge when reaction triumphs on the Continent. England is a great and permanent example of the power of the will. It may be that her rude egoism checks our sympathy, but her robust virtues command respect. A war between France and England would compass the economic ruin of this country (France). The Russians, our 'precious allies', buy nothing of us ; the Germans inundate us with their goods ; the unfortunate Senegalese, Congolese, Malagasies, Tonkinese do not want rich French produce, and have not wherewith to buy it. Our agriculture and our industry have only one market, England. This market closed means more than half our exportation suppressed, forty-eight million pounds lost, without counting what the English living among us spend. England would suffer ; France much more so." Mr. Gohier then declares that "causes of conflict threaten on all sides," because of what he calls a "mad and criminal policy" on the part of France. These are brave and manly words, and we wish there were more friends of peace in all countries who were as faithful in treating the weakness and sins of their own country, as this courageous Frenchman.

#### A Colonial Military Commission.

The War Department at Washington has found it impossible, with its ordinary force, to handle the work made necessary by the military occupation and government of the territories thrown under the control of the United States by the outcome of the war with Spain. The Secretary of War has, therefore, organized a colonial commission—a military commission of course—to have charge of all matters of detail in connection with the administration of the government of the said territories. The members of the Commission are General Robert P. Kennedy of Ohio, Curtis Guild, Jr. of Massachusetts, and George W. Watkins of Michigan. The Commission is to deal with the bestowal of franchises and concessions, the distribution of money for public improvements, and with "all of the troublesome issues that have arisen or are

likely to arise in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines." The best wish we can make for this Commission, with the personnel of which no fault is to be found, is that it may have a very brief existence ; that is, that the conditions making such a service necessary may speedily disappear. It bodes no good to the Republic that it finds itself in a situation where it is under the temporary necessity of setting up a military government—a government of force and martial law—over millions of people. The sooner Congress puts an end to this situation the better, and we earnestly hope that the idea of an indefinite military government of these peoples of which there has been a good deal of talk, may not find favor in the national legislature. The military government ought at the earliest possible moment to be changed into a civil government.

#### Bishop Sower's Peace Principles.

Mr. Charles G. Sower, head of the famous Sower Publishing House of Philadelphia, recently presented to the Brethren Church, Main St., Germantown, Pa., a memorial tablet in memory of Bishop Christopher Sower and his son. Bishop Sower, the *Gospel Messenger* says, believed that all war is wrong, and hence he "condemned the Revolution on peace principles from his pulpit and in his publications. His son had established the printing business in Philadelphia and, having formed the acquaintance of British officers during Howe's occupation, was appointed 'King's printer'. This led to the seizure of Sower for treason. On the night of May 23, 1778, he was marched to Valley Forge at the point of the bayonet ; his beard and long hair, which he wore according to their religious custom, were cut off ; his face was smeared with paint, and, nearly naked, he was taken to headquarters. Through the intercession of General Muhlenberg, he was released on condition that he would not return to Germantown for a month. In the meanwhile, the edict commanding an oath of allegiance to be taken before a magistrate had been issued, and as he had not appeared all his property in Germantown had been confiscated. On the Dunker's principles, he refused to make any appeal to the law to get back his property. When the British troops occupied Germantown, they were in his church and scattered his Bible folios in all directions."

#### Kipling's Latest Poem.

J. W. Leeds, writing to *City and State*, takes exception, as what peace-seeking man does not, to Kipling's "The Truce of the Bear," one of the most mischievous poems that has appeared in recent years, because "it is directly aimed at the Czar's rescript to the Powers upon general disarmament, and is intended to place that remarkable project in the interest of international amity under the ban of suspicion. It is

this sinister pointing of suspicion and distrust that is already greatly chargeable with keeping the nations asunder and at swords' points. There is surely no need to intensify the bad principle. The State paper referred to does bear all the marks of sincerity, and if generally accepted as meaning just what it says, the happier will be the outcome. . . .

What good, one may then ask, this fine poem of Kipling's, which so conspicuously suggests cunning and lack of sincerity? Mocking at the emperor's peace plea, the poet, as though speaking of the bear, cries:

When he stands up as pleading, in monstrous man-brute guise,  
When he veils the hate and cunning of the little swinish eyes,  
When he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer,  
That is the time of peril—the time of the truce of the bear.

As to the genesis of this poem, one needs but to recall the fact of Kipling's life in India; that he was conversant with matters civil and military in that vice-royalty, and knew all about the constant apprehension of Russia's advance to the Indies; that his 'Jungle Books' delight in vividly picturing the wily mongoose, the resourceful Bengal tiger, the cunning and deadly cobra, so that in bringing forward a brute of a bear, and a very deceiving one at that, to typify the Russian emperor, he was but developing his bent for uncanny natural history description. As the poet has doubtless his readers among the royal family of Russia, let us hope that his gross and realistic portrayal of the chief of the house may be magnanimously forgiven by the latter, and be not unpleasantly remembered, in the near future, against him and his nation."

University of  
Michigan Wins.

On the evening of January 13, the University of Michigan and Northwestern University engaged in a debate on the question: "Resolved, that the United States should build and maintain a much larger navy than at present." Northwestern had the choice of sides and took the affirmative. But Michigan won the debate, by the unanimous decision of the judges voting separately. This is as it should have been, as the Ann Harbor men, besides being we suppose the more capable debaters, had the right side of the question. The Michigan debaters were Mr. George Kingsley of Paola, Kansas, a post-graduate in the Michigan University Law Department, Mr. Sigismund Sanger of Toledo, O., a Senior in the Law Department, and Mr. Charles Simons of Detroit, a post-graduate of the Literary Department of the University. The contestants from Northwestern University were Mr. Edwin R. Perry of Granton, Ontario, a Junior in the College of Liberal Arts, Mr. Charles Lederer of Chicago, a graduate of Chicago University and now a Senior at Northwestern, and Mr. Andrew Cooke, also a Senior in the College of Liberal Arts. The judges of the debate were Hon. O. A.

Howland of Toronto, Ontario, Judge J. A. Barber of Toledo, O., and Judge Robert S. Parker of Bowling Green, O. President Angell of the University of Michigan was present, and after the debate gave a banquet to the judges, the debaters and a few of their friends. The Michigan debaters were ably trained by Professor Thomas Clarkson Trueblood, the head of the Department of Elocution and Oratory in the University and President of the National Oratorical Association.

### Brevities.

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association and the Swedish Women's Peace Society have circulated more than fifty thousand copies of an appeal to the Swedish Nation asking for support of the Czar's manifesto.

. . . Similar appeals have been made in Norway, Denmark and Holland, where the most lively interest has been taken in promoting the success of the Czar's Conference.

. . . Madame Griess-Traut, who died recently at Paris at the age of eighty-five, was a member of the Board of Directors of the French Arbitration Society. She was one of the most devoted and earnest of the European friends of peace, known everywhere on the Continent for her intelligence and zeal in behalf of the cause.

. . . Within the last seven years England, with her colonies in all quarters of the world, has lost five per cent. of her export trade, while the United States, without colonies, has gained eighteen per cent. in her export trade.

. . . Since New Year's day the United States government officials have been in control in Havana, and order is said to be coming out of chaos.

. . . The New Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, arrived in Calcutta on the 8th of January, and was warmly greeted by the populace.

. . . The death of Senator Morrill and of Congressman Dingley has taken away two of the ablest and purest men who have been in the public service in Washington in recent years.

. . . The late Professor Thorold Rogers of England said that there were three types of men whom he could not abide, a "pious banker," "a lawyer with a theological twist" and a "Christian hero" like General Gordon.

. . . Great meetings, and many smaller ones, continue to be held in England in support of the Czar's proposals.

. . . Dr. Moses D. Hoge, one of the ablest and most brilliant of Presbyterian ministers, who died recently at his home at Richmond, Va., was a strong friend of the cause of peace. He was one of the most faithful supporters of the late Dr. Campbell in the organization of what has since grown into the Arbitration Alliance of the Churches, whose great petition in favor of arbitration has now been presented to all the principal governments.

. . . The second party of two thousand Doukhobors has arrived at Halifax, under the charge of Serge Tolstoy, son

of Count Tolstoy. Because of a case of smallpox on board, they will remain in quarantine until danger of the spread of the disease is over.

. . . *The North American Review* for January contains two strong articles against imperialism and the annexation of the Philippines, one by Andrew Carnegie, the other by Senator G. G. Vest.

. . . The Supreme Court of the United States, *Dred Scott vs. Sanford* (19th U. S. Reports), decided unanimously that "there is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure, or to enlarge its territorial limits in any way, except by the admission of new states."

. . . On the 14th of January the French Arbitration Society established an important branch of its work at Havre. An address was made on the occasion by Professor Charles Richet of the Medical Faculty of the Sorbonne.

. . . The American Bible Society is preparing to send experienced agents to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine islands to arrange for the wider distribution of the Scriptures in these lands.

. . . One of the very best speeches made during the past month against the annexation of the Philippines was that of Senator George C. Perkins of California before the Boston Merchants' Association, on January third, and reported in full in the Boston papers. A speech of like ability and character was made the next evening by Carl Schurz before the University of Chicago.

. . . The United States has had twenty wars with the Indians, covering in the aggregate a period of about 25 years, and costing the nation one hundred and ten millions of dollars. Lossing estimates that for every Indian warrior killed, fifteen American soldiers have lost their lives.

. . . David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, has contributed his strong word against imperialism in an article, first read at the Religious Congress at Omaha in October, and afterwards published in *The New World*, under the title of "Imperial Democracy." The address has since been circulated in pamphlet form by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston.

. . . Jeremy Bentham said long ago that "whatsoever nation should get the start of the others in making the proposal to reduce and fix the amount of its armed force would crown itself with everlasting honor."

. . . The General Peace League of the Netherlands has just issued its twenty-sixth "Yearbook." It covers seventy-nine pages and shows a year of active and patient effort in the peace propaganda.

. . . "Count Tolstoy on Flogged and Floggers" is the title of a pamphlet just issued by the Russian Reformation Society, 21 Paternoster Square, London. It is a faithful but very painful account of the sufferings of the Russian peasantry under the methods of treatment followed by the Russian police officials.

## To Nicholas II. 1898.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

Salute the soul that dares, though royal born,  
Become knight errant of the hope forlorn;  
Disdain the sneer that curls the curving lip,  
Arrest a world's doubt by the sceptre tip.  
As sure as crawling slug within the wood,  
The lowest reading of the highest mood;  
As surely as the skies the caverns crown,  
The noble deed shall live the base thought down.  
As certain as the dawn to stir the dark,  
The arrow of the age flies to its mark.  
Dividing years, and years to be shall know  
Whose was the hand that held and bent the bow.  
New, then, and ever well the great Law wears:  
All souls high-born salute the Soul that dares.

In the *January Atlantic*.

## Disarm!

BY MARIA LOUISE EVE.

Disarm! disarm! Heed ye the cry,  
Ungird the sword and let it lie;  
The clock of time has struck the hour  
When right is might and peace is power;  
These clumsy arbiters of human fate  
No more 'twixt men and men should arbitrate.  
Wipe off the stains and sheath the blade,  
You cannot heal the wounds it made;  
But let it rest and rust for aye,  
Its bitter work is done to-day.  
And henceforth to your hands there shall be given  
Ithuriel spears, resistless, wrought in heaven.  
Ye Kings and rulers, everywhere,  
Beware how ye resist, beware!  
Ye Princes and ye Potentates  
Who rule in Empires and in States,  
Beware! beware! lest you should lift an arm  
Against a voice from heaven that cries, "Disarm!"

## The Teacher of Brotherhood.

In Memory of Joseph Cartland.\*

BY W. H.

Thou teacher taught of God,  
Saying, like one of old, to great and small,  
"Know thou the Lord, write on thy heart his law,  
For He thy days shall bless, and keep them all";  
Thou teacher rare and true,  
Thy influence as sweet as this June breeze,  
Unfolding oft to eager, glowing hearts  
The blessed lore of Christly centuries;  
Thou teacher mild yet firm,  
Bestowing in thy rich and gracious way,  
Not from rare book nor ancient, musty tome,  
But from the heart, light on the hidden way;

\* Joseph Cartland, in whose memory these lines were written, died at an advanced age at his home in Newburyport, Mass., in June, 1898. He was for many years a teacher. He was one of the very best types of New England manhood, Godly, pure, intelligent, and active in every good work for humanity. He was for many years a member of the American Peace Society, and the cause of human brotherhood had no warmer or more active friend.

Thou teacher raised of God,  
To stand and tell by that brave life of thine,—  
Like to the grand old prophet—brotherhood,  
The wondrous story of the love divine;

Thou teacher called of God,  
We love to think. His great plan to fulfil,  
Within the realm of spirits wise and sweet,  
That thou, thou spirit pure, art teaching still.

## The Growth of International Goodwill.\*

BY REV. H. M. SIMMONS OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Social harmony is a thing of slow growth. At first not even the family had much of it. The Bible represents the very founder of Israel as deceiving his dying father to rob his twin brother—represents his sons in turn as selling their best brother into slavery and nearly slaying him; and the story, however to be treated, is true enough of primitive society. Even when the family was united, it was in frequent feud with others, and we are wont to say the primitive state of man was war.

But families learned to unite in clans, and these again in tribes. Within the tribe, the former quarrels ceased, and people who hated found it was wiser to help each other. But they of course remained hostile to outsiders, and thought it sacred duty to plunder them; so that Pathan and Afridi mothers would pray that their sons might become skilful thieves, and the Turkoman who stole most became a saint and had pilgrimages made to his tomb. The Dyaks, though described as among themselves "humane to a degree that might well shame" us, were yet famed for ferocity to others, and their gentlest maiden would show no favor to her lover until he brought an enemy's skull to adorn the bridal chamber, and wanted two or three more to give good omen to the birth of her babe. Countless savages have shown this contrast, being very brotherly within the tribe, but very brutes beyond it. It is growing harmony, but still the narrow harmony of a hornet's nest.

But with further progress, either by conquest or consent, tribes are united in larger groups, and these at length in a nation, which much extends the harmony. Through its own territory, it stops those intertribal quarrels, and in their place establishes peace, law, order, industry, new civilization. Peace still further cultivates kindly feelings, so that most ancient nations proclaimed humane principles, and the literature not only of Israel, but of Egypt, India and Greece is full of charitable precepts. Plato, ten generations before Christ, summed up the duties of an Athenian in the prayer: "May I, being of sound mind, do to others as I would that they should do to me;" and already the ideal of the golden rule was familiar from Athens to the ends of Asia. Patriotism was carried to an extreme that we can hardly conceive to-day—and Cicero said no man could be called good unless willing to die for his country.

But it was only patriotism. That humanity was only national, and not thought owed to aliens. Egypt, with all her praise of kindness, glorified cruelty toward other nations. Greeks, though more humane, hardly tried to be so to foreigners, and Plato in proclaiming that golden

rule, did not mean that it was to be practiced toward barbarians. Even the Israelites, however divine they thought the Decalogue for home use, long thought it their duty to break it in dealing with other nations. The Bible tells how Joshua carefully inscribed upon the stones of his altar in Mt. Ebal "the law of Moses," including of course the command "Thou shalt not kill," and then went right on to kill all the people in those Canaanitish cities, "left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed." Of course we need not suppose that he really was so cruel, and the Bible itself goes on to tell us that right after his death those very cities and peoples which he had so "utterly destroyed" were still flourishing, undisturbed by the annihilation. But the story shows the ideals all the same. Early Israelites, like other ancient peoples, while attaining to high standards of humanity in their own nation, had little thought of practicing these beyond its limits.

But in time, chiefly through conquest, nations were in turn united in a larger federation which stopped their mutual strife and brought an international peace. Even Alexander's conquests brought such a union for a time; and Plutarch says of him: "Conceiving that he was sent of God to unite all together, he formed of a hundred diverse nations a single body," and "desired that all should regard the world as their common country."

This principle was carried further under Roman rule, which, with all the wrongs it wrought, still joined warring peoples from the British isles to the Euphrates in comparative peace. In this wider union, patriotism outgrew its national limits into something like humanity. Cicero urged "charity to the whole human race," and, Lecky says, "maintained the doctrine of universal brotherhood as distinctly as it was afterward maintained by the Christian Church." Even religious tolerance was so advanced that Merivale says the Romans, in the height of their power, allowed "every race and every man among their subjects to worship his God after his own fashion" in the very shadow of Jupiter's temple on the Capitol. The golden rule was extended beyond Plato's thought. Varro wrote: "What we wish for ourselves, we should wish for others, and this affection, extending outward from the city, should embrace the whole group of nations that form humanity." That idea was common among the Stoics in the century before Christ.

The old eagerness for conquest decayed. Some 30 years B. C. the temple of Janus was closed, for the first time in 600 years, it was said, and there began that great peace so famous as the "Pax Romana," which was destined, Duruy says, "to draw the nations together," and "to be the real imperial divinity to whom the greatest of the Roman emperors, Augustus, Vespasian and Trajan, will build temples." Poetry sang its praise. Horace, in his first ode, says wars are "detested by mothers," and many a writer spoke as if they were detested by all. Tibullus begins an elegy by asking who was the brute who first forged swords. Virgil declares "the cursed insanity of war," "scelerata insania belli." Nor did even this equal the censure of Cicero who long before had written, "I prefer the most unjust peace to the most just war." The sentiment continued. In the time of the Apostles, the pagan Lucan predicted the time when the world "will cast aside its weapons and all nations will learn to love." Somewhat later in that first century, the noted temple of

\* A paper read at the Omaha Congress of Religions in October, 1898.

Peace was built at Rome, and became the chief receptacle of works of art, the favorite gathering place of artists and the learned. Most of the second century was marked by general peace; and eighty years of it are what, Gibbon says, scholars would "without hesitation" call "the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous." And though corruptions within and barbaric invasions from without soon brought evils enough in that empire; still, at the end of the fourth century, the last great Latin poet, Claudian, sings the blessings of that union of nations, which has, he says, joined "remote peoples by a pious bond," "cherished the human race by a common name," so that strangers may find a home wherever they go, may travel to furthest Thule, drink from the Rhone and the Orontes, and "we are all one race."

It looked as if we might remain one. For now had been established in that empire a religion whose central principle was peace and brotherhood. That principle, nobly taught by Jewish prophets and broadened by later Rabbis, had at length been preached with especial emphasis by the early Christians. They taught that Jesus had been born with the angelic announcement of "peace on earth"; that in one beatitude he had blessed the meek, in another the merciful, and in a third had glorified "peace-makers" with the very highest name of "sons of God"; that he had ordered to love even enemies, to forgive 70 times 7 times, and even when smitten on one cheek to turn the other. True to these teachings, many early Christians had refused to fight even in self-defence; and a "powerful party, which counted among its leaders Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius and Basil, maintained that all warfare was unlawful for those who had been converted." Such promise was there of harmony among the nations. The Roman empire and the "Pax Romana" had united them and removed their national prejudices; stoicism had preached peace and universal brotherhood as a philosophy; and the Christianity, which was now established, had preached them more powerfully as a religion taught by a very God.

But this onward movement was soon reverted and curiously reversed. The very emperor who had established Christianity, made it martial, took even its sacred cross, inscribed with the monogram of Christ, as the standard of his imperial armies, and so, says Dean Milman, "the meek and peaceful Jesus became a God of battle." Still more warlike did Christianity grow by opposing and absorbing the barbarians who conquered the Roman empire. More warlike still did it become by its conflict with Mohammedans. The Arabs had been peculiarly a fighting people; and their traditions told of 1,700 battles before Mahomet, and one war of forty years occasioned by two horses. This spirit was kept by Mohammedans, and caught by Christianity in its conflict with them. Says Lecky: "The spirit of Mohammedanism slowly passed into Christianity, and transformed it into its own image. For about two centuries every pulpit in Christendom proclaimed the duty of war with the unbeliever, and represented the battlefield as the sure path to heaven. The religious orders which arose united the character of the priest with that of the warrior, and when, at the hour of sunset, the soldier knelt down to pray before his cross, that cross was the handle of his sword.

It would be impossible to conceive any more complete transformation than Christianity had undergone."

This martial spirit which Christians acquired by conflict with the heathen, they continued in their contests with each other and with heretics. There came many and long wars expressly called "religious," in which different branches of the church sought to annihilate one another in the name of their common Lord, and in disobedience to his whole teaching. Instead of forgiving, they fought. Instead of presenting their cheeks, they presented their swords. Instead of loving their enemies, they butchered each other. For centuries, wars were continued in the professed service of him who gave his highest blessing to peace-makers, and cities were sacked and men burned to cinders in the name of the religion of love. As Tennyson says: "Christian love among the churches looked the twin of heathen hate."

Even after religious wars were ended, there remained those of the rival nations which had risen from the ruins of the Roman empire. Within the territory which Stoic emperors had kept in comparative peace, these Christian nations, for the sake of petty provinces or pettier principles, fought each other in frequent wars and with an extent of slaughter which makes the battles of barbarians look innocent. The Seven Years' war, for instance, destroyed nearly a million lives, and Napoleon's campaigns over two millions. The wars besides left a barbarous legacy of international bitterness, and S. C. Hall says the three chief precepts taught him when a child were to be a good boy, and love his mother, and hate the French.

But wise men had long been asking why this international hostility and all the waste, and worse, that it brought. Why take such pains to abolish violence in every nation, and then cultivate it on a vastly larger scale between nations? If justice is so good a thing, why stop it at the state line? Why punish the stealing of a coat or a cow, then praise the stealing of whole countries? Why hang the citizen who murders one man, and then honor the ruler who murders a million? Is the moral law altered by office or epaulettes? Why call it disgraceful for two men to fight with fists, but glorious for two armies to join in fight infinitely more ferocious and fatal? If courts are such a blessing in every nation, why not have them between nations?

These questions were asked by many thinking men, such as Henry IV., St. Pierre, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte. Among them should be especially noticed Voltaire. John Morley says: "We can never honor Voltaire too long nor too deeply" for this, since "he was the first influential writer who deliberately placed war among retrograde agencies, and deliberately dwelt upon peaceful industry as the true life of nations." But hardly less emphatic was our own Ben. Franklin. Long before Gen. Sherman said "war is hell," Franklin called it so. In 1781 he wrote a story of an angel visiting earth and seeing the fight of the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. At sight of the sinking ships and savage slaughter, the angel cried to his guide, "You blundering blockhead, you have brought me, not to earth, but to hell." "No," replied the guide, "this is earth and these are men. Devils never treat each other in this cruel manner. They have more sense, and more of what men vainly call humanity." And everybody knows how Franklin wrote, "There never was a good war." Even Carlyle, in his "Sartor Resar-



tus," took pains to show what he called "the net purport and upshot of war," by that vivid picture of thirty men from an English village and thirty more from a French, sent to the battlefield to face each other, each with a gun in his hand. At the word "Fire!" "they blow the souls out of one another, and in place of sixty useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead corpses which it must bury and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the slightest!" They slew each other only because their governments ordered.

Such censures of the war system increased. Daniel O'Connell said no political question was worth the shedding of a drop of blood. Lowell, in those scathing "Biglow Papers," denounced even the war in which his country was engaged at the time; for, as he makes Parson Wilbur say, "our true country" is not a certain territory, but "that ideal realm, bounded on the north, south, east and west by justice," and "there is a patriotism of soul, whose claim absolves us from our other and terrene fealty." This truer "patriotism" orders him to oppose his government. Hosea Biglow still more pointedly says, "ez fer war, I call it murder," "it's curus Christian dooty, this 'ere cuttin' folks' throats"; and he has a special stanza against "them editors" who have been stirring up the war that none of them go to, and whom he compares to a peach that has got "the yellows," "with the meanness bustin' out." Elsewhere, too, Lowell tells of the countless "battles which proved nothing and settled nothing, conquests which shifted the boundaries on the map, and put one ugly head instead of another on the coins that the people payed to the tax-gatherer." About the same time, Charles Sumner gave those learned and logical addresses showing not only the wickedness, but the wastefulness of the system under which a single warship in Boston harbor has cost more than all the accumulated wealth of Harvard College, and the mere annual expenses of that ship were four times as much as those of Harvard; and concluding with the declaration, "There can be no war that is not dishonorable." So was the system regarded by wise men in growing number, and Buckle in his great book forty years ago treated war as an evil which was soon to become obsolete.

But of course the mass of the people thought otherwise. They naturally still kept the opinions and feelings that had prevailed in their ancestors for a thousand years. And it has to be admitted that they were encouraged in this by the very clergy. Lecky says the Christian clergy, as a whole, since Constantine, have increased rather than diminished wars. Voltaire rebuked those of his day for preaching against petty evils and ignoring this greatest one which contained "all crimes" and did more harm than "all the vices combined"; and he said they "declaim for five quarters of an hour against the mere pricks of a pin, and say no word on the curse which tears us into a thousand pieces." In England also the established clergy, even up to our own times, have almost unanimously supported war, and left the Christian words against it to be spoken by dissenters and even so-called infidels; so that a wit said that Bradlaugh, the atheist, ought to be made Archbishop of Canterbury, since he had preached Jesus' principles of peace, while that dignitary had denied them. In this country, too, the clergy have generally favored not only particular wars, but war in itself. Francis A. Walker, in 1869, published a

notable magazine article about this. He said that in five years' pretty constant attendance at church, and from fifty different pulpits, he had "not heard a single discourse which was devoted to the primitive Christian idea of peace, or which contained a perceptible strain of argument or appeal for international goodwill." He told of a clergyman who went through the eastern towns advocating a war with England; and of another eminent D. D., who advocated it at the General Assembly of his denomination. He told of a convention of clergymen in Boston, where the proposal from a member that they unite in prayer for the aversion of the Franco-Prussian war and for the peaceable solution of the trouble, was greeted by the president with a violent speech in which "war was exalted as the great agent of human progress, and the poor peace-maker, anything but blessed, was morally hustled out of the convention, and victory remained with the fighting parson." Gen. Walker said further, "the unquestionable fact is that the clergy are the most demoralized body in the community in this respect," since they ignore the economic principles against war, while their ardent feelings or prejudices prevent them from taking a true moral view of it. So Gen. Sherman said to a body of clergymen in Washington: "You gentlemen in black coats are the men who make war; we of the army and navy simply end the wars which you bring on." With even the preachers of the "Prince of Peace" showing such favor for war, no wonder the people do.

And we know how they do, in England at any rate. A few weeks ago so prominent an Englishman as Sir Wilfrid Lawson wrote of the British wars of the present year as follows: "A few thousands massacred last Good Friday at the Atbara filled Englishmen with joy during the holy Easter season, and whetted our appetite for what has followed on a larger scale at Khartoum. The reports indicate that our perfected machinery of slaughter has been effective in mowing down some 10,000 or 12,000 men who were fighting for their country; and in wounding a still larger number who at this very moment are lingering out their last moments in indescribable agony in the holes and hiding places into which they have crept to die. Such, sir, are the glorious doings for which bishops are thanking God, poets are writing impassioned sonnets, and over which almost all our able leader writers in the press are waxing more or less hysterical with delight."

And we know how the people of this country, and especially of the West, have been growing eager for war with some country or other. This is well illustrated in an article in the last (September) number of the "Nineteenth Century" by the eminent Edward Dicey. He told how, about three years ago, at a dinner given to some Americans in London, he was seated beside a man who had served with distinction in our civil war, and was now a leading citizen of San Francisco and a prominent California financier. The after-dinner speeches had dwelt as usual on the brotherhood of the British and American nations, and their common Anglo-Saxon mission to advance the peace and prosperity of the world. After listening to them, the Californian remarked that while he personally agreed with all that in principle, it was not true in fact, at least as far as the West was concerned; for, said he, "in the West we are spoiling for a war."

"With whom?" asked Mr. Dicey. "With England, for choice," replied the Californian, "but as long as they can get a war with somebody, it does not matter much with whom." "But what is the cause of 'this bellicose sentiment?'" asked Mr. Dicey. "Well," the Californian replied, "it might be partly caused by dull trade, low wages, hard times and the enormous pensions paid to old soldiers; but," said he, "I think the main cause is the desire of all our young men to have a war of their own, so as to enable them to show that they are as good men as their fathers. At any rate," said he, "I am sure that our people will take the first opportunity that presents itself for going to war." Such was the American sentiment, according to a man well qualified to judge.

And we know how soon that sentiment was shown. Only a few months after, a United States Senator, from the other extremity of the country, published over his own signature an article entitled "Our Coming War With England," declaring that it was "inevitable," and that in it "a million of men and muskets will overrun Canada, and England's commercial ships will be swept from the ocean." Within a few weeks that little trouble about a boundary line in Venezuela aroused a cry for such a conflict. We kept our Christmas season of "peace on earth" by a general clamor for war; and after our press and people had just gone through a contortion of horror about a proposed pugilistic contest between two worthless fools down in Texas, we were eager to send several hundred thousand Christians into the ring, to blow each other to pieces in battles whose barbarity would make pugilism seem pious. Congress was ablaze. The Senator introduced his bill for those million rifles and kindred preparations, and a hundred million dollars to pay for them. Even the sacred chaplain of the House put in his prayer the petition, "May we be quick to resent anything like an insult"; and took pains to close the prayer with the phrase, "through Christ our Lord," as if such quick resentment were the true service of him who had ordered us to love our enemies and to forgive their insults 490 times. Even an honorable ex-governor was reported as saying that probably the war would embroil all the leading nations of Europe, as well as India, and "practically the whole world would be in conflagration;" but he added that the idea, though terrific, is "grand and magnificent." Some argued that besides being magnificent, it would be a needed moral tonic to the nation, and greatly improve even our spiritual character. Many papers held out the happy promise that the war would end with our capture and permanent possession of Canada; as if, while a shameful crime for England to steal a few square miles from Venezuela, it would be most praiseworthy for us to steal a thousand times as much from her. It was, you see, a standard of justice very like that of the storied savage who, when asked to illustrate his ideas of right and wrong, said it was wrong for another man to steal his cow, but right for him to steal all the cows of the other man.

That particular war ended in words. But the spirit remained, and when afterward Great Britain proposed that we unite with her in the promotion of world-peace by a general treaty of arbitration, our Congress refused, and did it largely out of hostility to her.

Still, as that Californian said, it did not make much difference what country we warred with, and this year

the foe has changed. Many of the people who so lately wanted to annihilate England, have this season fallen on her neck in a gush of affection, and have transferred their belligerence to a much safer contest with poor little worn-out Spain. The contest was of course carried on in the name of humanity; but it was evident that the real motive was more like the one in that chaplain's prayer, that we might be quick to resent insults. So quick we were, that before there was any insult or the slightest evidence that the Spaniards had anything to do with the destruction of our ship, the country clamored to avenge it, and the real cry of the war was "Remember the Maine." Indeed the insult seems to have been on the other side; and so eminent a writer as Goldwin Smith said that Spain not only offered most fairly to submit the question of that ship to an impartial tribunal, but paid due regard to all our demands, except what he called our "insulting summons to a proud and noble, though decayed, nation, to strike its flag," a summons "sure to force war." Still we felt an insult, and talked hardly so much about the suffering Cubans as about our "national honor." So, we proceeded to sustain our "honor" by slaughter, and to sooth our sorrow for the loss of those sailors by losing several times as many more. Of course, we loved the Cubans; that is, until we learned a little more about them, and found we might have to fight them too. But we did not love them so much as we hated the Spaniards. "To hell with Spain" was a favorite motto; and the news that her ships were sunk, and that hundreds of her sailors devotedly went down to death in the depths of the sea, rather than lower the colors of their country, sent flags flying in all our towns and cheers and jubilation through the land.

I would not underrate our motive of humanity, and there is nothing in our history more honorable than that desire to aid another people. But the humanity was marred by the method of it. Humanity does not wade in blood up to the horses' bridles, unless it is a clear case of necessity. Several papers have compared our work to that of the Good Samaritan, and I dare say the feelings of many were as kind. But when the Good Samaritan arms himself with thirteen-inch cannon and goes about the world sinking ships and bombarding cities; when, instead of pouring oil and wine into the wounds, he pours in shot and shell to make more; and when, instead of merely helping the man who had suffered robbery, he goes into the business himself and proposes to appropriate the whole Philippine islands, he seems departing from his New Testament model. For the curious thing in this case is that the very papers that talked most about "our generous sacrifice for humanity," quickly began to insist upon getting full pay for it and a goodly profit besides. After solemnly declaring that we were not after territory, they insist in taking a vast amount of it and entering upon a grand career of imperialism.

Of course, they consecrate this too by the name of "humanity," and even of religion; and talk of our solemn responsibilities and our sacred duty to submit to the plain purposes of God, and not to abandon the island which Providence has thus thrust upon us. Providence? Suppose I should arm myself with a dozen revolvers and attack some very small, weak and worn-out old man of Minneapolis, because one of his tenement houses in the slums was disorderly; suppose I should put several bullets

through him, and tell him that his wounds were the work of Providence and were proof that God was on my side; suppose that in compensation for my Christian work in wounding him, I should appropriate all his other tenement houses and hold them by my superior fire-arms; and suppose that, when he cried to have them back, I should wave my revolvers in his face religiously, and say: "No, sir; my sacred duty is to keep this rich property which Providence has thrust upon me, and not to shirk my solemn responsibilities to society and to God!" I think the poor old man would be justified in replying that my peculiar views of Providence were neither philosophic nor religious.\*

I fear the imperialistic religion is not without alloy. In those recent times when we hated England instead of Spain, and could not say enough in censure of British imperialism, a noted American writer said the result of the British conquest of a pagan people in Africa was that the heathen got the Bible and the English got the land. Doubtless our American imperialists, after filling the islands with the Bible and our blessed politics, may be trusted to look after a fair part of the land and all of the offices. Nor can they logically stop with islands, if they adopt this principle of interference, but must feel the same religious duty to conquer and bless all lands, since they know that Americans could govern every country much better than its owners do. But after they have conquered and Americanized the earth, perhaps they will come back to our own country, and stop the burning of negroes, and various other evils which need reform quite as much as Cuba did.

But while we have thus been growing eager for war and for enlarging armies and navies, other nations have been growing anxious to avoid it, and even from Russia, which had been thought the one most dangerous to the world's peace, has come the call for a congress for international disarmament. Whatever the motive of that call, and whatever its result, it again prophesies that harmony of nations toward which progress moves. As a protest against the war system we hail it gladly. For that system, though having brought great good in the past, has brought more evil, and can bring little but evil in the future. It has brought the predominance of the powerful races, but by a most cruel process of selection; and the selection wanted henceforth is not by the rivalry of brute force or of bullets, but of brains. It has brought discipline, but henceforth men can be disciplined in better ways than by setting them to kill each other. It has cultivated physical bravery, just as bull-fights have; but has cultivated brutal feelings with it. Lord Lawrence's life tells how British officers in India used to gather about the gallows, to lounge and smoke and watch the death agonies of the prisoners hung there. Even the sainted Chinese Gordon wrote that when "the whole of Sebastopol was in flames," it was "a splendid sight," and the sun rising upon it "had a most beautiful effect"; and in the late war, I have seen papers calling the bombardment of Spaniards "fun for the boys." If wars do furnish so much "fun," they do not refine the feelings. I am no convert to the frequent teaching that fighting elevates

character, and that my moral and spiritual nature is to be ennobled by killing somebody.

Wars have sometimes put an end to great evils; but generally by worse evils of suffering, disease, death and sorrow, to say nothing of the material cost and waste. Some one figured that the mere money cost of our civil war would have bought and freed every slave, abolished slavery and saved the Union without any of that immense bloodshed and long bitterness after it, besides endowing a Yale and a Harvard in every state, and leaving a large balance; that, too, without counting the pensions, which are going to continue for a half century yet and to cost more than the war itself did. Nor is the money and life all the cost; but a wise man said the worst part of a war is in the twenty-five years of demoralization after it, in the derangement of the true standards of honesty and right. Our civil war showed it; and to-day, nothing but the war spirit would have led our country, after so solemnly declaring that it sought no territory, to fall so soon into a wild craze to annex the earth.

Even the greatest blessing of war, that union of nations through conquest, is no longer needed; for to-day the works of peace are uniting them far better. Knowledge is uniting them, and in the growth of intelligence the old animosities are fading. The industries are uniting them, and nearly all the nations of the earth have combined to make the mere watch in your pocket. Commerce is uniting them, so closely that the mere rumor of a war disturbs the markets around the earth, and Carlyle said the Winnipeg trapper could not quarrel with his squaw without sending up the price of pelts in England. Every invention, except those of war, is uniting them. The poet told how, at the laying of the first cable, the old barriers of ocean, space and time, shrank away, crying to the divided people "Be one!"

"We are one, said the nations, as hand met hand  
In a thrill electric from land to land."

Or, as Whittier sang of the flashes through that cable:

"Weave on, swift shuttle of the Lord,  
Beneath the sea so far,  
The bridal robe of earth's accord,  
The funeral shroud of war."

Every ship, too, except the battleship, is such a shuttle; every railway train, with its merchandise and mail, adds another thread to that bridal robe of nations, and all we have to do is not to rend it. As Herbert Spencer wrote two years ago, to that international arbitration meeting in London, henceforth social progress is to come simply "by cessation from those antagonisms which keep alive the brutal element in human nature, and by persistence in a peaceful life which gives unchecked play to the sympathies. This," he continued, "I hold to be a political truth in comparison with which all other political truths are insignificant."

The exposition on yonder hill in Omaha reminds me of Victor Hugo's words, just twenty years ago, in an address which Parton calls "the most Christian thing spoken on earth since Christ." Standing in sight of the great International Exposition buildings in Paris, where the products of all nations were gathered in peaceful competition for the good of the world, and closing a plea for peace, he said: "No, it is not good to make corpses; it cannot be that women are to bear children in anguish, that men are to be born and communities to plow and

\* On the day after this address was delivered, Carl Schurz, in a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, declared that our proposal to appropriate the Philippines "is a flagrant breach of faith in turning a soberly proclaimed war of humanity into a vulgar land-grabbing operation, glossed over by high-sounding cant about destiny and duty and what not."

sow, that industry is to perform its miracles, and genius execute its prodigies, that this vast human activity is to multiply its creations beneath the starry heavens, in order to produce that terrible international exposition called a battlefield." And as his surcharged emotion brought the vast audience to their feet, he added, closing his oration and pointing to the exposition buildings, "Behold the true field of battle!" That is the war we want, the peaceful battle of arts and industries, of thoughts and sentiments, to give victory to the best and vanquish the brutal, barbarous and base.

And in closing my address to this Congress of Religions, I might more fitly recall Hugo's words at that other meeting, of the International Peace Congress, which, he said, had come together "to turn if it may be, the last and most august page of the Gospel." He reminded them that it was St. Bartholomew's Day; and yet, there, almost beneath the shadow of the tower whence had rung the signal for that massacre, were now united Englishmen and Frenchmen, Germans and Italians, Europeans and Americans, Papists and Huguenots, in a brotherhood both of nations and religions. The progress was slow, but the signs were sure; and sure to come the time when, he said, "war will be dead, animosity will be dead, but man will live; for all there will be but one country, the whole earth; for all there will be one hope, the whole heaven."

### England, France and Fashoda.

BY ELLEN ROBINSON.

The Fashoda dispute between Great Britain and France has ended peaceably; but such incidents, and still more the conditions in which they originate, are dangerous both to the material welfare and the moral tone of the nations.

We therefore appeal to the people whose interests are so deeply affected to consider how these dangers can be avoided in the future; and how, by the force of public opinion, a change may be brought about in the policy which leads up to them.

That the recent difficulty has not led to war between the two countries is due rather to the good sense of France in withdrawing from an untenable position, than to the wisdom or forbearance of Great Britain. The threatening and irritating speeches of some of our leading statesmen, the overbearing tone of many of the newspapers, and, above all, the hurried war preparations, were certainly not calculated to make for peace. It was universally assumed that this attitude towards our neighbors was justified, because France was clearly in the wrong. But are there no other methods of dealing with international mistake or wrong-doing than threats and violence? Was it quite worthy of a great civilized nation, and one professedly Christian, to rush into preparations for destruction and slaughter before the effect of friendly remonstrance and an appeal to justice had been fairly tried?

And granting that France was wrong in her action, was England right? Had either country any real claim to Fashoda? Had Egypt, in whose name it was annexed, any right to this territory? She claimed the Soudan by right of conquest only. This conquest took place during the first half of this century, under the cruel Mohammed Ali. Fashoda was occupied and administered by Egypt

for a comparatively short time. Not civilization—but slave-raiding and oppressive taxation, bloodshed, and untold misery were the results of Egyptian rule.

Even while acting as an officer of the Khedive in these regions, Gordon felt his conscience reproach him for subjecting the people of the Soudan to the rule of Egypt. He says, "I think, what right have I to coax the natives to be quiet, for them to fall into the hands of a rapacious Pasha after my departure?"

It was the iniquitous extortions of Turkish and Egyptian officials which were the cause of the Mahdi's success; the crowds who flocked to his banners did so in the hope of freeing themselves from their oppressors.

The former occupation of the Soudan by Egypt, by so-called right of conquest, is the foundation of our present claim to Fashoda. But can the right of conquest, though politically recognized, be morally justified? Whether effected by Egypt, Great Britain, or France, what else is conquest but robbery with violence? Territory can be obtained, and rightly obtained, by treaty, payment, or exchange; or by willing acquiescence on the part of the rightful inhabitants and owners; but to seize it forcibly, and mow down its inhabitants with shot and shell, is as criminal as robbery and murder in civil life. No plea of extending empire, of opening up new markets, of advancing civilization, or promoting Christianity, can justify conquest by war. By no excuse of deposing tyrants or dethroning inefficient rulers can a course of action be defended which means the slaughter of our fellow-men, the making of widows and orphans, the destruction of food, the burning of human habitations, and, finally, defiance of the whole moral law.

If, as appears to be the case, we are conquering the Soudan, not for Egypt, but for ourselves, are we not committing a double wrong? A wrong in destroying brave men, who, however barbarous, were yet struggling for faith and freedom,—for those things which all nations hold dear; and a wrong towards the Egyptians, in making use of their men and their money to gain fresh territory for ourselves? No benefits which good government under English direction has bestowed upon Egypt can justify our using her as a tool to extend our empire from Cairo to the Cape.

The query therefore arises, whether a share of that condemnation so liberally bestowed upon France for her methods of acquiring territory in Africa, might not justly fall upon ourselves. Have we any greater moral claim to Fashoda than the French?

Unless some more Christian method of dealing with native races be adopted, unless some higher standard of justice and equity rule amongst civilized governments, it may well be that before very long the stronger nations may come to blows over the spoils. Then ravaged Africa will indeed be avenged. Who can fully realize the conditions of a future European war? The widespread interests affected, the enormous cost, the ruin of commerce, the destructiveness of weapons and missiles, the numbers of wounded, and the impossibility of caring efficiently for the sufferers, will make such a war more terrible in its effects than any the world has ever known. Well may it be said, "A general war would be the outpouring of the seven vials of the Apocalypse upon the nations of Europe. It must be waged under conditions revolting to the kindly-hearted,

ruinous to the belligerents, and repugnant even to the military leaders." (*Contemporary Review*, November, 1898.)

There is now offered to Europe a golden opportunity of inaugurating an international policy which shall be consistent with humanity and justice, with the laws of God and the welfare of man. May the coming Conference on the proposals of the Tsar of Russia open a new era in the history of civilization; and may the men and women of England be found amongst the warmest advocates and the most earnest supporters of a policy of peace and righteousness! Has not the time come when Christian ministers should have the courage to maintain that the principles of Christianity are applicable to the whole of life, and should labor to bring our international relationships under its scope and to test our foreign policy by its light?

LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND.

### Text of the Arbitration Treaty between the Kingdom of Italy and the Argentine Republic.

We give herewith the text of the arbitration treaty between Italy and the Argentine Republic, which was signed at Rome on the 23d of July, 1898. This treaty is the first of its kind ever made. We have taken the text from the French translation of the treaty. It consists of fourteen articles, and is as follows:

Art. I. The high contracting parties hereby bind themselves to submit to the decision of arbitration all the disputes, whatever may be their nature or cause, which may arise between the said parties, when such cannot be adjusted in a friendly way by the ordinary course of diplomacy. This provision for arbitration shall extend even over disputes which may have arisen prior to the negotiation of this treaty.

Art. II. In case of necessity, the parties shall make a special convention to determine the object of the litigation, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, and any other matters having reference to procedure.

In default of such a convention, the tribunal under the instruction of the parties shall determine the points of law and of fact which must be decided in order to adjust the dispute. In default of a convention, or in case the point in question has not been foreseen, the following rules shall be observed:

Art. III. The tribunal shall be composed of three judges. Each of the states shall appoint one. The two arbitrators shall choose the third. If they fail to agree in a choice, the third arbitrator shall be chosen by the head of a third state, to be named. If the parties shall not agree upon the head of the state to be named, the President of the Swiss Confederation and the King of Sweden and Norway shall be asked in turn to name the third arbitrator.

The third arbitrator thus chosen shall be president of the tribunal. The same person cannot be named as third arbitrator more than once in succession.

The arbitrators cannot be citizens of the contracting states nor reside, nor have homes in their territories. They must have no interest in the question which constitutes the ground for the arbitration.

Art. IV. If an arbitrator, for any reason whatever,

cannot perform, or continue in, the office of arbitrator to which he has been named, his place shall be filled according to the same procedure used in his nomination.

Art. V. In default of a special agreement between the parties, the tribunal shall designate the time and the place of the meeting, outside of the territories of the contracting states, and shall choose the language which shall be employed. It shall determine the methods of procedure, the forms and the delays to be observed by the parties, the procedures to be followed, and in general, it shall adopt all the measures which it shall judge necessary for its action, and suitable for the solving of all the difficulties of procedure which may arise in the course of the discussion.

The parties, on their part, pledge themselves to put at the disposal of the arbitrators all the means of information within their power.

Art. VI. An agent of each of the parties shall be present at the sittings, and he shall represent his government in all matters pertaining to the arbitration.

Art. VII. The tribunal shall be competent to decide upon the regularity of its constitution, the validity of the compromise and its interpretation.

Art. VIII. The tribunal shall render its decisions according to the principles of international law, unless the compromise provides for the application of special rules, and authorizes the arbitrators to render their decision as friendly counselors.

Art. IX. Unless provision is made to the contrary, the decisions of the tribunal shall be made by a majority vote of the arbitrators.

Art. X. The judgment rendered shall decide definitely every point of the dispute. Two copies of it shall be drawn up and signed by all the arbitrators. If one of the arbitrators refuses to sign, a note of the refusal shall be made in the judgment, which shall go into effect, if it bears the signature of a majority of the arbitrators. The judgment shall not contain any counter-arguments. Each of the parties shall be notified of the judgment by its representative before the tribunal.

Art. XI. Each of the parties shall bear its own expenses and one-half of the expenses of the arbitral tribunal.

Art. XII. The judgment, legally pronounced, shall settle, within the limits of its applicability, the matters in dispute between the parties. It shall indicate the limit of time within which it is to be executed. The tribunal shall have the power to settle any questions which shall arise as to the execution of the decree.

Art. XIII. There shall be no appeal from the judgment, and its execution shall be confided to the honor of the nations signing this treaty.

The revision of the judgment before the same tribunal which has pronounced it, may be asked for before the execution of the sentence: First, if the judgment has been based upon a false or erroneous document; second, if the decision in whole or in part has resulted from an error of fact, positive or negative, resulting from the acts or documents of the trial.

Art. XIV. This treaty shall continue in force for a period of ten years from the exchange of ratifications. If the treaty is not denounced six months before the date of its expiration, it shall be understood that it is renewed for a new period of ten years, and so thereafter.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and goodwill towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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## Are Ye Truly Free?

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Men whose boast it is that ye  
Come of fathers brave and free,  
If there breathes on earth a slave,  
Are ye truly free and brave?

If ye do not feel the chain  
When it works a brother's pain,  
Are ye not base slaves indeed—  
Slaves unworthy to be freed?

They are slaves who will not choose  
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must think.

They are slaves who fear to speak  
For the fallen and the weak;  
They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three.

## Careless Speech.

The habit—for it is often nothing more—of deteriorating speech is so common that it would be well for us to stop and think about it.

This sort of thing is so often heard: "I don't think she is so very pretty, as people say," or "I don't think he (or she) is so very clever"—or economical, or stylish, or bright, or cheerful, or a thousand other things. We do not stop to think that while perhaps we do not think her so very pretty as we have heard, that we do think her pretty; and, again if not very clever, surely interesting, and all the others in like measure. It is merely a habit with many people, not skin deep, but just the cruel and unfortunate habit of depreciating speech.

A woman with a sharp tongue, but with the tenderest of hearts, the most generous of natures, but with a keenly critical mind and a rare intuition as

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to character, was brought up, "all standing," as she expressed it, after she had been talking one day with a friend about several people, and before a young girl who was visiting the friend. In a sudden lull in the talk, the girl said, as if by uncontrollable impulse, "Don't you like anybody?" "What do you mean?" said the startled woman. The girl blushed and hesitated, and then said: "Please pardon me, but it seemed so." Little more was said; it was passed off and passed by, as in the polite world things which are not pleasant are passed over, but into the heart of that woman the criticism sank deep, and from that hour she watched and guarded her tongue. Now she does not depreciate in speech, and, if she cannot appreciate, is silent.

It is well to remember the wise words of Emerson, "Omit the negative propositions. Don't waste yourself in rejection nor bark against the bad, but chant the beauty of the good." What a changed and better world we should all live in if we only followed that advice!—*Harper's Weekly*.

## Think more about Peace.

Nevertheless, as we have said, Mr. Stead's plan of a popular appeal is the one most to be commended. The question of peace or war is now one for the people rather than the sovereigns to decide. Time was when monarchs made war at will, to serve their own selfish ambitions or wreak their own personal grudges, regardless of the will of the people. That time is past. It ended with 1870. To-day it may be confidently asserted that every sovereign of Europe is peacefully disposed. The militant spirit exists among the people. There is not one monarch who would have personally anything to gain by war. The time of conquest is past. But among the French people, for example, there prevails a strong desire for revenge upon Germany, and among the Germans there is a strong desire to keep prepared to meet the French attack, and in Great Britain there is a popular feeling that the existence of the empire is conditioned upon keeping the fleet stronger than any two others in Europe, and so on. In Russia there is no effective public opinion, and, despite all impressions to the contrary, Russia is of all na-

tions one of the least inclined to war, for the ruling classes and especially the Emperor realize that Russia has invariably been unfortunate in war and successful in diplomacy, and they are not minded to exchange successful for unsuccessful tactics.

We have said the letters of excuse to Mr. Stead contain no practical suggestions. To that one exception should be made. Professor Bryce did not offer any plan of procedure, but he remarked that preparations for war turned men's thoughts to war. That is true, and it is a most practical fact in suggestion and application. If men's thoughts are turned to war there is danger of war. Conversely, if their thoughts are turned toward peace, peace is likely to be preserved. So Mr. Stead's propaganda may, by getting men to think more about peace, prove more effective for the prevention of war than any more formal and technical means.—*New York Tribune*.

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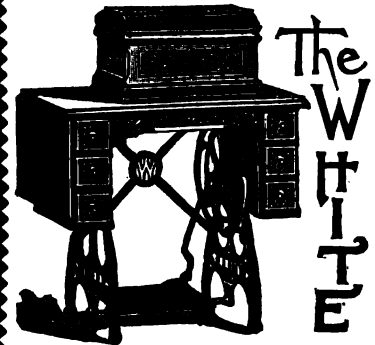
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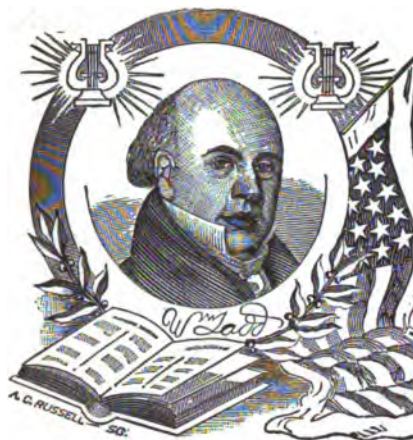
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# The ADVOCATE — OF — PEACE.

BOSTON, MARCH, 1899.

## A Song of Peace.

PUT off, put off your mail, ye kings, and beat your brands to dust;  
A surer grasp your hands must know, your hearts a better trust.  
Nay, bend aback the lance's point, and break the helmet bar,  
A noise is in the morning winds, but not the note of war!  
Among the grassy mountain paths the glittering troops increase;  
They come! they come! how fair their feet—*they come that publish peace,*  
Yea, Victory, fair Victory, our enemies are ours,  
And all the clouds are clasped in light, and all the earth with flowers.  
Ah! still depressed and dim with dew, but wait a little while,  
And radiant with the deathless rose the wilderness shall smile,  
*And every tender, living thing shall feel by streams of rest,*  
*Nor lamb shall from the fold be lost, nor nursling from the nest.*

JOHN RUSKIN.



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# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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## The United States and the Czar's Conference.

The United States is the mother of arbitration. Of the one hundred or more cases of important international disputes settled by this method she has been a party to about one-half. Her statesmen and diplomats have professed a profound love for arbitration. Her Congress has unanimously passed resolutions more than once favoring the principle of arbitration and of arbitration treaties. Her presidents and other statesmen have many times been called upon to act as arbitrators between other nations.

The institutions of the United States are, in their very nature, pacific. All disputes between her forty-five States are referred to a Supreme Court set up to prevent war and to promote through law peaceful cooperation. The United States, up to the present time, has always professed to dislike and not to need

large permanent armaments on land or sea. She has been, by the mouths of almost all her people, the great critic of the militaristic folly of the Old World. She has kept free from foreign entanglements and lived in friendship and respect for all other governments, depending chiefly upon justice and fairness for her defense.

The modern movement for the abolition of war originated, naturally, on United States soil. For many years it had its chief strength here. It has had many of its ablest supporters among American statesmen and publicists—John Jay, Charles Sumner, Josiah Quincy, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, General Grant, David Dudley Field, James G. Blaine and a long list of others.

What might have been expected, then, both on the part of government and people, when the Czar of Russia issued to the world his famous Irenicon on the twenty-fourth of August last? Six months have passed since that memorable day, and yet the splendid Rescript of the Czar has produced scarcely a ripple on the surface of American life. The President, it is true, did immediately respond that the government sympathized with the Emperor's proposals and would send delegates to the Conference. But in his message to Congress at the first of December he treated the subject as if it were a matter in which we have almost no interest. That has been the attitude of practically the whole country, except a small handful of the more ardent friends of peace. The press, as a whole, has treated the subject as if it were a trifling bit of passing news. Only a few pulpits have caught up the great note and sounded it out vigorously.

The Manifesto of Emperor Nicholas has produced a profound impression in Europe. In England and in every Continental nation movements have been organized and persistently pushed, in order to develop

and mass public sentiment around the Russian leader who has dared to voice the stifled feelings of Europe's oppressed and suffering millions. In Great Britain the wave of interest has become tidal, and is sweeping the country through.

But the United States has pricked up its ears and stood aloof. An effort was made in early February in Rochester, N. Y., to start a movement on the 22d of February that would arouse the country, but it was scarcely heard of outside of the city's limits. Late dispatches from Washington state that the authorities there do not expect much practical good to come of the Conference. The government, it is said, will instruct its delegates, not to take advanced grounds and insist both upon reduction of armaments and the adoption of some general system of arbitration, but simply "to put no obstacles in the path of any practicable agreement for diminishing the evils of war and the burdens of big military establishments." Members of the State Department and of the Committees on Foreign Affairs of the two Houses are reported to be sceptical as to the possibility of any agreement even to keep the military establishments down to their present basis. Even in the matter of arbitration, they say that there can be agreement only on matters of minor importance.

The officials and statesmen who have written their opinions to the leaders of the Peace Crusade in England have, for the most part, confined themselves to the expression of sympathy. There is little to make one think that they have any sincere and deep desire for the success of the Czar's proposals.

It is amazing that the United States, which, in loyalty to herself, ought long ago to have uttered herself the Czar's word, should thus be occupying simply negative ground with regard to the greatest, or what might easily be made the greatest event of modern times. The cause is not far to seek. The nation has been on a debauch. She has gotten into an intoxicated spirit in which the Czar's plan does not appeal to her. It runs right across the schemes of enlargement and extension of power upon which she has entered, and which her responsible statesmen seem determined to push to accomplishment at all hazards. The nation, therefore, instead of occupying the foremost and most helpful place in the Conference which is to meet at The Hague in the early summer seems in danger of being "least

and last", and of offering the chief obstacle to the securing of any practical results. For if our delegates should assume negative grounds in the Conference, nothing will be accomplished. They need offer no objections to anything. Their silence and declination to join in adopting positive measures will make the whole occasion a huge failure.

Such a result, such a stupendous national sin, must be made impossible. The heart of the people we believe to be right in the matter. Let them speak out in tones that cannot be mistaken. In little groups and in great masses let them make themselves heard at Washington and at St. Petersburg during the two months which yet remain before the Conference assembles. Let the spell which is over the land be broken. It is still possible for the great peace-loving heart of the nation to utter itself. The series of Monday noon meetings which are to be held in Boston for the next eight weeks ought to be paralleled in every city and village of the country. Let strong resolutions be passed in all these meetings and forwarded at once to the President of the United States, and to the Emperor of Russia through Count Casini, the Russian ambassador at Washington.

### A Conflict of two Civilizations.

When the recent war between the United States and Spain was beginning, we heard prominent men justify it on the ground that it was an inevitable conflict between two differing civilizations incapable of existing longer side by side. The justifiers, as we remember, deplored the war as a sad and unfortunate affair, but since it existed, and they were not in a state of mind to condemn it as wrong, they felt under the necessity of finding some lofty, unanswerable justification of it. They hit upon this,—an inevitable conflict of two civilizations—just as those who can find no sensible ground for imperialistic expansion veil their lack of reason under the crushing phrase, "manifest destiny." That is supposed to end the argument.

What does this argument—an inevitable conflict of two civilizations—when reduced to its elements, mean in the mouths of its users? It means, first, not merely a difference in character, but the superiority of the one civilization to the other, with the accompanying idea of self-satisfaction of the one party because of the consciousness of its supposed perfections. It means, next, that the superior and the inferior civilizations ought not to be allowed to exist side by side because of the resulting friction,



irritation and bad blood, and the hindrance offered by the inferior to the accomplishment of the various purposes of the superior. In the third place, it assumes it to be the right and the duty of the possessors of the superior civilization to crush by force the inferior, or more accurately, to kick it out of the way, if it does not yield to the influences, or the dictation, of the superior. The heaven must throw the meal out of the barrel in order to improve the situation.

The believers in this sort of thing did not usually state their thought in this bald way. They were careful to hold it obscure, and in this way kept themselves persuaded of its soundness and righteousness. But all that the above analysis reveals, and possibly more, was involved in their thought.

The analysis shows clearly that the conflict of arms between the United States and Spain was not so much a clash between two radically different civilizations, a superior and an inferior, as between elements, in both nations, of a kind of civilization which ought long ago to have disappeared. It was not the true American civilization which fell to fighting with Spain, and to "kicking" her out of the Western world and crushing her everywhere. This civilization would have followed a different course, would have accomplished its purposes by means of a different kind, if it had not been, unfortunately, too weak and faithless. It was only when there came a "reversion to the ancient type," a revival in the blood of something essentially barbarous and un-American, that war with its inhumanities and horrors came on. It was the recrudescence of might, of thirst for vengeance, of the desire to fight and show prowess, to "have a hand in the fray", to whip somebody and have "glorious" victories to sing the praises of, that brought on the conflict.

The cloak of American civilization, of the pretense of love of liberty and humanity, flung piously over this "old Adam" did not in the least change his essential nature. The sad and distressing events which are following the war, and straining the patience of all true Americans, are the only proof that need be brought. Its sequences are the best interpretation of the spirit which brought it on. Like begets like. Love of liberty and humanity, of righteousness and fairness, mingled with the conflict, we do not deny; but when history makes up its verdict it will not confound these attendants of the war with its causes. The cause of the Spanish-American war, however modified in its operation, was essentially the same as the cause of all wars. There is a certain book called the New Testament, much talked of but less followed, which defines very clearly what this cause is.

The topic we are discussing furnishes the suggestion that there are but two fundamental types of civilization, and that between them there is going

on an irrepressible conflict. One of these types can only by courtesy be called civilization. It is founded in selfishness, and proceeds according to the principle that might makes right. Its product in the world, even when called order, has always been oppression and slavery, in one form and another, now open and cruel, now mild and patronizing. Its symbol has been the sword, and its history a history of blood, desolation and degradation.

The other type of civilization is founded in justice and love. Its law is the law of service and self-sacrifice, and its instruments are the moral and spiritual forces of truth and beneficence. This type of civilization is gaining steadily upon the other. It would gain much more rapidly if it did not at times abandon in part its principles and undertake to propagate itself by means essentially destructive of its spirit and purposes. As this type grows in strength, the devotees of the old civilization are quick to make loud profession of its spirit, and thus selfishness and ambition, clothed in garments of professed disinterestedness, deceive many into supposing that real humanity can propagate itself by inhuman and destructive means. Thus we have a mixed civilization, in which the two types struggle together, often in the most puzzling confusion.

But the new, Christian type of civilization is becoming steadily more pronounced and clearly defined. The number of those opposed to oppression and violence of every kind is much larger than many suppose. Many of them have not yet the courage of their convictions, but they have the convictions, and that is much. The courage will come in time, and thus short work will be made of the whole business of war. There is not a nation of Continental Europe that could keep up its great military establishment to-day without the conscription. The people hate military service and would not in sufficient numbers voluntarily enter it. The United States can never build up a great army without conscription. The conscription is an evidence not only of governmental tyranny—the tyranny of force and false ideas—but also of the growing popular dislike of war.

The contest will go on growing ever sharper, until the new spirit becomes strong enough to declare itself openly and unanimously. The number of persons who, filled with the spirit of love and universal benevolence, will refuse for any cause to shoot down their fellowmen will go on increasing, and one of these days they will stand up together and utter their voice together in such tones as to make every throne of the old civilization tremble and melt away. The cross and the sword are irreconcilable, and the civilization founded on the former will supplant, totally and forever, that which makes its boast in the latter. The weapons of the new civilization are not of the flesh, but they are

mighty through God to the pulling down of every stronghold founded in selfishness and defended by the mightiest engines of physical force which human wit can devise.

### Whitewashing War.

We have read somewhere a story of a simple-minded whitewasher, colored or white, who, in order to draw customers, had placed over his door the sign: "Goin' out whitewashin' done in here." It would seem just now as if this sign might appropriately be placed over the doors of certain departments of governmental management. About everything connected with the recent war, its mismanagement and the evils and quarrelings growing out of it, seem to be getting a slash of the whitewash brush.

General Eagan has been courtmartialled and suspended, not because he was guilty of appointing incompetent favorites, not because he fed the soldiers "embalmed" or rotten beef, but because he got mad and said several sorts of "bad" words at General Miles. But he is allowed to continue to draw a salary of more than five thousand dollars a year, and to retire, like a gentleman, to one of "our new possessions", to a coffee plantation which he has annexed.

Secretary Alger and the War Department in general have gone almost scott free at the hands of the War Investigation Commission. It was generally believed, when the Commission was appointed, and during the investigation, that its character, as composed of military men and friends of the Department, would lead it to make a whitewashing report. It is true, the Commission found many grounds of blame, as it was compelled by public sentiment to do. But this blame is distributed in such a way and couched in such terms as to make it characterless. The conspicuous incompetency of the head of the War Department is toned down to "lack of that complete grasp of the situation which was essential", and the General is towed about by the President in his trips as if he were the *sine qua non* of the Administration.

The inspector-general's department is found to be "not as efficient as it ought to have been", an utterance which might be made with truth about any service performed by even the most competent human being. General Miles and Dr. Daly are declared to have been "derelict in duty" for not communicating to the Department their suspicion that the refrigerated beef had been chemically treated. And so on through the list. Everybody is uncorrupt and patriotic and energetic, but everybody has failed to do his work perfectly. Everybody is hit, nobody is hurt. As a climax of the whole, the poor "embalmed" beef itself is now being investigated, and in spite of General Miles, or because of him, it is almost certain to get its coat of whitewash.

We do not wonder much at the report of the War

Investigation Commission. If it had not felt itself compelled to save the reputation of the War Department, if it had dared to tell the truth and the whole truth, it would have brought the most serious charges, not against the War Department alone, but against Congress also for the reckless haste with which it plunged the nation needlessly into war, and against the President himself for allowing himself to be "rushed" against his judgment and his wish into the horrors of conflict. The final blame rested just here, and with that large noisy section of the people which shouted for war, and whose voice the authorities mistook for the voice of God.

There was therefore no other report which the Commission could make, unless it had gone beyond the purpose of its appointment and had had the courage to expose the whole gigantic wrong from beginning to end. It was not appointed for this purpose, evidently. The investigation has been absolutely worthless, when judged by any of the higher standards which ought to control the life and activity of the nation. It has been worse than worthless; it has been positively mischievous. Its influence will help to keep the eyes of the people closed to the iniquities and absurdities of war, and to lead the nation farther and farther into the spirit and practice of militarism.

Nothing gets whitewashed as war, and everything connected with it, does. It has always been so. Its hideous and ghastly deformity has been decked out in every fair device which the imagination could suggest, in order to make it look holy and beautiful. Painters have painted it in the fairest colors of the rainbow. People sing over it, pray over it, preach over it, orate over it, as if it were the fairest and sweetest thing in all God's world. Money is spent on it as a lover throws away money on his mistress. Gilded and costly swords are presented to those who have been foremost in killing and mangling their fellowmen. War men are promoted for what occurs in the regular performance of their tasks, as no other men in any other calling, however difficult it may be, are promoted. It is humiliating in the extreme to see men, otherwise rational and humane, joining in all this glorification of what ought to receive the instant and universal condemnation of all rightly ordered souls. The time will come when all this will cease, and war, stripped of its finery, will be sent forth as an outcast to wander without a friend on the planet.

### The Conquest of the Philippines.

"What can war but endless war still breed?"

No sadder, no more shameful page has ever been written in American history than that which is now being written in the Philippine islands. The United States, the land of freedom and justice, "mowing

down" the Filipinos by thousands, because they wish to be free and independent themselves! The United States, which "righteously" went to war with Spain to liberate Cuba, actually taking the place of Spain in shooting down a people who have suddenly, from being patriots and lovers of liberty, become to us "rebels" and "traitors", because they decline to have the shackles of our sovereignty thrown without ceremony upon their wrists! No fine phrase-mongering of President or Congressmen, of newspapers or would-be preachers of the gospel, can change the murderous character of the event or wash the hands of the nation into innocency.

Everybody regrets the deplorable situation. It is "anguish" to the President's heart, he says. We do not doubt it; for he is at heart a liberty-loving, humane man. If he had suspected such a bloody scene in the *cul-de sac* into which the policy of annexation has brought him, he would have been the last to enter it. The situation brings anguish to all hearts which have a particle of goodness left in them. The slaughter of the Filipinos has certainly not been caused by individual wishes. All Americans are too humane directly to wish anything of the sort. All have hastened to say: "The Filipinos have misunderstood our purposes." They have misunderstood a part of our purposes, but not all of them. The war now on our hands at Manila, by whatever name we please to call it, is the legitimate result of the policy inaugurated at Paris of dealing with the Philippine problem. For this policy, the character of which the Filipinos, ignorant barbarians as they are, were quick to detect, who is responsible primarily? Who? There can be but one answer.

The excuses offered to cover up the real nature of the shocking situation and the real wrong-doers only make the matter worse and more painful. Our authority! We never had any authority over the Philippines. Whatever the laws of war may say, we acquired none *de jure* from Spain by her cession, for she had lost all rights of sovereignty by her misrule in the islands, ourselves being judges. What authority we have in the Philippines has been created by force, pure and simple.

That the uprising of the Filipinos was due to the nature of the treaty and not to delay in its ratification is clear from a comparison of their case with that of the Cubans. The same treaty dealt with both. Why did the delay in its ratification not produce irritation and uprising in Cuba? Because the treaty, while requiring Spain to renounce sovereignty over the island, left the Cubans to have the real say as to what should be their political future. If the treaty had undertaken to *cede* Cuba outright to the United States as it did the Philippines, leaving our government the sole arbiter of the political destiny of the Cuban people, Generals Gomez and

Garcia and every soldier of the Cuban army would have been up in arms against the United States before sundown. As it is, everything has gone smoothly in Cuba, and promises to do so hereafter. There is every reason to believe that such would have been the case in the Philippines, if our government had not insisted on transferring them to our sovereignty without any voice from the inhabitants. The Filipinos had a right to receive the same sort of treatment accorded the Cubans. They had been led to expect it. The United States, of all countries in the world, might have been expected to proceed in this way, instead of pursuing the course which it has taken. It is paying the penalty, swiftly and with a moral degradation that is infinitely worse than open defeat in arms would be.

But the past is irrevocable. What should be done now? What will be done is certain. The President says that there must first be absolute submission to "our authority" on the part of the Filipinos before anything else can be considered. Then "we will give them" liberty and good government! Those who are responsible with the President for the conduct of affairs agree with him to such an extent as to make it practically certain that the program begun in the drafting of the treaty is to be carried out, if need be, to the bitter end. The conquest of the Philippines will go on, at no matter what cost of life and treasure and property. The Filipinos seem enraged against us as they were never enraged against the Spaniards, because they expected better things of us. Failing in arms they resort to fire and every other device which they suppose will enable them to expel "the new invaders." The foundations are being laid of bitterness and friction in all our relations with them for generations to come, unless the policy of our government toward them is immediately changed. A new "century of dishonor" is, we fear, opening before us.

If the government were so disposed, a peaceful and conciliatory policy could be found without difficulty, one which would enable us to bear "the white man's burden" toward them "like white men." One has already been suggested by men whose age and experience and wisdom ought to command respect. If we had at the helm a man like Mr. Gladstone the present policy would be instantly reversed, as he reversed the English policy in the case of the Boers in 1884. Hostilities ought to be suspended by our initiative. A Commission, with a white flag if need be, ought to be sent to the leaders of the Filipinos to announce our intention of withdrawing unconditionally from the *impasse* into which an inconsiderate policy has brought us. Such a courageous act of duty, on the part of powerful victors, would at once stop fire and sword; we should in this way make ourselves respected as we

can never do by conquest, even if we "kill half the natives" and burn out all their poor huts. We could then fulfil all our high obligations to these benighted peoples in a way worthy of a great people, whose institutions are founded in liberty and justice, and which ought to be run down deeper still into the love and benevolence taught by Jesus Christ.

### The President's Boston Speech.

One of the chief events of the past month was the President's visit to Boston and his speech before the Home-Market Club. He was expected then to state distinctly the Administration's policy toward the Philippines; that is, some people expected him to do so. We did not. The course which had been taken in reference to the peace treaty led us to believe that the President would make a studied effort to justify his course and his purpose for the future without distinctly declaring them. We have read the speech a number of times and this seems to us to be its principal burden. There is not a word in it about any present rights of the inhabitants of the Philippine islands in determining what shall be their political future. The President boasts of the emancipation of the Filipinos from Spain, but thinks we are entirely ignorant of their wishes in regard to being brought under our sovereignty, though the same men who fought Spain for years because of her oppression have turned against us because we propose to determine their destiny without consulting them. They were justified in their previous revolt against Spain, but now what they are doing is setting up a "reign of terror"!

The President repeats with much eloquence and great show of passivity the "manifest destiny" argument. We had nothing to do with getting into the war, or into the treaty or into the slaughter of the Filipinos! All these things have been showered upon us from the mysterious clouds of Providence and we simply had to stand and take them! The treaty just as it was drafted was the only possible one! A "higher power" had decreed it! All other modes of procedure, for instance to have proceeded as the government did in the case of Cuba, "were too shameful to be considered"!

The President shows great concern for the Filipinos. "Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny, without our willing it, had been put into our hands"! The instructions sent to the Peace Commissioners were to keep solely in view "the welfare, and happiness and the *rights* of the inhabitants of the Philippine islands"; "*after the success of our arms and the maintenance of our honor*", the President naïvely adds. Our own "success" and "honor" were of course first; then the Filipinos should be looked after in whatever way might please us.

We did not ask the consent of the Philippine inhabitants about anything which we had done, therefore, led by "a higher obligation", we are to go on and do all that we may conjure into an appearance of duty, and ten millions of people are to stand by with closed mouths and not utter one word about their future! No claim of following "destiny" or of obeying "higher duty" can cover up the spirit of essential tyranny and oppression that lurks, however unsuspected, in all this display of words.

The President, we have not the slightest doubt, has the real interests of these far away people at heart, but he has allowed himself to be drawn into support of a policy which is utterly antagonistic in its essential features to his real nature and aspirations. The policy entered upon he says must be carried through at no matter what sacrifices to ourselves or the Filipinos. "Our authority must first be acknowledged and unquestioned." All questions of right must stand in abeyance until our "authority" is recognized! We shall crush and crush until that is done! Then the aspirations of the Filipinos and our aspirations can be realized!

But the whole subject is now in the hands of Congress, says the President. He knows, or ought to know, that now that the treaty is ratified in the form in which *he made* it, the whole subject will be in his own hands for a long time to come. And he proposes to "possess and hold" the Philippines until Congress shall direct otherwise! He believes that the inhabitants of the Philippine islands will be benefited by being under "our guidance", and visions of the time when the islands shall have become "the gems and glories of those tropical seas" enable him to look with satisfied eyes on "the blood-stained trenches around Manila"! The children and children's children of the "free and enfranchised Filipinos", "enjoying the blessings of freedom, of civil and religious liberty", which we have forced upon them with the sacrifice of thousands of lives of their countrymen, "will for ages hence bless the American republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland and set them in the pathway of the world's best civilization"! So said the President, while our guns were yet thundering out their murderous voice and thousands of the poor islanders were being torn in pieces by shot and shell.

We have not the least doubt that the Philippine inhabitants will be much better off under United States sovereignty, forced upon them though it has been, than they have ever before been. But that does not touch the real kernel of the matter. The question is how much better off still they might have been, and how much less degraded we ourselves might have been, if we had gone about their elevation and civilization in a truly Christian and American way. However thankful the descendants of

the present Filipinos may be for any improvement of their condition which may come to them through union with the United States, they will never cease to be pained, and indignant even, at the remembrance of the injustice and cruelty with which the inauguration of their improvement was begun.

The President's speech has been extremely painful to us to read. There is everywhere in it evidence of the real humanity and Americanism of the man struggling under another spirit which for the time being has mastered him.

Though "no imperial designs lurk in the American mind", imperial methods are openly working in our present treatment of the Filipinos, and if Congress has the wisdom and the conscience for which the President gives it credit, it will at an early day put an end to the present policy, inaugurated by the President and his advisers, and adopt one which will prevent "our priceless principles" from "undergoing any change under a tropical sun."

### Editorial Notes.

**Ratification of the Treaty.** The treaty of peace was ratified by the Senate on February 6th by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven, or one more than the necessary two-thirds majority. All attempts of the opposition to get passed a resolution declaring that it was not the intention of the United States permanently to hold the Philippines, or to prevent the inhabitants from setting up an independent government for themselves, failed. The attack of the Filipinos on the United States troops the day before seems to have had little influence on the vote, though it may have thrown two or three votes to the side of the treaty. Some days later an attempt was made to pass a resolution declaring "that the United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said islands and asserts its determination, when a stable and independent government shall have been erected therein, entitled in the judgment of the government of the United States to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people." This resolution, or amendment, developed unexpected strength in the Senate and was defeated only by the casting vote of the Vice-President. The McEnery resolution which was then passed by a small majority is so meaningless, if not mischievous, that it was opposed by Senator Hoar and other friends of Philippine independence, and it is not likely ever to be acted upon by the House. It is as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands."

*The Episcopal Recorder* takes us to task for having opposed the ratification of the peace treaty without modification. It

thinks we were "inconsistent" and "became antagonists of the peace we profess to love." Superficially it may seem so, but a little thought ought to enable the plainest people to see that we were following the only course possible in conscience. We opposed the treaty, not in so far as it was a peace treaty, but because it had attached to it a rider that was full of the grossest injustice and inaugurated a policy for the United States fraught with danger of future entanglements and war, and destructive of the very principles on which alone permanent peace can rest. We would not have "plunged the two countries again into war." *The Episcopal Recorder* ought to know that the failure to ratify the treaty until after it had been properly modified did not involve the remotest danger of a renewal of the war, considering the condition of Spain. It ought to know further that technically the war is not ended by our ratification of the treaty, and will not be until the Spanish Cortes ratifies it, and ratifications are exchanged by the two governments. But really the war was ended with the signing of the protocol. We had therefore to choose between a merely technical and a real and monstrous inconsistency. The treaty, in making Spain cede the Philippines to the United States, was upholding the so called right of conquest, which is utterly incompatible with Christian morals. It was also doing the openest injustice to the principles of liberty and equality by forcing the Philippine peoples under our sovereignty without their consent. It was a deliberate abandonment of the principles of our national constitution and the inauguration of a foreign policy running straight into militarism and risk of a whole series of wars in the future. The policy inaugurated in the drafting of the treaty, of which the ratification was only the formal consummation, has already borne the most dreadful fruit. Whether these reasons are sufficient to satisfy others that we have been consistent with our peace principles or not, we cannot see any other course that we

could have taken without compounding with conscience in a most humiliating and degrading way.

**The Movement  
in Europe.**

The initiative of the Czar of Russia is being supported in Germany by strong movements organized at Berlin and Munich. At Berlin the movement is led by the Committee of the German Peace Society, which is circulating a petition to the Reichstag asking that in the Czar's Conference Germany make an effort to secure consideration of the subject of international arbitration. The Munich Committee is led by the burgomaster of the city and is composed of city officials, members of parliament, scientists, literary men, artists and churchmen. Great meetings are being held, filling the halls "to the farthest corners", and a systematic effort is being made to arouse the public. In other parts of Germany there is similar activity. In Austria also a great popular movement is being organized in the different states of the Empire. In France preparations are being made to receive the Peace Crusaders at the Sorbonne, the Paris City Hall and the Grand Hotel. Many societies at Paris are preparing to give them receptions. In Denmark, in Italy, in Switzerland, in Belgium, in Holland, in Norway and Sweden, much is being done to awaken and extend interest in the forthcoming Conference. Many meetings of the peace associations were held on the 22d of February, and the common resolution passed in them all was an expression of the profoundest desire for the complete success of the initiative of Nicholas II., because of the "crushing burdens" now resting upon the peoples and "the gloomy prospects of the future."

**Mr. MacDonald's  
Visit.**

A meeting was held in Boston, in Dr. E. E. Hale's church, on February 21st, in the interests of the Czar's Conference. This meeting was preparatory to a series of public meetings which are to be held during the months of March and April in Tremont Temple and other Boston halls. At the meeting in Dr. Hale's church Mr. J. R. MacDonald of London was present, and explained with much detail what is being done in England to arouse and concentrate public sentiment. He declared that, in spite of the war feeling, the masses of the English people have great interest in the Czar's proposals. Representative men, without distinction of church or party, are forming local committees in every town of five thousand or more inhabitants. The Mayor is asked to preside and resolutions are passed favoring the Russian Emperor's proposals. The plans, Mr. MacDonald explained, contemplate a monster mass meeting in London, with ten to fifteen thousand delegates from all parts of the country. From this body of representative men, ten are to be chosen to form the nucleus of a Crusading Party, to cross over to

the Continent and visit in company with Continental delegates the chief cities of the European countries. The party will go to Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Buda-Pesth, St. Petersburg and The Hague, arriving at the latter city while the Conference called by the Czar is in session. English merchants are giving large sums of money to promote the crusade. The movement in England has already grown to enormous proportions. Many English literary men are in hearty sympathy with it, and a letter of approval has been signed by all the leading editors of Great Britain. The first issue of the journal of the Crusade, *War against War*, was one million copies. Mr. MacDonald declared that the English people have rarely ever been moved as they are over this matter. We shall hope that the largest results may follow in this country from the public meetings which are to be held in Boston and other American cities.

The *New York Times* for February 12th publishes an illustrated article giving an account of a recent visit to Count Tolstoy by a correspondent of the *Monde Illustré*. In the course of the conversation the Russian apostle of peace spoke rather hopelessly of the outcome of the coming peace Conference. "What do I think of it?" he said. "For the first time a Government accords its official support to those who, in all civilized countries, have set forth the cry: 'Guerre à la guerre!' Unfortunately, I do not believe in all this fine rhetoric, nor do I look for positive results. Universal peace, the end of barbarous armaments, the end of the desire to direct them, can only be brought about through new social and political conditions. All the conferences in the world, all the petty prattle around the green table of diplomacy will change nothing. There will only come forth a flow of words, words, words! As I never cease to repeat, universal peace will never find its realization, except, in respect to itself, in disobedience to the Government that exacts military service from individuals for violence and organized murder. How do they dare to talk of disarmament so long as the politics of piracy are practiced by the world, the policy of territorial extension that we are pursuing in the remote East, and where, under the form of colonial expansion, other nations are doing the same thing? War, from whatever aspect you regard it, is the existence which the modern state lays upon man." There is profound, fundamental truth in these utterances, but it is not the whole of the truth.

**Treatment of  
Native Races.**

At the Turin Peace Conference held last autumn a Committee was appointed to prepare a report on Colonial policy in the treatment of native races. The Committee is sending out the follow-



ing list of questions to prominent publicists and statesmen in different countries for answer with a view to making its report as valuable as possible.

1. What is the precise meaning of the expression "Organized States" (*Etat policé*)?

2. What, stated exactly, are the rights and duties of civilized or advanced nations (*peuples majeurs*)?

a. towards uncivilized populations?

b. towards less advanced nations (*peuples mineurs*)?

Note. The phrase "less advanced nations (*peuples mineurs*)" is intended to include not only wholly uncivilized populations, but also those which whilst enjoying a certain civilization, often a very ancient one, are not in a condition to maintain their independence against the encroachments of nations which have adopted modern civilization.

3. Conquest by force of arms having already been condemned by the Peace Societies and Congresses, what are to be considered as legitimate methods of extending to less advanced peoples (*populations mineures*) the protectorate of advanced nations (*peuples majeurs*)?

4. What are, apart from the establishment of protectorates, the most appropriate pacific means of spreading civilization amongst the less advanced populations?

5. Do not the severe methods employed towards native populations after the conquest of, or establishment of a protectorate over their country (requisitions, forced labor, corporal chastisement, summary executions, etc.) appear to you to be abuses which it would be possible to avoid?

6. If so, how can they be prevented?

7. Is not the training and employment of native armed forces for the subjugation of other natives an abuse? If so, what can be done to prevent this abuse?

8. Has it come to your knowledge that the decisions of the Brussels Conference as regards slavery, the sale to native races of arms, powder and alcohol have been often violated?

9. What means should be taken to prevent these violations?

10. Is it not desirable to supplement the provisions of the Brussels General Act? If so, in what directions?

11. Is it not desirable to establish, in addition to the official Bureau established by the Brussels General Act, an unofficial international Bureau, which should have for its object the repression by every means in its power of all abuses of the above nature which shall come to its knowledge?

12. On what conditions can treaties made between the representatives of civilized states and native chiefs be legitimately held valid?

**Missionaries and Imperialism** Dr. James L. Barton, one of the three secretaries of the American Board, has sent to the *Boston Herald* the following letter touching the attitude of this great missionary organization toward the policy of imperialistic expansion:

"It is not my custom to write letters to newspapers, but I feel constrained to send you this note at this time because of an editorial in Wednesday morning's *Herald* on 'Religion and Imperialism', in which you state that: 'It is worthy of notice that the most active of those in this country interested in missionary efforts are also the

strongest advocates of an extension of the influence and authority of the United States over what have been in the past foreign countries.'

You also state that: 'Those who have been personally engaged in foreign missionary work are, so far as they have declared themselves, imperialists by a very large majority.'

I cannot speak for missionaries of other mission boards, nor am I in a position to speak for all the five hundred and forty missionaries of our own board, but I know the opinion of a large number of the missionaries of our board and of others, and I do not know one who is in favor of an imperialistic policy; and, more than this, I have never heard this policy advocated by the officers of our board or of any other, and I am very certain that, were that policy entertained, it would have found utterance in my hearing.

On the other hand, I have constantly heard the officers and missionaries of the American board express regret that the policy of imperialism was likely to prevail. Hitherto our missionaries have gone to the ends of the earth carrying on their work, and it has never been charged upon them that they were the forerunners of colonies to be planted, which in turn were to lead to a protectorate from the home country, if not annexation. Missionaries from England, Germany and France have been open to these charges, and thereby their influence has been greatly narrowed and their efforts misinterpreted, while our own missionaries have been entirely unhampered.

I think I state what would be most generally received by the officers and members of our own board when I say we should be most loath to ask the extension of an American protectorate over any non-Christian country on the ground that thus our missionaries would be more free to carry on their work. We believe that it would be most disastrous to our work to have this step taken, for it would be impossible to separate in the minds of the people missionary enterprise from government interference. It would give the appearance of the propagation of Christianity and the establishment of Christian institutions through government aid.

We do not believe in this, and want to avoid any such appearance, both before the people to whom we are attempting to carry our best American Christian civilization, and before the world, which is quick to criticise missionary effort and sometimes eager to misinterpret missionary motives."

The Joint High Commission to arrange a treaty for the settlement of all outstanding differences between Canada and the United States seems at present to be far from a satisfactory solution of the most important difficulties. The Commission has worked for many months and has now adjourned over till next August without having arrived at any agreement on the chief points of difference. The Commissioners of neither side have been willing to make such concessions as were asked for by the other. The result is a practical deadlock in the negotiations. The Alaska boundary is understood to have given as much trouble as

anything else, though tariff and immigration questions have not been easy of adjustment. We do not mean to say that the work of the Commission has been, or will be, a failure. Much has been settled in regard to minor points, and after a long vacation things will probably move more rapidly. There has been a good deal of selfishness shown by a number of the business interests which have appeared before the Commission. Here lies the difficulty. Such a negotiation as that which is carried on by this Commission reveals the real state of feeling existing between citizens of the United States and those of Great Britain much more truly than any sentimental war gush. Of this latter we have had enough in the last year to have made a hundred treaties. We never have had much use for it. That kind of talk means only that we'll be your friend so long as you serve our interests. A real *entente cordiale* between the two nations must have a truer foundation than that. If the United States and Great Britain are to be true friends, they must be willing to serve each other's interests, and not stubbornly persist each in having its own interests served at all hazards. The interests which are to be served must also be the real and abiding interests and not those brought forward by selfishness and temporary expediency. This is the great lesson which we shall all learn at last, but we seem at present to be very stupid and slow in learning it.

**Statement of the  
Commission.**

Just before its adjournment on the 20th of February the Commission, through its two chairmen, Senator Fairbanks and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, issued the following statement which shows that the Commissioners by no means despair of reaching an agreement on all the matters referred to them:

"The commission has made very substantial progress in the settlement and adjustment of many of the questions upon which it has been earnestly engaged. But it has been unable to agree upon the settlement of the Alaskan boundary. The British commissioners desired that the whole question should be referred on terms similar to those provided in the reference of the Venezuelan boundary line, and which, by providing an umpire, would ensure certainty and finality.

"The United States commissioners thought the local conditions in Alaska so different that some modification of the Venezuelan boundary reference should be introduced. They thought the reference should be made to eminent jurists, three chosen by each of the high contracting parties without providing for an umpire, they believing that finality would be secured by a majority vote of the jurists so chosen.

"They did not see any present prospect of agreeing to a European umpire, to be selected in the manner proposed by the British commissioners, while the British commissioners were unwilling to agree to the selection of an American umpire in the manner suggested by the United States commissioners.

"The United States commissioners further contended that special stipulations should be made in any reference to arbitration that the existing settlements on the tide waters of the coast should in any event continue to belong to the United States. To this contention the British commissioners refused to agree. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to adjourn to a convenient date, in order to enable the respective governments to further consider the subject, with respect to which no conclusion has yet been reached."

**Verestchagin in  
London**

The great Russian war painter, Vassili Verestchagin, has been exhibiting his paintings in London recently. No one who has ever seen one of these paintings, for instance, "A Pyramid of Heads", or "Consecrating for Burial", or even a photograph of one of them, can ever get out of his head the horror of war thereby created. The German Emperor is reported to have said, when he saw one of Verestchagin's paintings, "Pictures like these are the best guarantee against war." The *Herald of Peace* says that the painter "has done a timely thing in bringing his collection to England at a moment when the public mind is so occupied by the Peace Crusade. His pictures of war, unlike Mr. Kipling's heroic poems, give us the impression of its most awfully realistic aspects, and make the beholder feel as the army surgeon does when the memory of his experiences on the field comes back to his mind, when he, in after years, is dwelling amid peaceful surroundings." The exhibition is given in the Grafton Gallery, and Mr. Verestchagin admits gratis the children in the schools, public or private, as he has done in the other great capitals of Europe. We think it might be "timely" if the great painter, after he has finished his exhibition in London, would come to this country, and show his pictures successively in our American cities, beginning at Washington with the government authorities and members of the Senate. A little horror of war injected just now into innocent American veins would prove immensely useful.

The London *Daily Chronicle*, quoted by Verestchagin's *Concord*, has published an interview with the Russian painter in which is found the following pungent criticism of war:

"I think it is *stupid*—a stupid sport. In the old days men killed one another in war, and then roasted and ate one another. There was something practical in that. It was a way of getting your food. But they don't do that now. They would be ashamed of it. Still, they go on killing one another. Why, there is no object in it! I would make it compulsory that in war men should eat their slain enemies. Then we should see what they would do. . . . You do not know how stupid it is. A battlefield is the stupidest place in the world. On one part of the field they are healing, on another they are wounding. If it is right to destroy, let them destroy;

if it is right to heal, let them heal. But this—this is hypocrisy. It is humbug. It is neither one thing nor the other. . . Humanity! do you think there is any humanity in war? The object is to kill—just to kill men—and to kill as many as you can. That is the object of the soldier, and his priest in all religions tells him that it is right. Talk to a military man, and you will find that he enjoys war—that he likes it. Why is it that war is to him the first and greatest of sports? Because it means that he will kill men. . . I was speaking to Alexandre Dumas once, and I said to him, 'What if the time should come when the soldier will not shoot; when they should turn back their arms?' He paused a moment, and then leaned over to me, and said, 'They will still shoot!' For a time that may be true; but the day will come when men will refuse to shoot those who are their brothers."

**Australian Federation.** The Australian Colonial Premiers have come to a unanimous agreement as to certain unsettled questions connected with the federation bill referred to them by the colonial legislatures. Australian federation therefore seems assured. The capital of the new federation is to be, like Washington, in federal territory, all the present colonial capitals being excluded. It is to be established in New South Wales, but at least one hundred miles from Sidney, the colonial capital. Pending the erection of a Capitol building, the new parliament will meet in Melbourne. The parliament is to consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, and a majority vote of all the members shall be necessary to decide questions coming before them. The Executive government is to consist of seven ministers. The expense of the new federal government is estimated at one and a half million pounds sterling.

**The Hull Army Bill.** The Hull Army bill was passed by the House of Representatives on the last day of January by a vote of one hundred and sixty-eight to one hundred and twenty-five. The measure, in the form in which it passed the House, increases the army to 50,000 men, leaving it to the President's discretion to make it 100,000 if in his judgment necessity should arise. The measure, even in this modified form, met with much opposition and did not, on its passage, receive the full republican vote, the Democrats voting practically solidly against it. In the Senate the bill has been modified, and the compromise measure now under discussion, and likely to pass, provides for a regular army of 62,000 men for two years and 35,000 other troops for the same period. The bill carries an appropriation of \$79,038,000, to which Mr. Hull explains that an amendment will be added appropriating \$50,000 for ordnance and \$100,000 to feed the Cubans during the coming year. The bill in this, or nearly this form, is expected to pass both Senate and House, and the nation will have entered upon the dangerous policy of army extension, the outcome of

which can be foreseen from the study of European military establishments and the insatiable demands which will be imposed by the new colonial policy to which the country has already been to a dangerous degree committed. The opposition in Congress and the country has been strong, but it has been overridden, and the whole country will have to take the consequences.

**A Lesson from Mexico.** *The Land of Sunshine*, the Magazine of California and the West, contains in its February issue the following most timely and sensible paragraph:

"The death of Matias Romero, for a generation Minister of Mexico at Washington, is a misfortune not only to his own country but to ours. And it points a text Americans need doubly to heed at present. We have sent many Ministers of the United States to Mexico; some of them able men, some of them gentlemen. If they chanced to be either, all right—but that was not the reason we sent them. They got the place for party services; they were changed when the party in power changed. And the great United States never sent to Mexico a Minister who commanded half the respect in Mexico that Matias Romero won in this country; never one who did a tenth part as much for his nation; never one who did a hundredth part as much to build up friendly relations between the two countries. General Grant was the only man who ever had anything like the same influence; and he was in Mexico simply on his own business. We have never sent to Mexico a Minister, except Pacheco, who could talk Spanish, even by the time he came home, and he was the only one who could talk Spanish at all. We have not even taken pains to send one who could speak French. Therefore, the Minister of the United States has never been able to meet on an equality the President of Mexico nor the officials. He has had to hobble through his interviews with a conscious air and an interpreter, like an awkward child to whom grown-up speech has to be explained. Only those who never think can fail to see what a handicap this is. There are very few educated Mexicans who do not speak at least two languages. Mr. Romero spoke better English than some of our Congressmen do—or he never would have been sent to represent his country in Washington. He could—and did—talk with Presidents and Cabinet officers and Senators and American business men and won their esteem, and did more for their opinion of Mexico than a dozen stately dumb figures could have done. And he was not beheaded every four years. He was appointed Minister, not because he had "stumped the district", but because he was fitted for the place. It would seem that this great nation might begin to use as much common sense in its diplomatic service as Mexico does."

**Death of President Faure.** The sudden death of the president of the French Republic, M. Felix Faure, raised grave anxieties not only in France but throughout Europe. Perhaps we ought to say about France rather than *in* France, for those who know France know that there was really no just ground for thinking that the death of the president would have any

serious effect on the destiny of the nation either in its internal affairs or external relations. The situation was made more serious than it otherwise would have been, because of the still unsettled state of the Dreyfus affair. The election of a new president was certain to bring a conflict more or less serious between the friends and enemies of Dreyfus. The disturbances which followed the election of the new president, M. Émile Loubet, would mean much more in other countries than they do in France. A part of them must be set down to French love of excitement and distraction. There has been no real danger to the republic. The better elements of the French population, which are not represented by the boulevards, are more and more devoted to republican institutions and may be depended on to rally to their support in every crisis. Another thing which the death of Mr. Faure and the election of Mr. Loubet have made certain is that in the end justice will be done in the Dreyfus affair. Mr. Loubet, who is an experienced statesman, is a Moderate Republican and a pronounced friend of justice and fairness. He was elected to the presidency by a decisive majority, notwithstanding his well known inclination to believe in the innocence of Dreyfus. This is fairly good evidence that the case will finally be settled on its merits and that the tyranny of the army over the nation will not be allowed to proceed much farther. For, after all, the army is the real enemy of France.

**The Anti-Imperialist League, of which Ex-Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts is president, passed the following resolution, in reference to the Philippine problem, soon after the outbreak of hostilities at Manila :**

"The Anti-Imperialist League demands the immediate suspension of hostilities in the Philippines.

The league insists that it is the duty of Congress to tender an official assurance to the country and to the inhabitants of the Philippines that the United States will encourage the organization of such a government as may be agreeable to the people of the islands and that, upon its organization, the United States will, in accordance with its traditional and prescriptive policy in such cases, recognize it as an independent and equal state among nations."

**Cardinal Rampolla has addressed the following letter to Mr. W. T. Stead in reference to the Peace Crusade.**

"The Crusade which you are conducting in favor of peace assuredly deserves the highest praise. The preservation of peace is the noblest aim to which humanity can aspire. There can be no doubt therefore that the Holy See, in harmony with its secular traditions, has the most ardent desire to see all the nations fraternally united in the bonds of peace and to see the reign of justice established in international relations. To the accomplishment of this purpose you are co-operating effect-

ively. In the meantime every man of goodwill, every sincere friend of progress, cannot help having ardent desires that our century, which has shown itself so fertile in the multiplication and perfecting of the instruments of war, may, at its close, leave behind some noble accomplishments, which will entitle it to the gratitude of humanity, by the discovery of a means by which the voice of reason may make itself heard in the inevitable conflict between nations."

**The following form of Message to the Czar, in view of his Peace Rescript, is being circulated for signatures in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania :**

"We, the undersigned sovereign citizens of the United States of America, without regard to race, creed, or political affinity, desire to express our hearty sympathy with the Czar's noble effort for the cause of God and humanity. Appreciating the difficulties which confront him at home and abroad, we admire the high moral courage with which he dares to face them in the faith which in all ages has removed mountains. We think no more fitting place can be found from which to start an American crusade than this city of Philadelphia (brotherly love), and this state of Pennsylvania, whose great Founder, in 1693, published an Appeal for Arbitration to the Nations of Europe while war was raging among them, and practically gave them an illustrious example of what a colony can be whose chief defences are arbitration and justice extended to all men. Here, from the cradle of liberty, where later we proclaimed that not only ourselves, but all the world, had a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we stretch forth helping hands to Russia, our friend, when 'she bringeth good tidings, when she publisheth peace.' "

**The Czar's words giving his reasons for issuing his peace manifesto show great insight into the real state of the civilized world and a heart greatly moved to do something practical for its relief. Here is what he says :**

"I look out over the world ; I study our civilization, and I do not find it very good. I see nations all engaged in seizing, or trying to seize all territory not yet occupied by European powers. For the native races, what does imperial expansion mean? Too often opium, alcohol and all manner of diseases, a great gulf between the governed and those who rule, and crushing taxation upon the natives for the blessings of this civilization. And for the nations who seize, what does it mean? A continual increase of suspicion, jealousy and rivalry ; the heaping up of fleets and armies in order to take part in a scramble with the world, with the result that the army and navy are swallowing up more and more millions that should be used for the welfare of the people and the advancement of the world."

**Hon. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, recent United States Ambassador to Russia, has returned to this country to assume his duties as Secretary of the Interior. In an interview published soon after his arrival, Mr. Hitchcock stated**

that the Czar is perfectly sincere in his peace program and that his sincerity is accepted even by the diplomats representing nations unfriendly to Russia. When he had his last interview with the Czar shortly before leaving Russia, the Emperor expressed to him informally the utmost hopefulness regarding the outcome of the deliberations of the Conference at The Hague. Mr. Hitchcock thinks that, even if the Czar's hopes should not be realized, a vast amount of information will have been gathered as to the temper of the various powers and the views of their rulers and cabinets, and that in this way great good will have been accomplished. The Czar's sincerity and great hopefulness, which are conceded by all who know anything about the subject, are, it seems to us, the surest guaranty that the Conference will not fail to accomplish something much more than the mere gathering of information.

**Washington's Birth Day.** The "father of his country" would have been puzzled to know what to make of himself if he had been permitted to revisit on the 22d

ult. this country and the city named in his honor. He would have found there a policy in operation to which all his work and feelings were opposed. He would probably have been told, as he mounted the Capitol steps, that the country has outgrown his principles and his advice, and that henceforth there is not to be anything but an ornamental use for him in the national counsels. However, he would have found a circle of real friends in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. He would have been pleased to see that the Senate still has respect enough for his memory to read his Farewell Address, as it has done annually for many years, and better pleased still to see the House inaugurate this custom this year for the first time. Turning to plain prose, we doubt if there has ever been a time in the history of the country when the character of Washington and the nature of his work and the perennial meaning of the principles and policies which guided him have been so deeply and conscientiously studied as this past year. This study will bear fruit in the future. There is already evidence of a reaction against the superficial and somewhat flippant outcry against Washington's advice about the perils of large military establishments and against entangling alliances with foreign nations. In time the nation will come again to see, probably more unitedly and intelligently than ever before, that the principles of the Constitution and of the Declaration of Independence, which were so dear to Washington, are the only political foundation on which it can build with any hope of useful and lasting success, and that all policies, at home or abroad, which are out of harmony with these principles are to be rejected as one would exclude poison from his veins.

**Senator Hoar's View.** Senator Hoar has written the following opinion to the leaders of the Peace Crusade in England:

"The statement of his opinions and purposes by the Emperor of Russia was received in this country with great satisfaction. We know that there are great difficulties in the way of accomplishing any scheme for diminishing the heavy burden under which the nations of Europe are bowed and bent by reason of war and the preparation for war. Yet this powerful monarch is a great re-inforcement to the cause of peace. I think the appointment of national committees, such as you propose, is very desirable. Whether the pilgrimage, which is a part of your scheme, will be a valuable aid in the accomplishment of the Czar's humane and holy purpose will depend, of course, upon the character and discretion of the men who take part in it. But I should hope and expect that men who will combine zeal and discretion will be found, whose utterances will receive the respect of mankind, and will have large influence. I think that such persons in the United States will be willing to undertake the mission, and, therefore, that it is desirable to make the attempt."

**Penal Settlements of Russia.** It is encouraging to notice that the movement inaugurated by Russia for the reduction of armaments and "the maintenance of

general peace" is accompanied by a serious effort at internal reform, at least in one important direction. Reforms do not move singly, and it is certain that the spirit which brought forth the Peace Rescript will be beneficial to Russia in many directions. An exchange has the following:

"For many years the civilized world has looked with horror upon the cruelty and inhumanity prevailing in the penal settlements of Russia. The news that some abatement of these atrocities is now in prospect will be hailed with joy by all. Gen. Liapounoff, the new military governor of the Island of Sakhalin, has been sent for the special purpose of instituting reforms in the penal settlements of that portion of Siberia. Thirty thousand convicts are now colonized on the island, and their condition is reported to be so distressing as to beggar description. The new governor is making preparations to institute searching inquiries into the malconduct of the officials, and he will also endeavor, as much as possible, to mitigate the deplorable condition of the convicts."

**The Philippine War.** The fighting which began between the Philippine forces and the American troops on

February fourth has continued at intervals during the entire month. Several hundred American soldiers have been killed and wounded, every day adding to the list of casualties. Several thousand Filipinos have been killed and wounded and many taken prisoners. The American warships have done deadly work in shell-

ing the positions taken by the Filipinos. The sharpshooters of the latter annoy the American forces with their long-range Mausers. In their desperation the natives have set fire to Manila and destroyed considerable portions of the city. In spite of their great losses, the forces of Aguinaldo have returned again and again to the fight. Re-inforcements from this country to the number of six thousand have reached Manila, raising the entire army to about thirty-three thousand men, nominally. The efficient force is considerably less than this, owing to casualties, loss by disease and disablement produced by the heat. As we go to press the dispatches state that General Otis is about to commence an aggressive campaign in order to drive the Philippine troops away from the environs of Manila. The Commission sent by the President to study and report upon the condition of affairs in the Philippines has arrived, with the exception of Col. Denby. It is reported that they are not likely to be able to do much in the present confused state of affairs.

### Brevities.

The Russian Empire, with its hundred and twenty millions of people, is inhabited by one hundred and twelve different nationalities, many of them of the most primitive type.

. . . A compulsory arbitration law in reference to labor disputes has been in operation in New Zealand since 1894, but the results are reported to be not very satisfactory.

. . . Ex-Senator Edmunds in a letter to the *New York World* says that "a republic can have no subjects. Its people must be either citizens, slaves or aliens".

. . . John Morley, in his recent severe arraignment of what he called "the prevailing spirit of jingoism and imperialism among the English Liberals", responsibility for whose party counsels he has renounced, said: "It is my firm conviction that the prevailing spirit of imperialism must inevitably bring militarism, a gigantic daily growing governmental expenditure, along with increased power to aristocrats and privileged classes, and war."

. . . The Universal Peace Union is planning buildings for a Summer School of Peace on the banks of the Mystic River, Connecticut.

. . . A mass meeting, attended by about four thousand people, was held in Nashville, Tenn., on Jan. 17, to promote the success of the Czar's Conference. This was one of the first, if not the very first meeting of the kind held in this country, and it was proposed by a Nashville woman.

. . . The Nations which colonize have now one hundred and twenty-six colonies with almost as many distinct forms of colonial government. The colonizing nations lie in the temperate zone and three-fourths of their colonial subjects are in the tropics.

. . . As an effect of the expansion spirit, a "new course in military and naval science will be given at Harvard University during the second half-year."

. . . Nothing increases intemperance like war, and nothing tends towards war like intemperance.—*Frances E. Willard*.

. . . Mr. Élie Ducommun, Secretary of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, has just published in French a brochure of twenty pages in which he discusses "The Rôle of War and Peace in the Progress of Civilization", with special reference to the peace interests of small states like Switzerland.

. . . The Venezuela Arbitration tribunal has held its preliminary meeting in Paris and will not come together again till in April.

. . . The arbitrator in the Tillett dispute between England and Belgium, Arthur Desjardins, a member of the Institute of France, has rendered his decision. It supports the Belgian claim.

. . . *The World*, of Shenandoah, Iowa, is publishing a series of timely and vigorous articles against war, written by Mr. A. S. Bailey, associate editor of the paper.

. . . On the recent arrival of the new French Ambassador, Mr. Cambon, at London, he was waited upon by a deputation of the International Arbitration and Peace Association. In reply to their statement that the great mass of the English entertain the warmest regard for the French nation, Mr. Cambon stated that the French people are not hostile to England and that the press had much exaggerated the feeling produced by the Fashoda incident.

. . . A new journal has been started, to promote better understanding between the French and the Germans. It is published at Munich and Paris, in both French and German, under the title *Deutsch-Französische Rundschau* (*Revue franco-allemande*). The Munich address is 23 Residenzstrasse.

. . . Alfred Hermann Fried, editor of the *Friedens-Korrespondenz*, the organ of the German National Peace Society, has published in German,—press of E. Pierson, Leipzig,—a pamphlet of thirty-six pages entitled "What will the Conference of St. Petersburg be able to accomplish?"

. . . The interest in England in the Crusade of Peace is shown by the fact that in a single day one hundred thousand dollars was subscribed for its prosecution.

. . . The twenty-third annual report of the American Purity Alliance, just issued, contains an instructive discussion of the subject of "Army Morality." The Alliance has taken strong ground in favor of disarmament, having sent a message of grateful appreciation to the Czar of Russia.

. . . John Sherman says that the establishment of an independent republic in the Philippines would be "one of the greatest achievements of the United States. It would be in accord with our history and our traditions and would reflect forever a lustre upon our principles and institutions."

. . . The natives are in revolt in many parts of the Congo country. Many stations of the whites have been destroyed or abandoned. It is charged that the Belgian



officials, both civil and military, have brought on the troubles by their selfishness and greed.

. . . The Commission appointed by the Pan-American Congress in 1889-90 to survey a route for a railroad connecting North and South America has made its report. The railroad contemplated will, if ever built, cover 10,221 miles, from New York to Buenos Ayres, and will cost \$175,000,000. 4,769 miles of the route is already covered by existing railroads.

. . . On the 20th of February the House of Representatives by a vote of two hundred and thirteen to thirty-four passed, without amendment, the bill appropriating \$20,000,000 to be paid to Spain under the terms of the peace treaty.

. . . Mark Twain has endorsed the Peace Crusade. Writing to Mr. Stead, he says: "The Czar is ready to disarm. I am ready to disarm. Collect the others. It ought not to be much of a task now."

. . . The official copy of the peace treaty which was ratified by the Senate on the 6th of February was signed by the President at 2.35 o'clock on the 10th ult. and then replaced by Secretary Hay in its crimson velvet case for transmission to Madrid.

. . . The Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia celebrated Washington's birthday by holding two meetings at their rooms on Arch Street, and passing strong resolutions against war

. . . The Secretary of the American Peace Society on Washington's birthday addressed the seven hundred and fifty boys of the Dudley School, Boston, on "Washington the Lover of Truth, of Liberty and of Peace."

### National Honor.

BY IDA WHIPPLE BENHAM.

How shall a sovereign state  
Its honor vindicate?  
In the old barbaric fashion,  
Noisome with evil passion,  
Of stopping the enemy's breath  
By sowing dismay and death  
Broadcast over land and sea  
In the name of Victory?

Shall it send its bombshells wide  
(Bearing demons of woe inside)  
To make of the cottage a tomb,  
Of the cloister a place of doom,  
Of the street a shamble, red  
With innocent life-blood, shed  
Like water of little worth  
Poured lavishly on the earth?

The patriarch bowed in prayer,  
The butler upon the stair,  
The bride in her robe of white,  
The priest and the acolyte,  
The mother whose arms have pressed  
Her babe to her timid breast,

And the babe that her arms enfold,  
The grandmother, vague and old,  
With the dreams of the past upon her,—  
Must these die for the "national honor"?

For a spleen, for an outworn spite,  
For an accidental slight,  
For a difference of opinion  
About sovereign dominion,  
And the thousand things beside  
(Blind passion's range being wide)  
That the fierce political rout  
See fit to rave about?

Shall nations grand and free,  
Boasting of liberty,  
Boasting of reason and truth,  
Of chivalry, justice, ruth,  
Make bloody stepping-stones  
Of human flesh and bones,—  
Abasing heaven-sent wit  
And the peace that comes of it,  
For anger and discontent  
And the sword's arbitrament?

Shall life be thus effaced  
With infinite reckless waste  
Of the humble, the meek and the poor,  
The wayfaring man, and the boor,  
The farmer, the teamster, the tailor,  
The cobbler, the cooper, the jailor,  
The teacher, the preacher—and all  
On whom a projectile may fall?  
Shall a nation take it upon her  
Thus to assert her honor?

Then let her resign all pretense  
To reason and common sense—  
The wit to propose and intend  
Right means to a proper end.  
Let her say, "I am one of the rest  
(And not even one of the best),  
Of the creatures that live but to perish.  
The hopes and the aims that I cherish

Are glorious, dazzling and great,  
As becomes a vast sovereign state—  
But on a crude, animal plan  
That pertains to the brute and not man."  
Let her say, "I will fight for my rights  
(Including my spleens and my spites)  
Though babes in their cradles must bleed  
And maidens must die for the deed."

Let her say, "When my anger is sated  
And my greed has a trifle abated  
I will lay down my sword for a season,  
Shake hands with the foe, and talk reason.  
With blood crying up from the ground,  
With grief and dismay all around,  
Our flags a fierce gamut of reds  
Ball-riddled and lashed into shreds,—

Amidst poverty, pain, and disease,  
And other such matters as these,  
We will swallow our pique and our pride  
For a while and attempt to decide  
The quarrel that led to the war—  
Which might have been settled before  
But for the old fable, grown hoary,  
Of national honor and glory."

Ye statesmen, ye wise politicians,  
Review, just for once, the conditions;  
Is it thus that a sovereign state  
Her honor must vindicate?

### Degenerate Sons?

BY JOHN COLLINS.

Land of our fathers, who, with firm reliance  
On Justice, Truth and Honor, pledged their name,  
Shall we, as sons degenerate, fling defiance  
On noble aims, and desecrate thy fame?

Shall love of conquest stain our starry banner,  
As war's sad victims mark our new career,  
Shall distant climes behold our foul dishonor  
And henceforth view us with distrust and fear?

Shall we, though called perchance a Christian nation,  
Assume a right that Providence ne'er gave,  
To stir by menace or by provocation  
Millions of men to warfare and a grave?

Can hostile deeds advance the sacred mission  
Of Gospel truth in those benighted lands,  
Or teach the savage tribes that their condition  
Is best when firmly bound by war's red hands?

No! naught but peace can still the rage or terror  
Of dusky warriors in those distant seas,  
Or save our nation from its hasty error  
To bind a people by its stern decrees.

Let not Columbia vainly strive for glory  
Of arms victorious o'er a feeble foe,  
Nor infamy defile, by conflict gory,  
The record that a coming age may show.

He, who hath said, in words of proclamation,  
"Vengeance is mine—I surely will repay,"  
Shall yet be known in every land and nation  
Where war and violence have held their sway.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

### Letters to the Editor.

To the Editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

I have been looking over your last issue to-day and am glad to read that the people of Holland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark are unwilling to leave the acceptance of the Czar's excellent suggestions to their governments alone.

The above named powers are neutral, or rather we so think of them usually. They are *practically* neutral, as

is also Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland and Roumania, and as Greece, Servia and Bulgaria should be.

Now if the government of Russia could make up its mind to renounce all intention of adding any further territory to the Czardom, and then place itself at the head of the neutral states, calling on Turkey and China to become such, also Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, Italy, Roumania, Siam, Persia and Afghanistan, as well as Mexico and the leading South American republics, I think Russia could thus compel this country and England to give up all further aggressive efforts.

I cannot help but think that this is the right way out, the creation of a peaceful federation of neutral powers, and at the same time the practical disarmament of these by employing the army of each member of the Confederacy in railroad building or other industrial work, whilst not yet giving up the army organization.

I hope there may be some way of reaching the Czar, before the Disarmament Conference sits, with the fact that this country is not altogether in the hands of jingoes.

Respectfully,

B. F. LEEDS.

DORCHESTER, MASS., Feb. 9, 1899.

### An Early Advocate of Peace.

BY DR. M. L. HOLBROOK.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was often called the American Sydenham, also the father of American medicine. He was made Surgeon General in the war of the American Revolution, and became the most distinguished practitioner of his time. His essay on the cure of consumption by horseback riding is still excellent reading. He advocated a higher education for women, was opposed to capital punishment, objected to the administration of oaths on religious ground, and was explicit in his condemnation of the use of tobacco.

But it was not of these that I designed to speak, but of his project for universal peace. He proposed that there should be a Peace office and filled by one who should be the Secretary of State for Peace. This official, he proposed, should have control of all the free schools in every state, and his efforts and influence so far as possible were to be to subdue the passion for war, which education and human depravity have made universal by familiarity with instruments of death and by great military displays on so many occasions. Through his influence militia laws were to be repealed, military dress and titles laid aside, as well as all military reviews which tend to lend a charm to war by hiding its evils and its horrors. In this way Dr. Rush hoped that the spirit of vanity and hate which leads to war would die out, and that all questions of dispute between nations would be settled, as disputes between individuals are settled, in a reasonable manner, or by diplomacy or arbitration.

If this plan, even for schools, had been carried out, we should not have had, let us hope, as has just happened in a Military Convention, the president of a great University, President MacCracken, advocating military education in every school, and saying:

"If military drill were confined to those only from fourteen to eighteen years of age, we should have an army of 3,000,000 and over. The main question is, Shall at

least the 8,000,000 boys from fourteen to eighteen years of age have the opportunity of learning a little something of the rules and exercises that make men soldiers?", and after this statement adding: "Instruction in military tactics in public and private schools, so far as tried, has been eminently useful to the boys and to their teachers and the Nation, and, therefore, this convention should organize a propaganda to secure the extension of instruction in the high schools until, instead of less than 5 per cent. of the public high schools giving such instruction, there should not be 5 per cent. neglecting such instruction. Also, in the private high schools, so that, instead of less than 15 per cent. in any one of the five divisions of our country that give such instruction, there should be less than 15 per cent. not giving it. Second: In communities where no high schools exist and where boys are continued in the grammar or common schools until they are fifteen or sixteen years of age, this convention should encourage such schools to give military drill, such as is elsewhere given in high schools. Further: That grammar schools should be encouraged to introduce the various 'setting-up exercises', as a valuable and easily arranged gymnastic. Beyond this, as a rule, the grammar school should not attempt any military tactics."

Instead of this, let us adopt the plan of Benjamin Rush and banish all this thought of military drill from every school at once and forever.

America has had many men of whom it may justly be proud, but few of whom it should be more so than of Benjamin Rush.

NEW YORK CITY.

### Broadening Patriotism.

BY R. W. H.

The passion called patriotism has ever been directed by what each community, according to circumstances, has marked as the limits of its country.

The earliest accounts of our race show a patriarchal government, where the family tie and the political tie were the same. But as civilization advanced and men, from being nomadic herdsmen, became cultivators of the soil, common interests united them into communities more extensive than that of the family.

Then, though the family interest bound them together, men began to term the communities so separated "countries", and to regard their interests with something of the affection which was formerly bestowed only on the family.

As material civilization advanced, the extent of territory included under single governments increased, but where this civilization was purely material, as among the great Asiatic nations, we do not find that the inhabitants had any very strong feelings on the subject of their nationalities.

Among the Greeks love of country and of countrymen was very intense; but unfortunately for the world, just when a few master minds were beginning to comprehend the unity and rights of at least the whole Hellenic race, material wealth, unaccompanied by true education, ruined the people, and allowed Philip of Macedon to plunge Greece back into barbaric greatness.

The Roman had not even as broad a principle as the Greek. Had a Roman been asked what was the country

whose interests he defended, he would have answered, "All that submits to Rome." The stranger was his enemy, and his enemy had no rights.

It was not until almost our own time that any nation began to recognize the principle which underlies a true conception of our country.

When England, at immense pecuniary sacrifice, abolished her own slave trade, and set her face against it all the world over, she was actuated by the principle that the most degraded have their rights.

In America, we have the broadest conception of a common country that the world has yet seen. Forty-five states, differing in many respects as widely as the European countries, have their foreign relations in common, and call any conflict among themselves civil war.

The Statesman, who would advance his state at the expense of the rest, would not be called a patriot. And the man who advances his country, though it be vast as the United States or should embrace every country of Europe, at the expense of the rest of the World, is not a true patriot. A man's country is the world. The patriot is the philanthropist. All war is civil war, and the only war for which any sort of justification can be offered is war against oppression.

It may be that the great commonwealth of the nations of the earth, which is looked forward to with so much interest, may be but a foreshadowing of a commonwealth of worlds. Then, freed from the bonds of the present material world, we may hope that our country may be boundless as the Universe and we may call every rational creature our countryman.

NEW YORK CITY.

### Was the Civil War Necessary?

BY HENRY WOOD.

To speculate upon "What Might Have Been" usually seems to be a superfluous if not an unprofitable undertaking. That the philosophy which is embodied in the familiar aphorism, "Whatever is, is right", has some evolutionary significance and validity it is difficult to gainsay. It is also evident, even upon the surface, that to bewail the mistakes of the past in any pessimistic spirit is a mistake, for the world is coming, more and more, to recognize the usefulness and inspiration of optimism.

Even where there is no difference of opinion regarding its desirability, human progress toward a future ideal is rarely or never made by a direct course, but rather through devious by-ways, where friction is a constant attendant. The educational object-lessons, tests and trials of the race must be had, even at a dear rate, and there is at least one compensation in the fact that those which are expensive are thoroughly learned. It may even be admitted that an experience in evil has a kind of provisional utility, something like the dark background of a picture, where, through contrast, beauty becomes more strongly accentuated.

But there is another very practical side. The lessons of the past have great value in the determination of present duty and the use of future opportunity. While in itself history is a fixed quantity and cannot be undone, it may be invaluable as an interpreter. Said Patrick Henry in his notable speech: "I have but one lamp by

which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience."

An incident, simple in itself, but of great symbolic significance has recently occurred which has, linked to it, a peculiar retrospective interest and importance. While in the South upon a brief tour, the President of the United States for a short time wore an emblem of the "Southern Confederacy." This notable episode caused great rejoicing and enthusiasm among the people with whom he was then an honored guest, and not much unfavorable comment was made in the North. Thus virtually ended, morally and officially, nearly two score years of hatred, sectionalism, crimination and recrimination, which had continued after the formal close of the physical conflict. This great psychological factor and successor of the war, as a rule, is lightly considered. But in reality, it formed a very substantial addition to the nearly three quarters of a million of lives—the flower of American manhood—and four billions of treasure which are properly chargeable to the Civil War.

In this brief play of the imagination, it is not proposed to enter at all into the history and events of the civil conflict, but only to direct a search-light upon one or two fundamental principles that were involved, and to consider what their possible power might have been, had they been given application. Although the law of non-resistance and a confident trust in the force of moral ideals form the very foundation of the Christian system, as enunciated by its great Expounder, even down to today it cannot be said that any "Christian" government has given them a trial. On the contrary, resistance has been taken to be the only practical living policy.

The cause of the great contest was two irreconcilable theories of government. Slavery was the immediate occasion, but occasions always should be clearly distinguished from causes. From the beginning of our national existence, the conviction had taken firm root in the South, that the State was sovereign, while the power and offices of the central government were assumed to be derived and secondary. The citizen owed his highest and most sacred allegiance to his own Commonwealth. It was an instance where a great unwritten law—so supposed and taken for granted—is more basic in the moral convictions of a people than any specific legislation. Education, tradition, social, political and moral ideals, were all adjusted to such a basis of government. So earnestly was this principle held to be paramount, that soon everything else, ordinarily of supreme moment, was sacrificed in its behalf.

A like intense earnestness prevailed in the North. Although the conditions did not involve a sacrifice equally sweeping during the war which followed, yet the Northern people displayed unlimited patriotism, heroism and a thorough devotion to the principles of a centralized government. The flag was dishonored, the Nation threatened with destruction, and there was, in the Northern view, but one answer, one duty and the response was practically unanimous. This retrospect is made from the standpoint that the North was right, but it is another issue that we are considering.

Suppose the law of non-resistance had been actually applied upon a scale commensurate with the situation, what would have been the result? We must bear in mind the sincerity of the combatants, and also remember

that, whether upon a limited or a colossal scale, resistance begets resistance and that peace and reconciliation are also mutually responsive. The animalism that yet lingers in man is so dominant that he is largely blind to the dynamics of moral ideals and to the contagion of love and non-resistance. To him almost nothing is compelling but brute-force.

In the Spring of 1860 the writer spent some time in Washington and has vivid recollections of the fervid utterances of Toombs, Wigfall, Stephens, Mason and others in the Senate, which re-echoed to the ends of the Nation, and which were potent in kindling those passions of which war is the natural outcome. Threats called out counter threats, and soon reason, argument and conciliation were left behind, and the coming deluge of life, treasure and hatred were ready to pour out. With this brief outline of fundamental premises, we are ready to try to peep behind the curtain of what might have been.

Now in 1899 we stumble upon a few brief historic items written in dreamland. The memoranda run as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 7th, 1861.

A thrilling and impressive scene has taken place today in the halls of Congress. The joint committee of the Senate and House having reported the failure of all the proposed compromises, and that the differences between the two great sections were irreconcilable, the formal withdrawal of the southern members took place at 12 o'clock. Despite all the bitter controversy of many months, there was a peculiar and indescribable pathos in the closing scene, and the end was dramatically solemn. Both sides deprecate its necessity. The South, feeling that its political honor and cherished opinions were at stake would not yield, but the sorrowful faces and, in some cases, tearful eyes of its representatives, as the long procession filed out, arm in arm, gave evidence of great stress and struggle. The Northern members, while firmly feeling the justice of their position, are profoundly convinced of the unwisdom of military coercion, and as an alternative have voted to consent to the separation. The South will make the experiment of a government by itself. The Northern members also passed a resolution, reciting that, "No true loyalty can be forced where none exists in the hearts of the people, and also that the spirit of a real Democracy would indicate that a great section, however mistaken, should have the privilege of voluntary self-government. Recognizing that the cohesive power in a Democracy must consist of interest, affection, sentiment, and social, political and economic ties, rather than authority, we sorrowfully and reluctantly bid adieu to the representatives of our sister states of the South. They go without our enmity, and we tender our fraternal regard." Thus amid the heart-felt regrets of both sides, political necessity divided the United States of America into two great separate but friendly powers.

WASHINGTON D. C., 1863.

Careful observers note a growing sentiment among the press and people of the South in favor of a rehabilitation of the old Union upon the former long established basis. The institution of Slavery appears to be the only obstacle, and there are numerous signs that its power and prestige are steadily crumbling. It is increasingly evident that the evolutionary progress and sentiment of the civilized world make the holding of human chattels

incongruous and abnormal, and its social and economic unprofitableness is now quite generally admitted. The arteries of commerce, intimate business relations, social ties and the annoyance of separate tariff systems all tell strongly for a reunion. Public conventions, especially among business organizations, are being held to agitate the matter, and it is evident that the politicians of both parties are becoming alive to the drift of public opinion.

WASHINGTON, July 4th, 1876.

A proposed amendment to the constitution of the Confederate States, adopted by the Senate and House of said government, declaring that human slavery shall be unlawful after January 1st, 1876, has been ratified by a large popular majority in each of the States forming the Confederacy. From that date all slaves will be absolutely free.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1870.

The long expected reunion has been formally consummated in the Senate and House to-day. The scene was most dramatic and inspiring. Upon the stroke of the hour of twelve, as the long procession of Southern Senators and Representatives filed into their respective halls, arm in arm, a spontaneous cheer reverberated through the Capitol, and was taken up by the immense crowd outside in a vast and continuous chorus. Cannon boomed, congratulations were everywhere exchanged, and the whole city was astir with a jubilee of rejoicing. Dispatches from all sections told of enthusiastic celebrations in commemoration of the great event in almost every town and city from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Both houses of Congress were almost buried in flowers and the joy upon every face was in striking contrast with the gloom and sorrow of the notable scene of fifteen years before. The educational lesson is complete, and there are no antagonisms to be outgrown. Like two fitting halves of a sphere, the great inter-related sections come together from natural attraction, forming a well rounded and complete Unit.

Boston, Mass.

## The American Eagle Turning Roman.

Lexington and Bunker Hill will hang in the Historic Gallery of the United States in curious pictorial contrast to the event which took place last Sunday at Manila. We have bartered for, bought, and assumed possession of islands whose former rulers we denounced, quite justly, as cruel tyrants, without giving the slightest recognition in the transaction of any rights of the native inhabitants, without even any consultation with those leaders of the revolt against Spain whom we had allied ourselves with in bringing to an end Spanish control. We were, to a very considerable degree, indebted to Aguinaldo and his troops for the quick ripening of that conquest, which is our sole basis of right to the Philippine Islands. After concluding the Treaty of Paris, our Chief Executive then issued a proclamation of sovereignty over the conquered territory, which was quite without constitutional warrant, for it rested only on the terms of a treaty which lacked the ratification of the Senate. Is it to be wondered at that, having been so grossly deceived as to the honorable intentions of the United States, these men who were approaching what they had thought was the termination of

a long struggle for liberty like our own, and which had our approval, were driven to desperation when they found their efforts had but served to bring about a change of masters. Of Aguinaldo, it will be remembered, Major Bell reported to his superiors, and apparently with judicial fairness, that he was poor, undoubtedly honest, a natural leader, held in respect by his people, but with little education. Whether this report is more to be relied on than that which asserts that he was bought by the Spaniards for \$400,000 is not for us to determine. Until it is disproved we propose to rely on the deliberate statement of a responsible American officer. But if it is true, how can we consistently damn Aguinaldo while clinging to Sam Adams? The Philippine leader struck a blow—pitifully weak and ineffective so far (though we are still to hear from his possible future allies, fever and famine)—for the liberties of his country against an unconstitutional conquest. The day has passed for all of us to admire the blow of the weak struck in defence of liberty; for to some, tyranny with power is sweet, tasted for the first time: the unusual flavor of which is intoxicating, but there was a day when we all admired such protestations against arbitrary power. The American Eagle is moulting; his original feathers are dropping out to be replaced by those of his Roman kinsman—a very different bird. So we have slaughtered 1900 rebels with the same liberty-loving guns that sunk the tyranny of Spain! It was only a step from the noble sentiments of the French Revolution—the “rights of man”, “liberty, equality, fraternity”—to Napoleon, Austerlitz, Jena; and only a few short months from the first to the second battle of Manila. We have considered ourselves (we do not say unwarrantably) the very elect, and above the reach of temptation common to man; but we awake to find ourselves also made of clay. We have what we hold by right of conquest and at the price of blood. We may get more and more possessions after the same fashion. But does that satisfy a people which beat upon its breast continually standing in the temple of moral laws, and thanking God that it was not as other men are?—*City and State*.

We give below the program of the meetings to be held in Tremont Temple, Boston, during March and April, to promote public interest in the coming Peace Conference at The Hague:

March 6, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale will speak on “A Permanent International Tribunal”; March 20, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, will speak on “Organized Labor’s Contribution to International Peace”; March 27, the Rev. Lyman Abbott will speak on “International Brotherhood”; April 3, the Rev. George C. Lorimer will speak on “The Passing of the War God”, and April 10, the meeting will be in the hands of the women, addressed by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and others.

Professor William James of Harvard says in reference to what is now going on in the Philippines: “We are now openly engaged in crushing out the sacredest thing in this human world—the attempt of a people long enslaved to attain to the possession of itself, to organize its laws and government, to be free to follow its internal destinies according to its own ideals.”

## CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and goodwill towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

### Publications of the American Peace Society.

**Success of Arbitration.**—8 pages. 75 cases cited. 2 cts. each, or 75 cts. per hundred, prepaid.

**War Unnecessary and Unchristian.**—By Augustine Jones, LL.B. New edition, 20 pages. 5 cts. each, \$2.00 per hundred.

**Dymond's Essay on War.**—With an introduction by John Bright. Sent free on receipt of 2 cts. for postage.

**The Nation's Responsibility for Peace.**—By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D. Price 5 cts. each, or \$2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

**Nationalism and Internationalism, or Mankind One Body.**—By George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D. New edition. Price 5 cts. each, or \$2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

**A Permanent Anglo-American Tribunal.**—Address at the Washington Arbitration Conference, April 28, 1896. By Merrill E. Gates, LL.D., President Amherst College. 24 pages. Price 6 cts., or \$2.50 per hundred, prepaid.

**The True Historic Relations of the United States and Great Britain.**—By Edwin D. Mead. 8 pages. Price 75 cts. per hundred, postpaid.

**An Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe.** By William Penn. First published in 1693. 24 pages, with cover. Price 6 cts., or \$3 per hundred, prepaid.

**A Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration.**—By Edward Everett Hale, D.D. Price 5 cts. each; \$2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

**Perpetual Peace.**—By Immanuel Kant. Translated by Benjamin F. Trueblood. 53 pages. Price 20 cents, postpaid.

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**The Coming Reform.**—By Mary Elizabeth Blake. New Edition. Price 2 cts. each, or \$1.25 per hundred, postpaid.

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**A Battle, as it appeared to an Eye-witness.**—By Rev. R. B. Howard. Letter Leaflet No. 1. Price, postpaid, 20 cts. per hundred.

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**Woman and War.**—By Ernest Howard Crosby. Letter Leaflet No. 6. Price 20 cts. per hundred, prepaid.



### The Franchise Carpet-baggers.

One of the chief dangers to which Cuba is now subjected in this period of reconstruction is the new type of carpet-bagger, who is not in personal quest of the political offices with a view to the direct plunder of the taxpayers, as in our South thirty years ago, but who is endeavoring to get his finger into the political pie for the sake of gaining control of municipal franchises and securing various public contracts, charters, and privileges. During the past few weeks there has been an immense struggle going on among rival promoters and franchise-grabbers for possession of the street-railroad system of Havana. And this is one instance among scores, affecting all the Cuban towns. If a firm hand could be exercised at this critical juncture, it would be entirely possible to make the prospectively lucrative franchises of the city of Havana pay in great part, if not altogether, for the costly sanitary improvements that will have to be made in the city and harbor. From ten to fifteen millions of dollars ought to be spent at once in improvements at Havana bearing some relation to public health. If the street railroads and other lucrative privileges were managed in the interest of the community, it would be readily possible to make them pay the interest on the bonds that will have to be issued for sewers and sanitary improvements, and also to provide a fund for the ultimate redemption of those bonds. The syndicates and franchise-grabbers are exerting themselves powerfully at Washington, and their ways are full of subtlety. If the government is not very much on its guard, the honorable career that the United States ought to complete for

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itself in the emancipation of Cuba will be blighted to some extent through the malign counsels of men in high position who are acting at Washington as the political agents of the individuals and combinations that are greedy for the acquisition of railroad concessions, local transit franchises, and all sorts of money-making schemes that depend upon public privileges and governmental favor. The franchise carpet-baggers are knocking at the doors of the War Department, where they have somehow got the notion that everything yields to the political "pull." —*American Monthly Review of Reviews.*

### OWED TO KIPLING

(AND HIS SCHOOL OF WOULD-BE IMITATORS).

NIXON WATERMAN.

The world seems "Kiplingized," for since he wrote his "Seven Seas"

A smell of blood and battle has been borne upon the breeze.

His ballads of the barrack-room such happy thoughts instill

They make it seem the proper thing to curse and cuff and kill.

We saunter with a swagger and as troopers we salute,

We've the manners of a brigand and the morals of a brute,

And woman seems no longer worth our tender love and care

Since he has found her just "a rag, a bone, and hank of hair."

He writes so big and strong and bold he fills us with a zest

To seek us out some enemies and knock 'em "galley west."

We want an army, hully gee! of twice a million men,

And guns to shoot around the world and half way back again.

Oh, let's do something worth the while! Away with childish peace!

And let's be roaring lions, all, instead of gabbling geese.

We're tired staying here at home; let's build some armored boats

And just go a-sloshing 'round the world and cutting people's throats.

Oh, poet of the ten-inch gun! you've taught us to be great!—

That love and home and wife and child are sadly out of date.

Perchance had we not read your books nor heard your bugles bray,

We'd have no dead in Cuba and the Philip-pines to-day.

'Tis kind of you to come to us crude peoples of the West

And teach us that our Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, and the rest

Of our poor, peaceful poets all deserve the name of "mud",

For, oh! they never wrote, like you, of barrack-rooms and ber-lud!

—*L. A. W. Journal.*

### Abandonment of American Standards.

"The Conquest of the United States by Spain" was the title of a lecture recently delivered in New Haven by Professor William G. Sumner of Yale University. Here are some sentences full of meaning:

"My patriotism is of that kind which is outraged by the notion that the United States never was a great nation until in a petty three months' campaign it knocked to pieces a poor, decrepit, bankrupt, old state like Spain. To hold such an opinion as that is to abandon all American standards, and to put to shame and scorn all that our ancestors tried to build up here, and to go over to the standards of which Spain is a representative. The reason why I am opposed to expansion and imperialism is that I am not ready to throw away American notions and to accept those of Spain."

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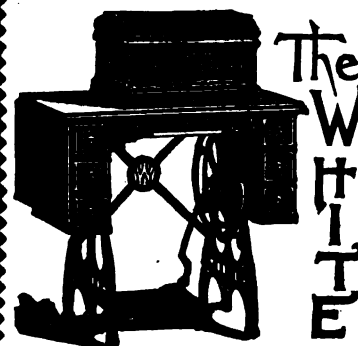
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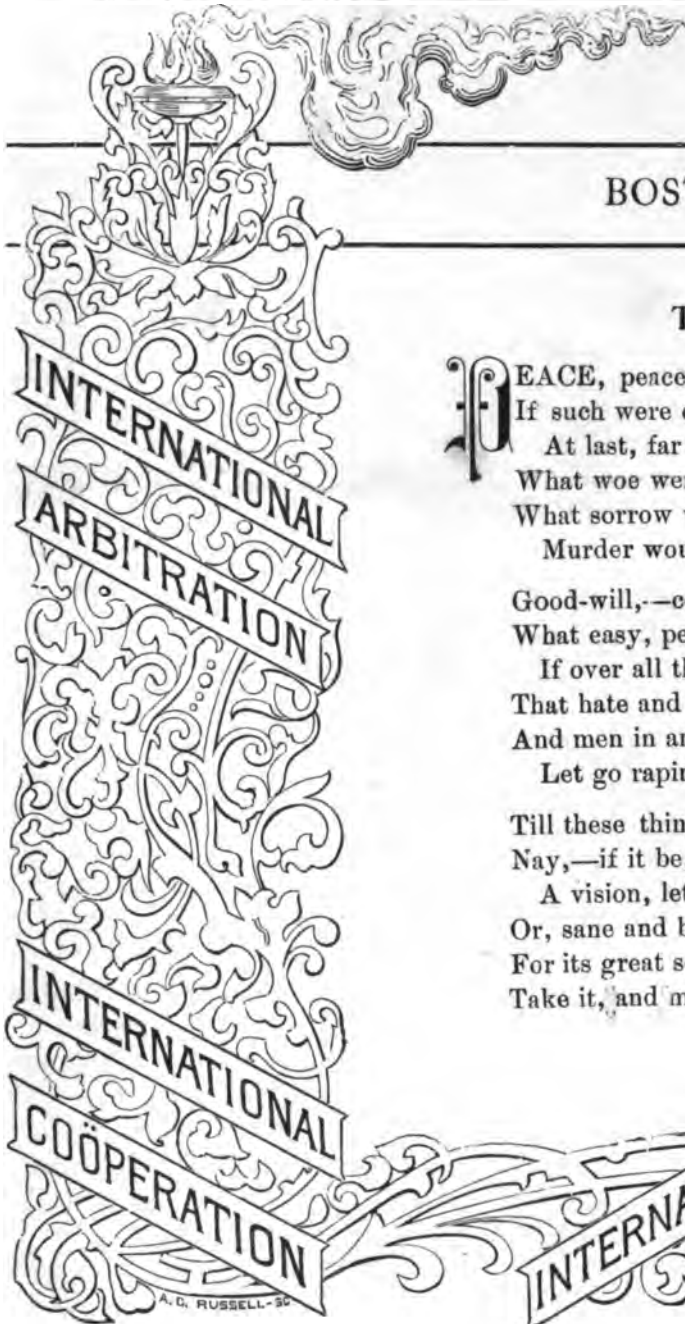
# The ADVOCATE — OF — PEACE.

BOSTON, APRIL, 1899.

## The Vision of Peace.

PEACE, peace to come, to be.  
If such were certainty,—  
At last, far off, at latest, any while,—  
What woe were hard to bear?  
What sorrow worth one tear?  
Murder would soften, dark despair would smile.  
  
Good-will,—consider this!  
What easy, perfect bliss,  
If over all the earth the one change spread!  
That hate and fear should die,  
And men in amity  
Let go rapine and wrong and fear and dread.  
  
Till these things come to pass,  
Nay,—if it be, indeed, alas!  
A vision, let us sleep and dream it true!  
Or, sane and broad awake,  
For its great sound and sake.  
Take it, and make it earth's, and peace ensue!

EDWIN ARNOLD.





NICHOLAS II., EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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## The Conference at The Hague.

We give a large amount of space this month to the coming Conference at The Hague. We print again the Czar's Rescript, and give in full his second circular, both of which have been specially translated for this paper.

As the eighteenth of May, the date set for the opening of the Conference, approaches, the importance of the occasion becomes more and more evident. In spite of the untoward circumstances, in many parts of the world, under which the meeting will take place,—perhaps the more because of these circumstances,—an increasing number of people everywhere are feeling the greatness and the solemnity of the moment, as a turning point of extraordinary significance in the upward movement of civilization. It will be the first time in history that a body of responsible statesmen, from all the civilized nations,

in fact, from any nations, has met to take counsel as to how universal peace may be permanently maintained and the world relieved of the untold moral and material burdens which the war system has imposed upon it. It will be a long time before the immense significance of this fact can be adequately appreciated. But it is *felt* even now, by no small number of people. It is dimly understood that humanity, in its corporate capacity, is beginning at last to take to itself the sovereignty which of right belongs to it, and which it will some day exercise over all the face of the earth, regardless of national boundaries.

The Czar's action has been, and still is, the subject of suspicion, ridicule and open opposition. He has had a good many lectures read to him as to what he ought to have done in place of what he did. In England even, where his initiative has awakened such a popular movement as has not stirred the English people more than two or three times during the century, the failure of the Conference has been prophesied in the bluntest English. A writer in the *National Review*, or rather the editor, declares that "universal peace will be as far off as ever after the Czar's Conference, and universal disarmament no nearer." Which is only another way of saying that the world gets no better, and that war will be eternal, which of course nobody believes. A writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, wants the Conference to fail. He declares "war to be the supreme test of national value." Another writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, Sir Henry Howorth, characterizes the whole movement in England as an "effeminate agitation", a "sentimental absurdity", a "bastard enthusiasm" and what-not, over which he feels it his duty to throw cold water lest it get too hot. From his language one would think Sir Henry himself hot enough to need a vigorous cold bath.

But in spite of these cynical criticisms and evil prognostications, and notwithstanding the deplorable apathy and restraint of our own people, the Conference is getting itself ready to be held. All the governments invited have taken the matter seriously—even more seriously than the peoples—and are appointing delegates from among their foremost men. Our government will send three able and experienced men, of whom it is said that Ambassador Andrew D. White will be one. Great Britain, the voice of whose Prime Minister is the most authoritative voice in the whole political world, has taken such an attitude toward the Conference as to make some measure of success an absolute certainty. Lord Salisbury has appointed, as the head of the English delegation, Sir Julian Pauncefote, whose devotion to the principle of arbitration and efforts to secure its permanent introduction into international institutions, especially into the relations of Great Britain and the United States, are known by all. This appointment means that Great Britain goes to the Conference, not to quibble, not to put obstacles in the way of positive schemes, not to outwit Russia, not to secure international recognition of the supremacy of the British fleet, but to throw the whole weight of her powerful influence in support of the aims for which the Conference has been called.

The Czar himself has grown more serious and more determined as the date of the meeting approaches. The favor with which his proposals have been received, both by governments and peoples, has greatly encouraged him. So has the support given him in many parts of his great empire. His position in the political world is an assurance of success. He is a young man with his future before him, and he feels that the judgment which will be meted out to him will depend upon the success or failure of his Great Design, now that he has launched it. John Morley has said that for a long time to come every public man will be judged by his attitude toward the Czar's manifesto and the Conference which he has called to relieve the world of the curse of militarism. Much more does the Czar himself feel that he is at the judgment seat of the world.

Furthermore, every nation which enters the Conference will thereby assume its measure of responsibility for the success or failure of the deliberations. It does not stand to reason that these nations representing all the enlightenment, the wealth and power of the world, will go to The Hague on this august and magnificent mission of peace, such a mission as never was entrusted to men before, and then either deliberately or accidentally and carelessly stultify themselves. Their delegates will meet, without any of the "pomp and circumstance" of war, in the majestic quietness and delib-

erateness of reason, and for a month, more or less, they will consider the great and difficult problems entrusted to them; and the results, however limited they may be in scope, will be in reality, in their bearings in the future progress of the world, as much greater than those of any previous international Congress as the purpose for which this Conference meets is incomparably great.

### Editorial Notes.

**Need of Funds.** The urgent appeal for funds which the American Peace Society has just made by circular letter has met with a generous response from a considerable number of our friends, but the amount received is not yet sufficient by nearly one-half to cover the need. The shrinkage in the rentable value of the property held in trust for the Society has been such for the past two years that a debt has been inevitable if we continued without abatement the work of distributing our various peace publications. It has not seemed right, under the circumstances of the times, to curtail the work. Indeed, there has been every reason for greatly enlarging and pushing it with all vigor. Besides this, the Board of Directors have decided to have a representative at The Hague during the time of the Conference which meets there in May, if the means can be secured to meet the expenses of the trip. The Society has been one of the chief agencies for three quarters of a century in developing the great cause of arbitration and peace, now ripening to fruition, and it hopes through the generosity of its friends not only to be able to maintain but greatly to increase its efficiency in the years to come. Will not all our friends help us according to their ability? Get your friends to subscribe for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, or to become members of the Society. Gifts of any amount will be gratefully received, and may be sent to the Secretary, B. F. Trueblood, 3 Somerset St., Boston, or to the Treasurer, Thomas H. Russell, 27 State St., Boston.

**Presidency of the Conference.** Mr. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, has been chosen to preside at the Peace Conference at The Hague. As the Conference is to be held at the capital of Holland, the ordinary rule governing such cases would have required the Conference to be presided over by the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. But the Dutch Government declined to undertake the task of presiding. The appointment of Mr. de Staal gives great satisfaction, especially to London. He is the most trusted of Russian diplomats, a man of age and great experience, a gentleman of genial and charming personality, and the most respected of all the diplomatic corps in London. He will have associated with him, in the Russian delegation, Professor de Martens, of the St. Petersburg University, who is president of the Anglo-Venezuelan



Arbitration Tribunal which is to meet in Paris this spring or summer to determine the question of the Venezuela boundary. Professor de Martens is a great scholar, one of the foremost authorities on international law and the author of several books on that subject. He is thoroughly in sympathy with the arbitration movement, has several times acted as an arbitrator in international disputes, has been Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, and was a delegate of Russia at the Brussels Conference on the Laws of War in 1874, at that on Maritime Laws in 1888, and at that for the Abolition of Slavery in Africa in 1890. The appointment of these two distinguished men by Russia has as great significance as that of Sir Julian Pauncefote by Great Britain.

**The Peace Pilgrimage.** The Pilgrimage of Peace, as originally conceived by Mr. Stead, has been given up. It has been found impossible to get sufficient support in two or three of the capitals of Europe to justify the undertaking. In others, preparations to receive the Deputation had been well advanced, and there is a good deal of disappointment that the plan cannot be carried out. We do not imagine, however, that the success of the Conference at The Hague will be in the least affected by the dropping of this scheme, which would have been more or less artificial. The official delegates to The Hague will be influenced by the spontaneous expression of public opinion in their own countries, and this, where it is sufficiently developed to be effective, will find natural ways in which to express itself, as it is doing in a number of the European countries. The present plan is for a delegation from Great Britain to go to St. Petersburg, before the opening of the Conference on the 18th of May, to convey personally to the Czar an expression of the profound and universal interest which his Rescript has awakened among the British people. Such a representation from Great Britain will do much good, in strengthening the hands of the Russian Emperor, for upon him at last the success of the Conference will greatly depend. If Great Britain and Russia go into the Conference united and sincerely determined that real success shall be attained, along the lines marked out by the Czar, it will be difficult for any other nation or nations to put serious obstacles in the way. There seems every prospect at the present that they will enter the Conference in this spirit.

**The Peace Crusade.** *The Peace Crusade*, the temporary organ of the movement for the promotion of public interest in the Conference called by Nicholas II., is published by the Peace Crusade Committee of which Dr. Edward Everett Hale is chairman. The office of publication is at 1 Beacon St., Boston. The price is twenty-five cents for the series, which will be continued weekly or fortnightly till the close of the Conference which meets at The Hague on the 18th of May. For one hundred subscriptions the price is \$15.00. The price of one hun-

dred copies of a single number is \$3.00. The paper will contain reports of the Monday noon meetings in Tremont Temple, Boston, and give accounts of similar movements in other parts of the country.

**The Christian Endeavor Crusade.** We publish on another page in full the circular recently issued by the officers of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, through the *Christian Endeavor World*, to the Endeavor Societies everywhere.

President Clark and his co-workers have not taken this step without long and careful deliberation. They have, after deliberation, taken it with a seriousness of conviction and an earnestness of purpose which are characteristic of every phase of the Endeavor movement since its inauguration eighteen years ago. Henceforth, therefore, we are to have as active allies in the war against war this great body of three and a half millions of young, enthusiastic workers, living in all the nations of the world and bound together in a world-wide fellowship. It is an omen full of the most magnificent promise. It is a "sign of the times" which even a blind Pharisee ought to be able to understand. The petition which has been prepared, to be signed and sent to the Congress of the United States, as will be seen by examining it, emphasizes four things: first, that war is such a horrible thing that it is the duty of every civilized nation to do all in its power toward making it impossible; second, that an international tribunal of arbitration ought to be speedily established; third, that our country ought to join promptly and heartily in the Conference called by the Emperor of Russia; and, fourth, that the question of a permanent arbitration system between the United States and Great Britain ought to have immediate consideration. President Clark rightly says that the Christian Endeavor movement "is a world-wide movement, international, interdenominational, inter-racial, as no other religious movement in all the history of the world has ever been. It has world-wide sympathies and affiliations. It has a mission, not in America only, but in every remote section of the world. What, then, is more appropriate than that such a society should cast its influence in favor of international arbitration and universal peace." We shall hope that the petition sent out will be speedily signed by every one of the two millions and a half of Endeavorers in the United States, and that when Congress comes together again the first of December next, the great memorial will be rolled at the feet of the Senators and Representatives as the first greeting that shall meet them in the national capitol.

**Peace Society in Russia.** Mr. Novicow, the eminent Russian sociologist and friend of peace, has prepared the articles of incorporation of a peace Society at Odessa.

The articles have been signed by the president of the court of appeal, by the superintendent of instruction for the district, and by other prominent public functionaries. After a lecture at Odessa on the peace movement, Mr. Novicow took in a few minutes the names of more than a hundred signers to the constitution of the new Society. The articles of incorporation have to be submitted to the Minister of the Interior for his approbation before the Society is definitely constituted. It is expected that the Society, when once established, will immediately have a large and enthusiastic accession of members from all parts of the district. Verily the world moves, and good things come out of Nazareth!

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**Depends on the People.** Professor W. Rauschenbusch, of the Rochester Theological Seminary, who inaugurated in that city the movement in support of the Czar's Conference, said in a sermon on the subject:

"I think the Czar is sincere and fully in earnest. He is just past thirty. Thank God for the impetus of young men, before they have grown so wise and so bound up in the world as it now is that they have no ideals, no vision of a better future left. The question now is whether the other nations will meet him in the same spirit of sincerity or whether their delegates will come with an eye only to their immediate advantage, but without love for the suffering peoples, without hope for a nobler future, without faith in God or the Kingdom of God. And in the last resort it will depend on the people. If the nations had faith and would now rivet their gaze on that Conference with full expectation that something would be done, the Conference would not dare to disappoint that expectation. On the other hand, if the people are indifferent, blinded by custom and mutual jealousy, and nobody expects anything to be accomplished, that expectation will doubtless be fulfilled. According to our faith will it be unto us. John Morley, the statesman and historian in England, has said that for a long time to come every man in public life will have to be judged by his attitude to this effort of peace. But not only for individuals, but for the souls of the nations this is one of God's judgment days. If we know not the day of our visitation, another chance in history will have been missed. The dove of peace will flutter over the yellow flood of apathy and selfishness and return to the Divine heart that sent it forth, bringing back only an olive leaf as a pitiful prophecy of a possible future better day."

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**European Militarism.**

One of the best recent discussions of the evils of European militarism, called out by the Czar's rescript, is that of Professor T. J.

Lawrence, of Cambridge, England, in the February number of the *International Journal of Ethics*. He discusses the subject from both the economical and the ethical point of view. From the former, he says that "the burden is already in some countries destroying the springs of industry and closing the avenues of commerce. The twenty-four thousand miles of soldiers which, according to a German authority, represent the sum total of the armies of continental Europe, are not fed, clothed and provided with munitions of war without an annual expenditure of hundreds of millions sterling. And while money is poured out like water for warlike purposes, education languishes owing to the difficulty of raising the necessary funds, and the eternal lack of pence hampers every effort to deal with such problems as the housing of the poor and the provision in towns and villages of the amenities of communal existence." Of the moral evils of militarism he speaks in the strongest terms. He quotes Mr. Gohier as saying, in his "*L'armée contre la Nation*", that "barrack life is a school of drunkenness, debauchery and every filthy vice. The youths of the nation go into it healthy, clean and vigorous. They come out rotten and tainted, to become centers of moral and physical corruption on their return to civilian occupations." In addition to this, "contempt of civilians, impatience of civil authority, distaste for civil life, are each and all fostered by the overgrown military system of most continental nations." His conclusion is that "the old doctrine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that a standing army is dangerous to liberty, may receive startling confirmation at the close of the nineteenth century."

---

**A Humane Republican.** Rev. Charles H. Pope, pastor of the First Parish Church of Charlestown, Mass., the oldest Orthodox Congregational Church in the Boston Centre, is a worthy successor of Dr. James B. Miles, for many years pastor of that church and afterwards Secretary of the American Peace Society. Mr. Pope was one of the first ministers in the country to speak in protest against the policy which has led to the slaughter of so many thousands of the Filipinos. On the 12th of February he preached a sermon from his pulpit which has awakened a great deal of feeling pro and con. His sentiments are in harmony with those of Senators Hoar and Hale, with whom, in a private letter to us, he classes himself as "a humane Republican." As to the causes and character of the conflict at Manila he speaks, in part, as follows:

"Our country had made a bargain with the nation which was supposed to lie at our feet, and that bargain was most astonishing. We promise to pay them \$20,000,000; to obtain a large number of their people, who had been

caught in the act of oppression and fraud by the Philippine patriots, and were held captives there; we promised, remember, to get those Spanish prisoners from their captors and deliver them to the nation we had righteously ejected from Cuba. Ah, yes, we, the victorious American Republic, promised a nation never noble, now shipless and bankrupt, to pay them a sum of money sufficient to buy them a new navy, and get back into their hands a horde of the worst of their agents of oppression. . . . We promised to demand these prisoners of a people better organized than the Cubans have ever been, if we are correctly informed, a people aspiring, looking toward the light, needing only patient guidance and a helping hand to be a Mexico to the Orient, a worthy sister in the family of Republics. . . . I say, and will maintain it, that the massacre of February, 1899, will go down to history as the foulest crime a republic ever committed. And I say, without fear of contradiction, that the President who left a loop-hole for the possibility of such an event, the treaty makers who planned for conditions which must inevitably lead to such an affair, the Senators who refused to listen to their philanthropic associates who pleaded for the recognition of Aguinaldo and his followers, the General and Admiral who led our troops in the actions, will live to see that they have made a terrible mistake, to say the least. The people of this republic will never suffer such a blunder to be made again, unless it is made before the popular will can assert itself. When will this war cease? When shall we really have that "peace" for which some persons were giving thanks months ago? When may we who love mankind be represented in the management of affairs sufficiently to stop war? . . . It is in Washington that the guilt of this slaughter lies.

After all, the day of American history is not done. May God spare our republic long enough to do some penance for this crime; to adopt a policy toward all our insular possessions which will develop them, lift them, stand by their side while they do their part in national life, and ask only a fair share in the trade and communication which may develop.

It was sad but true that the cry, "Remember the Maine," became a slogan for our anti-Spanish campaign. It will be right and worthy if we can adopt, as the watchword of a better campaign of peace the sad yet suggestive and arousing cry, "Remember the Massacre of Manila!"

Josiah W. Leeds, in a letter to the Philadelphia *Grotius and Erasmus* *Public Ledger*, calls attention to the fact that

The Hague, where the Czar's Conference is to meet, is only an hour's drive from Delft, the birthplace of Hugo Grotius whose great treatise on international law, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, is a classic among peace literature and has been translated into every language of Europe. J. W. Leeds thinks that Nicholas of Russia might well take to heart the statement of Grotius that "it is certain that in the Greek church there was a canon long observed by which he who should have killed an enemy in any war whatever was excommunicated during the space of three years." The *Ledger* article also calls attention to the fact that only ten miles

away is the city of Rotterdam where was born Erasmus, the author of "The Complaint of Peace," and the writer of many formal letters to crowned heads in which he earnestly begs them to put an end to wars which are the scandal of Christendom. Erasmus's side remark on territorial expansion, in a letter to the King of Poland, is recommended as good reading for our official delegates to The Hague, viz., that "the desire of extending empire, already too much extended, knows no bounds, the case in this respect being like that of pluralists in the church,—the more preferment they get, the more they desire to accumulate benefice on benefice, and dignity on dignity." In the "Complaint of Peace," addressed to Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, Erasmus severely criticises the naming of cannon after the Apostles, as a "cruel mockery of Christ and of human misery." This passage from the "Complaint of Peace" is quoted as peculiarly appropriate in connection with the action of the Czar of Russia: "Let the greatest share of honor be ever paid, not to warlike kings—the world has sorely suffered for its folly in giving them glory—but to kings who entirely reject the war system, and by their understanding and counsels, not by force and arms, restore to bleeding human nature the blessings of concord and repose."

Dr. Richard Henry Thomas of Baltimore, who is doing much in that city to promote interest in the coming Conference at The Hague, writes as follows to the *Baltimore Sun* under date of March 11th:

"Shall the Conference, so soon to be held, prove a success or not? The answer lies largely with the people themselves. If those who meet in Conference realize that the peoples they represent earnestly desire and expect tangible results that shall make peace more easy and war less probable, their attitude will be very different from what it will be should the people manifest only a lazy indifference. . . . Is the present a suitable time to interest ourselves in such a proposition as this? Most decidedly, yes. It is a peculiarly favorable opportunity. If we are, indeed, entering the arena of European politics, as appears, and are no longer to remain secure, as we have been, in our comparative isolation from entangling foreign complications, then all the more reason have we to join heartily in a movement that promises to affect international relations so strongly and so beneficently. The time is past when we could flatter ourselves that the affairs of Europe are nothing to us. They affect us profoundly, and we affect them. The preservation of the peace of the world is of vital importance to us, as to the nations abroad. . . . The question before us is not whether the Conference is to be held, or whether America is to be represented. These points are already decided. But the question is, shall the conference meet under the impression that the people will be satisfied if its deliberations be merely perfunctory, or shall it realize that the people demand and expect results that shall make for peace and higher civilization? It is here that we have an influence. Let

us join with other patriots in working for the success of the Czar's effort. It is a movement above all partisan considerations. It is world-wide in its scope."

**Disarmament Debate.** Michigan University, which recently won in a debate with Northwestern University on the subject of the increase of the navy, has carried off another victory for peace by defeating Pennsylvania University in a contest on the question of disarmament. The subject of the debate was: "Resolved, that, under existing conditions, the abolition by all civilized nations of their armies and navies other than those required for the maintenance of their domestic police is feasible." Michigan took the affirmative and won by a vote of the judges, two to one. The speakers for Michigan were Martin Henry Carmody, Frank Dwight Eaman, Le Roy Allen Wilson; for Pennsylvania, William Harvey Allen, James Whitford Riddle, Roland Sletor Morris. The judges were State Attorney-General Frank S. Monnett, Columbus, O., Judge William B. Hoyt and Hon. Edward R. O'Malley of Buffalo, N. Y. The contest took place in University Hall, Ann Arbor, in the presence of fifteen hundred people, whose interest was sustained to the very end. Claudis B. Grant, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan, presided. The champion debaters, according to the reports, were Eaman, of Michigan University, and Morris, of Pennsylvania, the former using very effectively the argument drawn from the successful application of arbitration to international disputes during this century.

**Cuban Industrial Relief Fund.** Mr. William Willard Howard, general manager of the Cuban Industrial Relief Fund, which has headquarters in the Tribune building, New York, and the Congregational House, Boston, has established the headquarters for the distribution of the Fund at Guines, forty-five miles southeast of Havana. In his first report, just issued, he says that "Cuba is really in a worse condition now than it was this time last year when he was first there. The country is desolate, the fields are vacant, and the farmers are destitute. There is no work." "We must have cattle for these people. They cannot do anything in the way of agriculture without them. We can teach them the use of mules later on; but just now they must have oxen." A relief farm is to be started at Guines, which is the richest district in Cuba. Guines is the market-garden of Havana, with which it is connected by railroad. Mr. Howard says that Guines has done more toward the restoration of her former prosperity than any other town which he has seen and that "she has done just nothing at all," to all intents and purposes. "Her rich fields are desolate; her laborers idle. Beggars swarm through the streets, or perish miserably of hunger and disease. All

of the reconcentrados are not dead. Many are left, wasted wrecks of humanity, waiting for death or the helping hand of the American people. . . For some of these pitiable creatures there can be no hope this side of the grave; the rest could be saved and restored to health and strength were they properly fed and nursed. . . Unless these living skeletons are cared for by some method other than a distribution of army rations they will go the way of their less fortunate brethren, and the reconcentrado will be merely a name in history." Mr. Howard says that the mayor and people of Guines are much pleased at the plan proposed to enable them to help themselves. The supply of army rations is exhausted, the last distribution being made to 3,700 persons, about half of the population of Guines. Nothing has been done toward improving the miserable state of the country since the signing of the peace protocol on August 14, 1898. Since that date "there have been a greater number of deaths from hunger in Guines than during the period of concentration by General Weyler." "The saddest sight in Cuba is the orphans. They had no part in the war. The blockade was not for them. But the suffering which war and blockade bring fall upon their innocent heads with awful force. How any of these poor children survived is something that only the Almighty can explain." The Cuban Industrial Relief Fund offers to administer a special fund for the relief of these orphans. We strongly commend the appeal of this organization to all our readers. Contributions should be sent to The Continental Trust Company, 30 Broad St., New York City, marked "For the Cuban Industrial Relief Fund." The New England Headquarters of the Fund are at room 401 Congressional House, Boston.

**Death of John Hemmenway.**

The death of John Hemmenway at Tacoma, Washington, on March 1st, at the age of 84 years, takes away one of the most earnest and faithful of the advocates of peace of the last generation. Of late years, owing to the infirmities of advanced years, he had not been much heard from, but a generation ago he was one of the most prominent of those seeking to bring about a state of public sentiment which will make war impossible. He was the author of "The Daily Remembrancer on Peace and War", published in 1875 by the "Peace Association of Friends in America." This book of more than 200 pages contained for every day in the year a passage from some prominent writer on the subject of peace and war. It has had a wide circulation and we believe is still kept by the Association at Richmond, Indiana. He was also the author of the "Life of William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace." A bound manuscript copy of the Life of Ladd is now in the library of the American Peace Society, a

present to the Society from the author some years ago. Mr. Hemmenway kept up his intense interest in the subject of peace to the very end of his life, writing his encouragement and approval to the younger workers in the cause. The editor of this paper has been the recipient of a number of such letters in recent years, and has greatly appreciated the approval and encouragement contained in them. John Hemmenway was born at Freeport, Maine, December 30th, 1814. He had lived for many years, until last autumn, at St. Anthony Park, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and had lately gone with his son to reside at Tacoma, Washington.

**War and Fire.** The New York *Evening Post*, commenting on the gallantry of the firemen at the burning of the Windsor Hotel, says:

"We do not know of a more terrible form of danger than a great fire. It far surpasses any other form, except very rare incidents in a battle, in the things which shake the nerves and appall the imagination. There is about a fire none of the pomp and pride and circumstance of war; no drums, or trumpets, or uniforms, or serried files, or admiring women, nothing but bare duty and sympathy for other people's danger and suffering. There is no hated foe to be stricken down, or "glory-crowned heights" to be scaled, or dominion to be asserted. There is no property of a dastardly enemy to be burnt or fields to be laid waste. There are simply life and property to be saved, mostly by men acting alone amid smoke and flame, in the face of many unseen dangers, without encouragement from comrades or commanders, and with little prospect of "glory" at the end.

Now, the thing to be observed and remembered in all this is, that, frightful as this service is in many ways, comparatively little praise as there is to be had for it, there has never, in the history of the country, been lack of men for it. No fire brigade has ever been organized without finding abundance of recruits for it. More than this, we cannot recall a single case in which the firemen had to be censured for shrinking from danger in any form in which a fire presents danger. We can recall no case in any part of the country in which a fireman recoiled from any risk which gave valor any part to play. The same thing has been true of life-boat men, of searchers for the lost and strayed, and of buried miners, of rescuers, in short, of every kind, from the perils created by nature alone. . . . There could not be a better answer to the fallacy which does so much service among Jingoese, male and female, that to elicit a man's highest qualities you need to give him a "foe"—that is, something to kill or destroy, instead of something simply to save or succor. From this fruitful source flows two-thirds of the blather-skite one hears about the value of war as an improver of character. Some go so far as to maintain not only that bearing arms and serving in the wars improve character, but that, unless a man takes a turn at them every now and then, character runs down. . . . Now, the curious thing about this notion is, that it has no support from human experience. There is no record of men having lost their courage from want of foes to kill, or, in other

words, want of war, which, when deprived of its fine names, is simply destruction of the lives and property of people whom you have never seen and who have done you no injury. Valor is the product of moral training derived from parents, schools, good institutions. . . . In short, the notion that a man cannot be brave without what Mr. Dooley calls "a crool foe" is a complete delusion. If he has grown up under a religion which develops his sense of responsibility to his Creator, and in a community in which justice is well administered and the public funds honestly spent, he will meet any form of danger he is called on to meet, with the highest efficiency, like our firemen. He does not need to be constantly hoisting flags and reading about war and heroes, and dining in honor of war, and mourning because the decent, industrious Christian young men of his acquaintance have not an opportunity to kill somebody or burn any houses."

### Brevities.

A man of integrity runs with truth, and not with the times—with right and not with might.—*William Penn.*

. . . Edward Atkinson, of Boston, has just published under the title, "Criminal Aggression: by Whom Committed?", a very searching analysis of the responsibility of the Administration for the present dreadful situation in the Philippines. The pamphlet may be had by addressing him at Boston, box 112, and enclosing five cents.

. . . On the 12th of March Rev. B. Fay Mills delivered in his regular course of sermons in Boston a powerful "Plea for Permanent Peace." The sermon has attracted wide attention, not only because of its eloquent advocacy of peace and its appeal for support of the Conference at The Hague, but because of its severe arraignment of the treatment which the Filipinos are receiving at our hands. Copies of the sermon may be had for five cents by addressing Morris Lefcowitch, 41 Rutland Square, Boston.

. . . The Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia is holding tri-weekly meetings for two months at its rooms on Arch Street to promote interest in the coming Conference at The Hague.

. . . Negotiations for reciprocity treaties with France and Germany have been resumed by Mr. Kasson since the suspension of the labors of the United States-Canadian Commission of which Mr. Kasson is a member.

. . . The Women's International Disarmament League at Paris, which now has 250,000 adherents, has undertaken a plebiscite in all the countries where the League has representatives with a view of getting the signatures of all who favor the idea of international disarmament, or reduction of armaments, as proposed by the Czar of Russia.

. . . Rev. C. E. Harrington, D.D., pastor of the Congregational Church at Waltham, Massachusetts, preached a powerful sermon against war on the 12th of March, making the Czar's rescript his text. The sermon was printed nearly in full in the *Waltham Daily Free Press-Tribune* of March 15th.

. . . The Spring meeting of the Commission of the International Peace Bureau will take place at Berne, Switzerland, on the 5th of May. This will be one of the most important meetings which the Commission has ever held, in view of the approaching Conference at The Hague.

. . . The Reform Bureau of Washington, D. C., of which Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts is superintendent, makes "the substitution of arbitration and conciliation for both industrial and international wars" a part of its program. The Bureau is coöperating earnestly with other organizations to promote the success of the Czar's Conference both in "reducing burdensome armaments" and in "establishing a permanent Supreme Court of the United States of the World,"

. . . A vigorous editorial in the *New England Magazine* for December, entitled "Organize the World!", by Edwin D. Mead, has been reprinted in pamphlet form and may be had at the Peace Crusade office, 1 Beacon St., Boston, at \$1.50 per hundred copies.

. . . Mr. Witte, the Russian Minister of Finance, is reported to have said: "If my colleagues in the War and Navy Departments make further demands upon me for their armies and their fleets, I shall simply invite them to read the rescript of our Emperor."

. . . A dispute of sixteen years standing between Italy and Persia, which at one time caused a diplomatic rupture between the two countries, has finally been settled by arbitration. The arbitrators appointed by the King of Sweden, to whom the dispute was referred, have decided that the claims of Italy were groundless and have given the award in favor of Persia.

. . . A banquet of the French Peace Societies was held at Paris on the first of March, more than one hundred representatives of the different associations throughout France being present.

. . . At Munich two thousand persons took part in a great meeting on the 8th of March, at which, after a number of fervid addresses, a resolution was voted in favor of disarmament.

. . . The annual meeting of the Hungarian Peace Society was held at Buda-Pesth on the 22d of February under the Presidency of the distinguished Hungarian author, Maurice Jokai. Strong action was taken, not only in favor of the initiative of the Czar but also against the duel as inimical to "internal, national and social peace."

. . . Great activity is shown by the peace societies in Italy. A new peace journal, *Pro Pace*, has been started at Turin, and the question is being discussed of a general Peace Secretaryship for the whole of Italy. The Press Association of Rome is holding a series of meetings in the interests of the proposition for disarmament.

. . . In Holland a great peace meeting of from four to five thousand persons has been held at Amsterdam, in the Palace of Industry, at which many phases of the question of peace were discussed by distinguished speakers.

. . . "How to make our Country Great and Glorious" is the title of a most valuable discourse, now in pamphlet, of Rev. J. T. Sunderland, Oakland California, in which he argues forcibly that America ought to take the lead among the nations in promoting the cause of peace.

. . . Mr. Stead takes advantage of the Peace Crusade to belittle the non-resistants, and the work of the peace societies for the last eighty years—of which he knows practically nothing. Without the work of these societies no Czar's manifesto would ever have been issued, and Mr. Stead would not have had the pleasure of riding a wave which he had originally nothing to do with creating.

. . . The increase in the British army and navy estimates for the current year is about twenty-two million dollars, carrying the annual expense of the military establishment up to nearly two hundred and fifty million dollars.

. . . The American Humane Education Society, the annual meeting of which was held last month in Boston, has now 36,148 bands of mercy, 4,167 new ones having been formed within the year, in different parts of the world.

. . . Cecil Rhodes, the toughest imperialist of them all, says that the people of the United States are taking to imperialistic colonization "like mothers' milk." He prophesies that, for lack of islands, the United States will within a century take under their control "by force of arms" all the Western Hemisphere—except Canada!! The pity of it is that we have too many people like Cecil here in our midst.

## The Voice of God to America.

BY ELIZABETH E. FLAGG.

I gathered your tribes together  
When ye were a little flock;  
I fed you with wheat the finest,  
And honey out of the rock.  
My pillar of cloud before you,  
The guide of your wilderness road,  
I led you in ways ye knew not,  
To reap where ye had not sowed.

But was it for this, my people,  
I clave you a path through the sea,  
That ye might in turn be spoilers,  
And others may bow the knee?  
An unknown god ye have chosen—  
Call him Destiny—or Greed;  
Ye have learned a later gospel  
Than the fathers' outworn creed.

So this is "the white man's burden";  
Nor let it cause amaze,  
If judged by the Old World's judgments  
When ye run the Old World's ways;  
In hate of peoples unwilling,  
In treasures of blood and gold,  
Ye shall pay the price with usury,  
To the utmost farthing told.



I made you my Angel of Freedom  
 To open the gates of brass,  
 And I throned you 'twixt the oceans  
 For a bound no foe could pass.  
 I gave you the keys of a kingdom  
 That prophets had sought to find,  
 And my singers had only dreamed of—  
 It was yours to loose or bind.

I set a name on your forehead  
 That none of the nations knew;  
 I clothed you in robes of the morning,  
 The red, the white and the blue.  
 Shall the ghostly kings of Hades  
 Low mutter, with hand on knee,  
 "Through thy lust of power and dominion  
 Art thou even become as we"?

Will you change for their tattered purple  
 Your mantle of crimson bars?  
 For the tinsel crown of empire  
 Will you tear from your brow the stars?  
 Or be in my hand through the ages  
 For a diadem of praise?  
 I am God—and I sit in judgment  
 At the parting of the ways.

*The Boston Transcript.*

## THE COMING CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

### The Czar's Original Rescript.

## THE SECOND CIRCULAR TO THE POWERS.

### The Peace Crusade in Europe and America.

#### The Rescript.

Issued by Count Muravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 24th of August, 1898.

The maintenance of general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves, in the existing condition of the whole world, as the ideal towards which the endeavors of all governments should be directed.

The humanitarian and magnanimous spirit of His Majesty the Emperor, my August Master, is wholly convinced of this view.

In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate wishes of all the Powers, the Imperial Government thinks the present moment would be very favorable for an inquiry, by means of international discussion, as to the most effective means of insuring to all the Peoples the benefits of a real and durable Peace, and, above all, of putting a

limit to the progressive development of the present armaments.

In the course of the last twenty years, the longings for general pacification have been particularly marked in the consciousness of the civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy. It is in its name that the Great States have concluded between themselves powerful alliances. It is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed their military forces in proportions hitherto unknown, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

But all these efforts have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the pacification desired.

The financial burdens, constantly increasing, strike at public prosperity at its very source. The intellectual and physical forces of the nations, and their labor and capital are, for the most part, diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are employed in procuring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the supreme attainment of science, are sure to-morrow to lose all value because of some new invention in this field. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are paralyzed or checked in development.

So, too, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, do they less and less fulfill the object which the governments have had in view. Economic crises, due in great part to the system of armament *d'outrance*, and the continual danger which lies in this accumulation of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It seems evident that if this state of things continues it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, the horrors of which, even in anticipation, cause every thinking man to tremble.

To put an end to these incessant armaments, and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which threaten the whole world, is the supreme duty resting to-day upon all states.

Filled with this idea, His Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to command me to propose to all the governments which have accredited Representatives at the Imperial Court, the meeting of a conference which shall take into consideration this grave problem.

This conference will be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century now about to open. It will unite, and thus greatly strengthen, the efforts of all those states which sincerely seek to make the great conception of Universal Peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It will, at the same time, cement them together by a joint consecration of the principles of equity

and right on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples.

### The Czar's Second Circular.

Addressed by Count Muravieff to the Representatives of the Powers at St. Petersburg on the 11th of January, 1899.

"When, in the month of August last, my August Master ordered me to propose to the governments having Representatives at St. Petersburg the meeting of a conference whose purpose should be an inquiry as to the most efficacious means of assuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and above all of putting a stop to the progressive development of existing armaments, nothing seemed to be in the way of the realization, at a comparatively early date, of this humanitarian project.

The cordial reception given to the request of the Imperial Government by almost all the Powers justified this expectation. Greatly appreciating the sympathetic terms in which the acceptance of the greater part of the governments was expressed, the Imperial Cabinet, at the same time, has received, with lively satisfaction, the evidences of most sincere approval which have been addressed to it, and which do not cease to come from all classes of society and from all quarters of the world.

In spite of the great movement of opinion which has taken place in favor of the idea of general pacification, the political horizon has materially changed its aspect. In recent weeks, several Powers have determined upon new armaments, taking upon themselves the task of increasing further their military forces. In view of this uncertain situation, one might be led to ask whether the powers really consider the present moment opportune for the international discussion of the ideas put forth in the circular of August 24th.

Hoping, nevertheless, that the elements of confusion which are disturbing the political spheres, will soon give place to calmer feelings, such as will favor the success of the proposed conference, the Imperial Government is of the opinion that it will be possible to proceed at once to a provisional exchange of ideas between the powers with this aim in view, and to make an inquiry without delay as to the means of putting a stop to the progressive increase of armaments on land and sea. The solution of this question is evidently becoming more and more urgent, in view of the recent extension given to these armaments, and of the necessity of preparing the way for a discussion of all questions having reference to the possibility of preventing armed conflicts by the pacific means which are at the disposal of international diplomacy.

In case the Powers should consider the present moment favorable for the meeting of a conference of this kind, it would certainly be useful for the Cabinets to come to

some agreement upon the subject of the program of its deliberations. The topics to be submitted to international discussion in the conference might be stated in general terms as follows :

1. An agreement stipulating that for a time to be agreed upon the existing armed forces on land and sea shall not be increased ; the same agreement to apply to the corresponding budgets. A provisional study of the ways in which, in the future, a reduction of these forces and budgets may be brought about.

2. Interdiction of the use, in the armies and navies, of any new firearms whatever, and of new explosives, as well as of powders more powerful than those actually in use, whether for rifles or for cannon.

3. Limitation of the employment, in land warfare, of the formidable explosives already in use, and prohibition of the hurling of projectiles or explosives of any kind from balloons or in analogous ways.

4. Prohibition of the employment, in naval warfare, of submarine torpedo boats or "divers", or of other engines of destruction of the same nature. Engagement not to construct in the future ships of war with rams.

5. Application to maritime warfare of the stipulations of the Geneva Convention of 1864, on the basis of the additional articles of 1868.

6. Neutralization, on the same terms, of ships or small vessels engaged in saving the wrecked, during or after battles at sea.

7. Revision of the declaration concerning the laws and customs of war made in 1874 by the Brussels Conference, but not ratified up to the present hour.

8. Acceptance of the principles of mediation and voluntary arbitration for cases to which they are applicable, with the view of preventing armed conflicts between the nations ; an understanding as to the mode of their application and the establishment of a uniform practice in their use.

It is, of course, understood that all questions concerning the political relations of the states and their treaty rights, as, in general, all questions not directly included in the program adopted by the Cabinets, must be absolutely excluded from the deliberations of the conference.

In requesting you, Sir, to find out the wishes of your government in regard to the subject referred to in this communication, I beg of you, at the same time, to bring to its attention the fact that, in the interest of the great cause which my August Master has so much at heart, His Imperial Majesty judges that it would be advisable for the Conference not to sit in the capital of one of the great Powers, where are centered so many political interests which might retard the progress of a work in which all the countries of the world are equally interested."

## The Tremont Temple Meetings.

The series of Monday noon meetings announced to be held in Tremont Temple, Boston, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Good Citizenship Society, to promote public interest in the coming International Peace Conference at The Hague, was opened on the 6th of March, one thousand people being present. Mr. Edwin D. Mead presided, and opened the exercises by a short statement of the supreme importance, in the history of the world, of the Conference called by the Czar of Russia, and the duty of America to be behind no other nation in the effort to promote the success of the Conference. Mr. Mead was supported on the platform by Hon. Robert Treat Paine, President of the American Peace Society, Dr. Lyman Abbott of Brooklyn, and a number of other persons interested in the movement. Edward Everett Hale, who, because of his long advocacy of a permanent international tribunal, had been chosen as the most fitting person to open the series of meetings, was introduced and spoke as follows:

### DR. HALE'S ADDRESS.

I should like to begin by telling a little story. I was, about six weeks ago, in a large audience of college professors and their friends, speaking on this very subject. A gentleman on the other side of the hall arose and said, "Will Dr. Hale tell us why every century has been more warlike than the century before, if there is a possibility of permanent peace?" That was meant to be what is called a "sticker". I replied, "Because it is *not so*." I counted on my fingers the eight years and one hundred days in which the people of America had been engaged in war in the nineteenth century, and compared them with the thirty-six years they were engaged in war in the century before. We have cut down thirty-six years of war to eight years. What we propose now is to subtract twenty-eight from the eight years that are left! (Laughter and applause.) That is what we are here for. We have come to apply to the world the eternal principles which in our own country we have applied for the last one hundred and ten years.

Now I am going to read my text. My text is the Czar's rescript, and I read it from *The Peace Crusade*, the journal of this movement, as printed this morning. I have met, I suppose, in the last fifty days twenty or thirty thousand people to whom I have spoken about the Czar's rescript. I wish I thought there were one thousand who could repeat five consecutive words of it; I wish half had seen it; I have discussed it with many who never heard a word of it. It was originally written in the French language and badly translated into English, in which translation it is in everybody's hands. In this number of *The Peace Crusade* there is as correct a translation as can be conveniently given.

Nicholas II., the Czar of Russia, directed his minister of foreign affairs to present to all the representatives of foreign nations in St. Petersburg the following communication. The press, for some reason unknown to me, always chooses to call it the "disarmament proclamation", but its opening words are "the maintenance of general peace". The Czar uses as a convenient illustration "disarmament", but you will see that the maintenance of general peace and the establishment of perpetual peace

are the object of this great rescript. (*See the rescript above.*)

I pity the man who can read that paper either to a public assembly or in his own closet and then turn around and say: "The Czar lies; he is in a bad scrape and wants to get out of it." I pity the man who is in the habit of taking such a view of the motives of other men. Whether you believe in the Czar or not, whether you believe in this statement by the man whose business it is to know what has been done in the last twenty years—the result of twenty years of diplomacy—or whether you choose to say, judging from your own heart, "He is a liar", *he has pulled the string!* The door will open and this conference will come together for the purpose he has proposed—for the purpose of considering the maintenance of general peace; and, thank God, no power this side of God can stop it! Twenty-six men or possibly fifty-two men, from twenty-six civilized and Christian nations will meet in that hall in The Hague in Holland next May, for the first time in history since Jesus Christ died, that his dying prayer may be so far fulfilled, "That they may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they may be one in us." It will be the first time in nineteen centuries that any body of men authorized by anybody who has had power has met to consider the conditions of perpetual peace.

We are here to-day representing every form of opinion, people who have worked in all sorts of ranks in the past, because, as Americans, we know it is possible to keep together forty-five nations and live without war, and we mean to teach that lesson to Europe and to mankind.

I have here (I am not going into details) abstracts of fifteen out of twenty treaties to which the Czar has referred. I have, more definitely, several specific plans which have been brought forward in the same line; for instance, the great plan of Mr. Blaine, which was agreed to by representatives of sixteen of the American states. I have the great plan of the Inter-parliamentary Conference of Brussels. That was rather a curious congress. Any person who is a member of our Congress, of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of any other parliamentary body, may meet in the inter-parliamentary conference, in Brussels or elsewhere, every summer, and in a meeting of three or four hundred important representative men. This conference drew up a very interesting plan for a permanent tribunal. Similar plans have come into many of the treaties, as the Czar has said, but I will not undertake to name them in detail. These twenty-six men are coming together to consider this subject to which Mr. Mead has referred as the better organization of the world.

It is an absurd thing to say, but the truth is, there is a certain difficulty in speaking on this subject in America, because we all know how to do this thing. We have known since we were schoolboys. We have forty-five states, proud, independent, sovereign, each one taking care of its own affairs and resenting all interference from outside; yet these forty-five states live in constant peace. The men who made the Federal Constitution had to deal with thirteen starving little states down on the Atlantic seaboard, quarreling with each other; New York establishing a tariff against Connecticut, and so on. Every load of wood carried across the frontier was the cause of a quarrel. And this body of men meeting to form the

Federal Constitution made an arrangement which for one hundred and ten years has kept the states at peace with each other. The Civil War is not an exception, for the Civil war was based upon a question which from cowardice they omitted from the Constitution. For the rest, those thirteen states, and the states that have been added have lived in peace. Have there been no questions between them? Hundreds of questions. I am speaking to an unusually intelligent audience, but it would be no disgrace to any person not to know what was the subject at issue between Massachusetts and Rhode Island sixty years ago, yet such a subject has convulsed the states of Italy and Germany in war again and again. We had a boundary question of considerable importance, involving large annual taxation. Why did n't we quarrel about it; why did n't we fight about it, as Bulgari and Moldavia would if their lines came together? Because there was a permanent tribunal which heard the question and decided; and there never was a percussion cap snapped or a bullet cast in war.

I was coming up through Iowa three years ago this spring with one of the most intelligent gentlemen I know, a judge of the Superior Court of Iowa. We crossed an immense river there, and I said: "Judge, is that the Des Moines river you were going to fight about?" The judge said: "Well—it was, or it was not—I really don't know. I cross the river four times each year, and of course I ought to know; the next time you come along I will know." There was the river, and the army of Iowa on one side in force, and the army of Missouri in force on the other side, and nothing wanting but the imprudent word of a deputy sheriff to have had a thousand men killed on each side; but the deputy sheriff did n't speak. How was the question adjusted? A permanent tribunal existed to which Iowa and Missouri had to refer. The permanent tribunal made the decision, and Iowa and Missouri were at peace and have forgotten they were at war. And one of the most intelligent men of Iowa could not tell where the river was, about which the controversy had arisen! That is just as possible between the states of Europe as between the states of America.

There is an important passage in Bryce's "American Commonwealth." Bryce understands that here are forty-five independent nations that have made a covenant and agreed together to submit questions to a permanent tribunal. He says that, so far as he knows the literature of continental Europe, there is but one book which seems to show that the author understood the condition of affairs here—a book written by a Swiss schoolmaster. That one man in continental Europe should have ascertained that such a thing is practicable shows that it is possible for America to teach the nations of the world that they can be as independent as they choose at home; they can flog criminals if they wish; they can have public schools or not, and have as many million men in their armies as they want, and nobody shall interfere; but, at the same time, they may have a permanent tribunal which shall decide between them when there comes a question of boundary or trade. We know that for two hundred years after the period which might be roughly marked by the death of St. Paul, after Christianity had introduced itself into Rome, the states of Europe lived in peace. So when I meet my Philistine friend on State street and he says: "Well, you know, of course, you have to have

war once in thirty years, to let off the bad blood and get rid of idlers; you know you have to have war," I say, "*I don't know any such thing!*" I know that for two hundred years western Europe lived in peace. We would not have been in this room but for the two hundred years of peace in the reigns of the Antonines. Western Europe might have been as barbarous as North Dakota was twenty-five years ago.

After Henry IV., the first sovereign in Europe for four hundred years, had made France into one country he conceived the idea of a permanent tribunal for all Europe. This plan he called the "Great Design"; he made Sully agree to it, and Sully was the first statesman of Europe in five centuries. They sent it across to Queen Elizabeth, she saw and approved the plan, and Burleigh and Cecil and the rest of them saw it and agreed to it. With those two strongest powers on its side, thirteen out of fourteen of the states of Europe agreed to the permanent tribunal; and we should have had it three centuries ago; but while Henry was marching at the head of the allied forces to crush out the only recalcitrant he was struck by the dagger of Ravallac, and the heart that beat for the peace of Europe ceased to beat. I never heard anybody say that Burleigh was an ass, that Sully was a fool, or that Henry IV. did n't know what he was talking about. Yet if I had been speaking here a year ago, and I had ventured to say that the great man who is at the head of the strongest empire in the world would, before the end of August, call a conference for the purpose of organizing a permanent tribunal for establishing peace, I should have been called a dreamer, a poet, a crank, or a fool. But *he has spoken it*; the door is open; and men are going in.

It is very interesting, as one traces the progress of history, to see who have been and are the supporters of this great movement. You have had William Ellery Channing, Immanuel Kant, William Penn. You have Henri Quatre to make a plan for you; but when it is to be worked out you do a little as you do when you want to buy a house lot; you go down on State street and consult a lawyer to make sure how the title is and how the thing is to be done. As Mr. Depew said in an admirable speech in favor of an international tribunal between England and America, recollect that it is to the great lawyers of England and America you owe constitutional liberty. Constitutional liberty is not such an old thing. It is not in the Pentateuch, not in the Twelve Tables, and not in Justinian. Constitutional liberty came in when Coke and the lawyers around him told Charles I. that higher than the divine right of kings is the divine right of law. Law is the first daughter of the voice of God! That is the lesson the lawyers taught then; and the lawyers of this country, true to that great lesson, gave us the constitution of 1787. It is the great Bar Association of the state of New York that has drawn the most definite and most practical of a dozen plans which will be laid before the convention at The Hague.

It is easy to talk about poets; it is easy to sneer at Mr. Tennyson and the prophet Isaiah, and say the lion may lay down with the lamb, with the lamb inside, and to make other stale jests; but it is not so easy to sneer when *the great lawyers of America have drawn up a plan which the great lawyers of England have approved.*

The Olney-Pauncefote treaty—a treaty which will

always be remembered gratefully in the history of this movement—failed in the United States by the vote of a few senators who did not represent one-tenth of the people of the country. This treaty had its defects, and its failure is no reason for the failure of all the schemes. These plans will now be brought before a competent jury of twenty-six men, or possibly fifty-two men, statesmen, men of affairs, lawyers, diplomatists. That is the great encouragement for us to-day; these plans will be brought together; something will come of it. I do not see more than five merchants in this room—I do not see that number. The rest are cutting off coupons in the security vaults, or they are sending instructions for making gold in Australia or silver in the mountains. But they are interested in this affair more than they take the trouble to say. There was a very interesting illustration of what the commercial force of a great nation is, on that morning when the people in New York bought their newspapers from the boys announcing, "*War with Great Britain!*" In London the papers announced, "*War with America! War with America!*" A sort of dumb surprise came, but hardly for more than a few hours. Then the merchants of London arose and said, "*There shall be no war!*" And the merchants of America said, "*There shall be no war.*" And there was no war! The commercial instinct is the instinct of peace, because the commercial instinct is the instinct of civilization, and civilization means peace, and peace means civilization.

We already hear in England the echo of the voice of the business men of England, and we are going to hear in America the echo of the voice of the business men of America. The lawyers of America are on record that, as God lives, there shall be some way which shall state, as the Czar has said, "those principles of equity and right on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples." And the people of America, whose duty it is to speak first, because they are the great object lesson of the world, will insist upon it that the government which they have intrusted with the duty of administration shall speak, as it is only too glad to speak, in the voice which declares, "*WE WILL HAVE A PERMANENT TRIBUNAL FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY!*"

### The Coming Day of Peace.

BY REV. CHARLES G. AMES, D.D.

Address at the Unitarian Club, Boston, March 8, 1899.

A year and a half ago, some of us were pleasing ourselves with the notion that in any movement for Universal Peace the United States would march at the head of the procession. We knew that the policy of the republic was against keeping up any more than a nominal standing army; and against intervention in the affairs of other nations. We knew also that our Department of State had initiated correspondence with European governments and had found them inclined to consider favorably the proposal for treaties of arbitration. And when Mr. Olney's treaty with Great Britain failed in the Senate only for lack of a two-thirds vote, the defeat affected us like a memory of Bunker Hill. But last August we were surprised to find our country superseded in the post of honor by the head of a despotic government whose word can set in motion any day a million of soldiers.

The rescript of the Czar opens upon us with these words: "The maintenance of general peace and the possible reduction of excessive armaments. . . present themselves as ideals toward which the endeavors of all governments should be directed." I am persuaded that the events of the last twelve months, and the history we have had a part in making, do but give a solemn emphasis to the Czar's appeal.

What people on earth can have more weighty motives than we to desire and promote the pacification of the world? If the combinations of human rapacity and violence which have wrought such havoc through the sad past are to continue their rage unchecked through the long future, our own country is to be exposed to new and formidable dangers. Every year the oceans are growing narrower; we are already nervous because our thousands of miles of coast are unfortified; and every extension of territory, as well as every advance in the development of our internal resources, will offer an inviting point of attack and compel large provisions for defence.

Are we to confirm and strengthen our free institutions and to hold a place of honor among the forces of civilization? Then we need to escape from the necessity of matching our army and navy against the ever-growing armaments of other nations. If we do not join them in following after the things that make for peace, how can we reasonably hope that the republic will not plunge at last into the abyss which has swallowed all the old empires which trusted to the sword only to perish by the sword?

To keep our own government simple, to hold back the tendencies to centralization and arbitrary power, and to spare the people from those burdens which, as the Czar truly says, are crushing Europe—all these things are involved in our cooperation with his plan.

Last summer it came to the knowledge of the British government that Russia was to add a few vessels to her navy. Parliament immediately voted to build a larger number. At about the same time, the German statesman, von Bülow, was saying, "Our future is based on our right, and our right upon the sharpness of our sword." Very fine and brave; and in the next breath comes a request for twenty or thirty more regiments!

Meanwhile, just across the Niemen, Russia was suspicious about Emperor William's visit to the Turk; and just across the Rhine France was in a paroxysm and the republic was shaking to its base, because millions of people were more concerned for the "honor" of the army than for the honest administration of justice. At home we were being urged to fall into line with the exhausting Old World policy, and enter on a course of endless military and naval expansion.

These incidents illustrate the whole business. The nations that think it necessary to be always on a war footing, to go armed for every possible emergency, must not only lie awake nights to watch each other; they must study how to be more than a match for any other power, or any probable combination of powers. Hence the hypocritical alliances by which one group of nations is kept in hostile array against another group. Hypocritical, because not rooted in friendship. The alliances are broken off in a day at the dictate of selfishness. France is the ally of England long enough to fight out the Crimean war with Russia; France becomes the ally of

Russia against England the moment a point can be scored against Germany. Austria is hardly driven out of Italy before Italy is wanted to help Austria and Germany keep the balance of power against Russia and France. Even an Anglo-Saxon alliance cannot last a day longer than England and the United States can make common cause in dealing with questions of Asiatic trade, and neither of them dares carry a gun the less so long as all the world is in arms. The military system is the beast of scripture, with its seven heads, ten horns, and great iron teeth.

Small nations are obliged to assume enormous burdens in order to keep themselves from being hustled to death in the crowd. What a sorrowful spectacle is young united Italy, impoverished and tortured by the supposed necessity of creating a great army and navy and of embarking in a policy of colonial expansion in Africa and Asia! Why could she not learn wisdom from a neighbor's folly? Since 1895 Spain has spent \$275,000,000 in trying to establish her sovereignty over the islands which hate her as a murderess.

Shall we go on sowing dragon's teeth forever? There is a more excellent way. We are to change the animus and objects of diplomacy by bringing *all* the nations into an alliance. We are to consult together, not merely how one combination can outwit or overpower another,—not merely how to shape our policies according to the promptings of suspicions, jealousies, old grudges, traditional hatreds, dynastic and territorial greeds; but to contrive how we may open the highway of prosperity to all mankind.

It is largely a question of horizons. How far can we see? Officialism, civil and military, is called to deal with the day's doings; it is short-sighted to all but nearby facts and present situations; it is often blind to causes and consequences. So it demands strong armies to over-awe, strong garrisons to defend, strong and swift ships to clear the seas, not half realizing that every such demand on one side compels an equal or greater outlay on the other. Thus every military nation, under the plea of self-defence, becomes an oppressor of all mankind, perpetuating war by perpetually increasing the preparations for war.

A few evenings ago I heard a naval chaplain describing the eagerness of our marines for the Santiago fight and their exultation at the sight of the enemy emerging from the harbor. The physician, he said, is glad of a call to try his skill; the lawyer welcomes a case; the preacher gives thanks for an opportunity to speak to the people. Just so, it is the soldier's business to fight, and it is natural that his spirits should rise to the occasion. Yes, all this is natural, and we are human enough to understand it, and perhaps to sympathize with it. But it will occur to you that this passion for war, when it becomes a settled motive and gives rise to a permanent profession, is not one of the forces that make for peace, and is very likely to increase the probabilities of conflict; it is the spark that explodes the magazine, the kindling wood that lights the conflagration. Nations are like individuals; if they carry arms, they find occasion for using them. If they go unarmed, they settle their disputes by more judicial methods.

The difficulties in the way of general pacification are great, but as has been well said: "more difficulties are in

the way of its proving a failure." The forces at work for peace are many and mighty. The clearest voices heard just now throughout the civilized world are protests against war. Every cabinet of Europe is consulting how to keep the peace. Every leading statesman and journalist, even if he throws cold water on the Czar's proposals, admits the desirability of their success. Why should not the will make the way?

There are five distinct and practicable measures which are sure to be considered.

1. Treaties of arbitration, or the settlement of disputes by that method, even in the absence of treaties. Such settlements already count by scores.

2. Treaties of reciprocity in trade. The rivalries of honorable commerce are all in the interest of good neighborhood; and the time will come—I believe it will come soon—when the barriers to international intercourse will be counted as relics of barbarism.

3. Neutralization of the open seas. I heard George S. Hale tell how for eighty years an agreement written on one sheet of paper had kept both England and the United States from launching vessels of war on our great inland lakes, and had made it needless to plant fortifications on their shores. Why may not this policy be widened to the breadth of the Atlantic and the Pacific seas, which are rapidly becoming like inland lakes?

4. Provisions for international coinage, or more probably for a monetary unit, to the immeasurable convenience of a thousand millions, and acceptable to everybody but the money-changers, are among the possible conceptions which local narrowness, pettiness and precedent may yet make to the growing spirit of goodwill and good understanding.

5. But crowning and completing the edifice of justice and peace must come that Permanent Tribunal for the settlement of international difficulties of which we are hearing so much and are yet to hear more.

The growth of reason is slow. The animal still suppresses and imprisons the man; brute force still dominates the earth, and goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom it may devour, and generally finding a square meal. The conflict of right with might, of reason with violence, of justice with selfishness, still goes on. But the museum which holds the spear and club of the earlier savages may yet be the resting-place of those more destructive weapons and engines which are still the boast of our spurious civilization. That better day may tarry long; we must wait for it, and work for it.

The movement for peace will gradually acquire momentum and carry all before it. There will be an uprising of the people. Sheldon Amos, an eminent jurist, predicts that some future morning when a government declares war, it will be surprised and paralyzed into inaction by discovering that a change has come over public feeling,—that the people refuse any longer to shoot or be shot.

Back of politics and statesmanship and diplomacy is trade. Trade does not want war,—not even to create markets. When all the world is at peace all the world will be an open market. Back of trade is industry. Production does not want war. Nobody knows so well where the military shoe pinches as the workingmen. They are almost unanimous in their hatred of war. They know too well how the wealth is produced which is



swallowed up in this maelstrom. They know that when rich men's sons wear the shoulder-straps poor men's sons must die in the trenches or rot in the camps.

I once asked our loved and honored General Armstrong whether there was truth in the accounts given of the general degradation and dishonesty and sensual vice of the Southern negroes. "Yes," he said, "no words could over-state the horrors of the situation. 'What hope,' then I asked,—'what hope of a better future? Your Hampton and Tuskegee schools reach a few hundreds; yet in a few years the number of the colored people is increased by millions.'"

His answer was exultant. "No matter how black the night; when once the faintest ray gilds the eastern sky, we know the day is coming. The light will increase, the darkness will fall back; the sun is sure to conquer."

And I am sure that if Whittier were still with us, the call for a Conference of civilized nations to consider how to lessen the evils and abolish the customs of war would make him break once more into glad and grateful song:

"The day is dawning in the East of which the prophets told,  
And brightens up the sky of Time, the Christian Age of Gold."

### Christian Endeavor War Against War.

On the 15th of March Dr. Francis E. Clark and the other officials of the United Society of Christian Endeavor issued the following letter to the Christian Endeavor Societies. No more important step, in the line of religious work, has ever been taken for the promotion of general interest in the great cause of Universal Peace:

#### ENDEAVORERS, WAR AGAINST WAR.

One of the great world movements, I believe, is that in favor of peace on earth and goodwill to men. The fulfilment of the angels' song seems to have been long upon the way, but the prospects for its speedy realization were never so bright as to-day, in all the history of the nineteen centuries since the celestial choir gave it voice. The *rapprochement* of England and America during the last year has been one of the great events of history; the consequent increase of good feeling between Canada and the United States has made all our hearts glad; and the brave young Czar of all the Russias has crowned it all by his noble utterance in behalf of national disarmament.

Here is a great world issue into which Christian Endeavorers can throw themselves heart and soul. The proposals for peace have no partisan squint. It is not a move upon the political chessboard, or, if some individuals and nations would selfishly degrade it to this low level, the whole subject is so much vaster and nobler than party politics, that time-serving tricksters will be swept away, finding the movement too big for them.

I am not one of those who believe the Czar's rescript to be the trick of a wily demagogue, and from our present knowledge of his purpose and character I think these suspicions are unworthy of any generous mind. But even at the worst, supposing that what his enemies say is true, and that he is not sincere in the matter, let the Christian world take him at his word, and demand in good faith the carrying out of these noble proposals that look finally to the beating of every sword into a ploughshare and every spear into a pruning-hook.

But what have Christian Endeavorers to do with this matter? Much every way. Ours is a world-wide movement, international, inter-denominational, inter-racial, as no other religious movement in all the history of the world has ever been. It has world-wide sympathies and affiliations. It has a mission, not in America only, but in every remote section of the world. Particularly has it bound together the hearts of English-speaking young people in four continents, America, Europe, Africa, and Australia. In America it holds its great conventions on both sides of the line that separates the United States from its northern neighbors. Next summer its annual feast will be held at a border city, equally accessible to Canada and the United States. In 1900 the greatest international religious convention ever held will assemble in the halls and churches of London and the Crystal Palace.

What, then, is more appropriate than that such a society should cast its influence in favor of international arbitration and universal peace? It has opportunities for re-echoing the angels' song possessed by no other organization in the world. Christian Endeavor is a unifying force, and universal peace is necessary to a united Christianity.

But, above all, I believe that this is God's purpose and plan. I cannot believe that He desires the red-handed Demon of War to stalk abroad any longer, going to and fro in the earth like Satan, and walking up and down in it. If anything can make the angels weep, it seems to me that it must be the bloodshed and carnage of an awful battle.

If this is so, then it is our duty as Christians, as young Christians with a future century before us, as Christians with such a magnificent opportunity to further a good cause, to do all that we may to deserve the beatitude of the peace-makers.

Here is one thing that we can do. We can all pray for this cause that is as wide as the earth, as high as heaven, and as important as the counsels of God. Here is something definite, practical and tangible, and let no humble Endeavorer, who believes in prayer, forget that he can do something to move the arm that moves the world and to hasten the glad day of universal peace.

We can, too, help answer our own prayers. We can petition (this is always within the rights of free-born Anglo-Saxons); we can agitate the subject; we can help create public opinion; we can devote a session of our local or State union to the subject; we can show the world that so far as we are concerned the Christian youth of America are looking eagerly forward to the new day when war shall be counted with slavery and polygamy, as one of the barbarities of a backward age. The *Christian Endeavor World* will have much to say about this matter in the future, and I ask for your sympathetic and earnest attention to every word that tends to usher in the reign of the Prince of Peace. To make this very practical for the Endeavorers of the United States, there will be found in this paper a form of memorial to the Senate and the House of Representatives. I hope that thousands will take pains to circulate and sign it.

Your friend, FRANCIS E. CLARK.

#### WAR AGAINST WAR.

That is a worthy battle-cry for Christian Endeavorers.

Let it be taken up with ardor. Let the Christian Endeavor world ring with it. We have been patient with the terrible iniquity long enough.

There are times when war is justifiable. God bestowed his manifest blessing upon our late war with Spain, and the God of Battles was with us. (The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, it is needless to say, does not endorse these two sentences). But the God of Battles delights rather to become the Prince of Peace. Not all war is evil, but no war is best. There is always a better way, a more civilized way, a more Christian way, the way of arbitration. Shame upon Christendom that it has waited all these centuries to make universal and assured this better way!

The Emperor of Russia has put the matter on a practical footing. Few assemblies in the world's history have been so momentous as the coming International Conference on the world's peace. It will produce results; it must. For our country to fail of representation there would be a lapse from our noblest ideals.

Many causes, also, have drawn closer together, during recent months, our own nation and Great Britain. The Anglo-Saxon race has recently made enormous gains in power and renown. If we can all stand together, and stand for peace and on earth, it will be a spectacle worthy to draw back to earth the angel choir of Bethlehem. Negotiations for Anglo-American arbitration should at once be resumed; and since our country broke them off before, it should properly open them again.

Some may consider this an unsuitable time for such an agitation, since the war spirit has so recently been aroused among us, and fed upon successes so gratifying. On the contrary, this is the very time of times, while the horrors of war are fresh within our memories, the pestilential camps, the corruptions of management, the deadly transports, the sickening wounds, the loss of noble young men from college, workshop, and home, the vast burden of expense, the lowering of sentiment to what is brutal, till the war for liberty became, in the actual thought of myriads, a war for aggrandizement, enrichment, and revenge. Not long ago we were on the verge of such a war with our English brothers. Events to-day might easily precipitate such a war with the Germans, almost as nearly our kin. Is such a possibility worthy of Christian men?

This, then, is the memorial we present to the Christian Endeavorers of America for their signatures:

#### To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

We, whose names are affixed hereunto, are members and friends of the societies of Christian Endeavor, numbering in this country over forty thousand organizations, with more than two and a half millions of members, and in foreign lands over fourteen thousand organizations, with nearly one million members. It is the sense of our world-wide fellowship that impels us to this memorial. Canada, Great Britain, and Australia contain hundreds of thousands whom we have come to honor and love as brethren. Among the Hindoos and Persians, the Chinese and Japanese, the natives of Africa and Madagascar, the republics of South America, are large numbers who are thus closely knit to us. Our comrades in Christian Endeavor are found in France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Belgium. In Spain itself, our foe in

the late war, is a rapidly increasing number of them, and Christian Endeavorers were found in each of the opposing armies.

In view of these facts, we wish to express our abhorrence of war, and our solemn conviction that it is the duty of every civilized nation to do all in its power toward making war impossible. We wish to record our desire for the speedy establishment of an International Tribunal of Arbitration. We wish to show our interest in the International Conference to discuss this matter, proposed by the Emperor of Russia, and to urge that our country join promptly and heartily in that conference. And especially we desire by our signatures to appeal for the immediate consideration of the question of arbitration between this nation and Great Britain, that the Anglo-Saxon race may become united in the interests of peace and goodwill.

In presenting this memorial we are emboldened by the assurance of a cordial reception on the part of large numbers of our legislators, and we are confident that the Congress of the United States of America will in the future, as in the past, prove true to the largest sentiments of humanity. May the Divine blessing attend your deliberations.

We believe that every single Endeavorer in America will wish his signature to appear on this memorial when it goes before Congress. We believe that you will all be eager to canvass your friends for signatures, the older church members, the business men, and other leaders in each community. We are confident that you will not procrastinate, but will understand the importance of promptness.

It is necessary, if our memorial is to do us credit and produce good results, that it appear in good shape. Do not cut out or copy the form given above, and do not print your own. The United Society of Christian Endeavor has prepared copies of this memorial, well printed on heavy paper, with large space for signatures, which Secretary Baer will send to any address at cost price, namely, five cents each. When signed, they should be returned to Secretary Baer, Boston, Mass. Full directions accompany each memorial.

We shall have much more to say in later numbers, and shall present exhortations and commendations from many eminent men. But do not wait for this. We shall print the name of the Endeavorer in each State who is the first to respond to this appeal. *War against War!*

#### What Shall Be Done with the Philippines?

The following appeal to the people of the United States was sent out at the middle of March signed by a committee of twenty-nine prominent citizens, among which are found the names of ex-Governor Boutwell, ex-Senator Edmunds, ex-Secretary Sherman, Hon. J. G. Carlisle, Samuel Gompers, President David Starr Jordan, Herbert Welsh, Charles Francis Adams, Carl Schurz, Edward Atkinson, Professor E. H. von Holst, Moorfield Story, Esq., Hon. Patrick A. Collins, Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Professor Charles Eliot Norton, Professor Felix Adler, Professor William G. Sumner and others:

"To the people of the United States: The full ratification of the treaty with Spain will cause a technical

change in the relations of the United States to the Philippine islands, but will afford no reason for any change of the views of the anti-Imperialists in regard to the future of the islands, nor will it in the least affect the clear duty of this republic.

We are now engaged in warfare with the inhabitants of those islands. It is unprofitable to discuss the question as to which party began hostilities. No other result could have been expected when the lines of two opposing military forces were held so close and in such tense condition that little was needed to cause an explosion.

The evidence is very clear that Aguinaldo was brought to the islands by our own warship, that his aid was accepted and desired in our military operations against the Spaniards, and that hopes of independence were encouraged by our consuls and other officers, that a parliament of the islands, organized by representatives elected by one hundred and eighty-six towns and provinces chose Aguinaldo president and framed a constitution, which was promulgated, defining the powers and duties of the separate departments of the government with remarkable clearness and ability and that the government so formed fairly represented the intelligence of the people of the islands.

It is also undeniable that on January 5th President McKinley issued a proclamation through General Otis, declaring that on the 10th of the previous month the Philippine islands had been ceded to this country by Spain by the signature of the treaty of Paris, and further ordered him to extend the military government of the United States 'to the whole of the ceded territory,' and to demand the surrender of Iliolo, which was then held by the Filipinos in an orderly manner by capture from the Spaniards.

It cannot be claimed in law that this assumption of power was warranted in advance of the ratification of the treaty by both parties and there can be no doubt that the arbitrary claim greatly aggravated the people of the islands, whose hope of independence seemed thus rudely destroyed.

No declaratory resolution as to the future of the islands was assented to by the administration before the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, and none has been made since.

Any right that we assert to ownership of the Philippines must rest, therefore, either upon conquest or upon purchase from their Spanish oppressors, or upon both, and in any case it is, as we believe, inconsistent with the principles of this republic, and fraught with danger to its peace and to the peace of the world.

The first result we already witness, a war of subjugation, which must embitter the people we seek to rule, and which, however successful, must bring disaster and death to our soldiers and unmeasured cost to our people.

Profoundly impressed with the seriousness of the situation, it is the purpose of the anti-Imperialists to continue the circulation of literature, to assist in the formation of leagues, and, by public meetings, and every proper means known to a free people, to agitate for the revival in the land of the spirit of Washington and Lincoln, to protest against a spirit of militarism and force, to oppose the colonial idea and a permanently large standing army, and to assert the vital truths of the Declaration of Independence embodied in the constitution and indissolubly connected with the welfare of this republic.

They urge, therefore, all lovers of freedom, without regard to party associations, to co-operate with them to the following ends:

First—That our government shall take immediate steps toward a suspension of hostilities in the Philippines and a conference with the Philippine leaders, with a view to preventing further bloodshed upon the basis of a recognition of their freedom and independence as soon as proper guarantees can be had of order and protection to property.

Second—That the government of the United States shall tender an official assurance to the inhabitants of the Philippine islands that they will encourage and assist in the organization of such a government in the islands as the people thereof shall prefer, and that upon its organization in stable manner the United States, in accordance with its traditional and prescriptive policy in such cases, will recognize the independence of the Philippines and its equality among nations, and gradually withdraw all military and naval forces."

## Ideal Patriotism.

BY ISABEL CUSHMAN.

"Patriotism," the dictionary tells us, is "love of country." It has taken the race long ages to reach this thought of "country," and some would have it that the realization of "ideal patriotism" lies as far in the future as does in the past the crude, original notion, out of which, in the course of uncounted centuries, have been developed the dignity and the humanity of "country."

A glance at the origin of a few of our common words will serve to show how the idea of patriotism has risen from its rude beginnings.

Our words *alien* (literally, if we trace the word back to its first beginnings, "the other"); *stranger*, *foreigner* (both originally "the one out of doors," "outside the house"); *guest* (originally, "an enemy"); *barbarian* ("babbler," i. e., speaker of a tongue not understood by the giver of the name); *Gentile* ("tribal," i. e., not belonging to the great city, Rome); *pagan* ("a villager," as contrasted with the dwellers in Rome); *heathen* ("heath-folk," those who lived outside the primitive village); all show how exceedingly narrow-minded the first patriots were, and through what stages their ideal of patriotism evolved. To-day every one of these expressions, *alien*, *stranger*, *foreigner*, *barbarian*, *gentile*, *pagan*, *heathen*, carries with it less of personal malice and vindictiveness, while *guest* has come to be one of the most kindly thoughted words in all the wide range of our common every-day speech.

Another list of words serves also to bring the same thought home to us: *neighbor* (the "near-dweller"); *house* ("hiding-place," "refuge"); *home* ("stopping-place"); *town* ("enclosure," "hedge"); *city* ("hive" or "resting-place"); *country* (the "region opposite"). What new and deeper, broader meanings have not the ages wrought into these once so crude expressions! What ideals of patriots forgotten and unremembered live forever in the magic words of *home* and *country*! The study of language tells us that the history of patriotism is the story of the evolution of altruism. The old idea of one law for a friend, and another for an enemy—love for one, hate for the other—the primitive system of a double ethical code, has lost more and more of its power, as man has become more truly man. To be sure, we are

not altogether rid of it yet, but the ideal of the patriot has grown nobler and mounted higher, as

"Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might;  
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, passed in music out of sight."

History tells us that ideal patriotism has resulted only from higher personal ideals; unwavering fidelity to the dictates of conscience and the revelations of everlasting truth. Not alone the soldier can be a patriot, for, as Milton says: "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war," and the greatest patriots have ever been found among the least warlike and destructive men and women. Strong assertions and public boastings never reveal the genuine patriot. Too often we feel the truth of Dr. Johnson's saying that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." An immoral, a dishonest citizen, can have no conception of what ideal patriotism means. Nor does mere devotion to the interests of one's native land make the true patriotic soul. He who cries, as did Stephen Decatur, "My country, right or wrong!" is traitor to man, to God, to all the verities of his infinite universe. Only by absolute devotion to *these* on the part of the real leaders and shapers of men, has mankind advanced from the cramped ideals of the prehistoric cave-dwellers, and the unstable imaginings of the world-roving nomads of later ages, to those God-like aspirations with which the closing years of the nineteenth century are rife.

True genius has always been patriotic in the highest and noblest sense, and we must sit at the feet of the world's greatest men and women if we would learn of the deepest expressions of ideal patriotism. Philosophers, men of science, poets, prophets, have ever been of one mind, one faith.

To Diogenes, Alexander the Great once paid the compliment of saying, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." In fine scorn and contempt of Greek exclusiveness and despoliation of the outside world, the great philosopher used to say, when men asked him, "Of what city, of what country art thou?" "I am *cosmopolite*, a citizen of the world."

Tycho Brahe, the celebrated Danish astronomer of the sixteenth century, left behind him this immortal sentence: *Omne solum forti patria est, coelumque undique supra*. "To the brave man every land is his native country, every spot over which is the blue of heaven."

Poets, in all ages, have been patriots *par excellence*, denouncing tyrannies, and despotisms, and singing the good the true, and the beautiful into the lives of men forever.

Sidney Lanier, the greatest of our Southern poets, sings thus nobly of the ideal aspects of American patriotism:

Long as thine Art shall love true Love,  
Long as thy Science Truth shall know,  
Long as thine Eagle harms no Dove,  
Long as thy Law by law shall grow,  
Long as thy God is God above,  
Thy Brother every man below,  
So long, dear Land of all my love,  
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow!

What a glorious contrast to Decatur's miserable prose! Lanier's Northern fellow bard, Lowell, has thus beautifully enlarged upon the same great thought:

Where is the true man's fatherland?  
Is it where he by chance is born?

Doth not the free-winged spirit scorn  
In such pent borders to be spanned?  
O, yes! his fatherland must be  
As the blue heavens wide and free!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,  
Where'er one man may help another,—  
Thank God for such a birth-right, brother!—  
That spot of earth is thine and mine;  
There is the true man's birth-place grand!  
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Shakespeare, the greatest genius the world has yet produced, is beyond all measure patriotic in the true sense of the term. While to his own dearly loved land he pays the matchless tribute spoken by the dying lips of old John of Gaunt, in *Richard II*, and transforms, if but for a moment, to majesty worthy the crown and fame of England, the weak and worthless King John, in his bold defiance of the Pope, he has not forgotten to give expression to that higher, broader patriotism which is native to the heart and mind of genius. Exceeded only by the passage in the New Testament, by which it was suggested, is Cardinal Wolsey's parting advice to Thomas Cromwell, in *Henry VIII*:

Love thyself last; cherish those hearts which hate thee;  
Corruption wins not more than honesty;  
Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,  
To silence envious tongues; be just, and fear not;  
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,  
Thy God's, and Truth; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,  
Thou fall'st at a blessed martyr!

*This is ideal patriotism.*

How shall we cultivate this spirit? These great teachers I have cited all agree as to its one foundation. Lanier, Lowell, Shakespeare, all make *love* the basis of true patriotism,—love of all our fellow-men and women, love of right, truth, justice, and of our country, when she stands for these,—love and service of them all at all costs and hazards, to the exclusion of base and ignoble self-interests and self-ambitions.

The ideal of patriotism and the way to achieve it have never been better expressed than by Him from whose life-giving words all poets these eighteen hundred years have drawn inspiration, Jesus of Nazareth, "the blessed Jew," whose great heart burst the bonds of national pride and narrowness, to preach the gospel of universal love. He who talked with the woman of Samaria, spoke also these words, wherein are summed up all the law and the prophets, the true ideal of patriotism, its beginning and its end: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you. That ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven. For he maketh his sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the Gentiles so? Ye shall therefore be perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect."

Here, as always, Jesus points the way. Ideal patriotism is born of his spirit, and nourished by his teaching.

WORCESTER, MASS.

### The Great War Machine.

One gets some vivid idea of the need of relief from the awful strain of war preparation in Europe from recent correspondence in the *London Mail*:

"When you have been half an hour in Metz and Strasburg you see that you are in the entrenched camp of an army ready for war. Infantry, cavalry, artillery and the rest of two complete army corps are all equipped as if for instant active service.

Touch the right button in Berlin, and in half an hour 30,000 men will be marching from Metz, and within twelve hours 100,000 men—the frontier field force of Alsace-Lorraine—will be crossing the border; while the system in accordance with which the railroads tap all the great cantonments of Germany, and then converge on to the frontier, will land half a million men near Metz in three days. In a week two and a half million men will be on and beyond the frontier; in a week four million Germans will be under arms.

In Metz and Strasburg stores and food and fodder lie ready in the magazines, the transport animals stand harnessed by the wagons. All the appliances and munitions of modern war are to hand and would be on the road in a few minutes.

The outside circle of defence at Metz is a chain of forts, some of them all but invisible. These are armed with none know how many heavy guns—for none may enter but the great staff itself. This circle is three miles from the city, its centre; the forts are about three miles apart, and so the fire from each would cover the space which lies between them. That is to say, except you pass through the

fire-zone or smash one of the links of the chain you can assuredly not enter to attack Metz itself. Each fort stands on a hill sloping smoothly and gently downwards towards France.

No enemy can approach within four miles of the chain of forts unless he first demolishes the forts, and as these are dug from the inside of the hills and offer no broader target than the muzzles of their guns you will conclude that Metz is practically impregnable. I approached one of these forts as close as a sentry would allow me. The garrison of two regiments of infantry and one regiment of artillery live in an excavated barrack which is entirely underneath the surface of the ground and completely hidden from view. As seen from the French side nothing whatever shows except one long mound, from which protrude rows of loopholes of various sizes. Even as seen from the rear you can get no more idea of what is within than you know what are the contents of a coal mine when you have only stood above the shaft. All I knew was that there, within the earth, were hidden nearly three thousand men with three thousand rifles and about a hundred heavy guns—not to speak of machine guns. All I saw were mounds of smooth, green earth, out of which stuck the tips of the muzzles of their guns, pointing westwards, and outside wall upon wall of flanking entrenchments (to meet the emergency of the fort being turned), and in rear of each fort magazine after magazine of shells, each magazine being out out of the earth just like an Egyptian tomb.

In the barracks, even in winter, every man is up at four, and from dawn to sundown the recruit of the first year is drilled and drilled and drilled. From six to twelve it is the "goose-step" in various evolutions—singly, by fours, by sections, by companies, by battalions. Hour after hour, it is nothing but the raising of legs till they are at right angles to back, erect as posts, while subalterns and captains direct, correct, repeat.

In the afternoon, from one to six, there is an incessant musical drill; the men, keeping their feet firm sway their bodies backwards and forwards, or to left and right, or else they advance or retire on tiptoe, or on all fours, or they double to their front or to their rear.

Those of more than a year's ser-

vice shoot at the butts, and shoot and shoot again all the morning till they have attained a certain standard of marksmanship in every possible attitude; or else they are drilled in less elementary formations; or else they garrison the outpost forts. And in the evenings all are instructed by the non-commissioned officers out of the official manual at field service; and thus till nine, when the long day is done.

And so the great war-machine is kept oiled and smooth-running, and the German army marks time.

Joseph A. Allen of Medfield, Mass., in a letter to the *Woman's Journal*, gives the statistics of the increase of crime in Massachusetts after the civil war. In 1865 there were 6,507 commitments for crime; in 1866, 9,384; in 1869, 9,994; while by 1898 the number of commitments had risen to 28,855.

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and goodwill towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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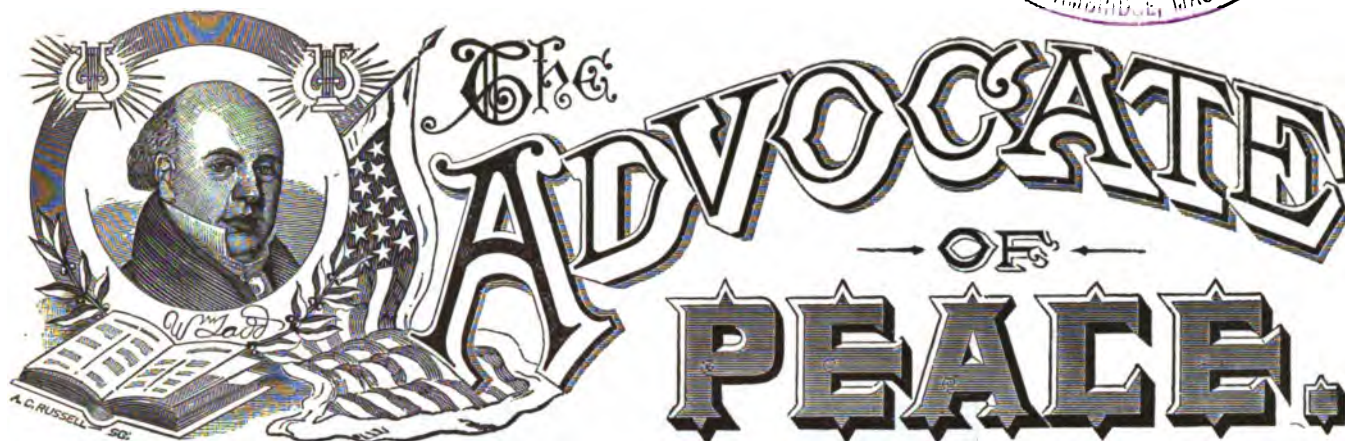
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MAY 5 1899  
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BOSTON, MAY, 1899.



AT a still higher stage, man comes into the region of holiness ; passion has passed away from him ; his warlike nature is all converted into an active medicinal principle ; he sacrifices himself, and accepts with alacrity wearisome tasks of denial and charity ; but, being attacked, he bears it and turns the other cheek, as one engaged, throughout his being, no longer to the service of an individual, but to the common soul of all men.

If peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle, but who have gone one step beyond the hero, and will not seek another man's life ;—men who have, by their intellectual insight or else by their moral elevation, attained such a perception of their own intrinsic worth that they do not think property or their own body a sufficient good to be saved by such dereliction of principle as treating a man like a sheep.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.





**NICHOLAS II., EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.**



# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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## Irredeemable Barbarism.

Each war that comes along adds so much more proof—not a different kind, but so much more in quantity—that the evil can never be changed in character. War is "the business of hell", as John Wesley said, and it cannot be made like heaven. It is "cruelty", as General Sherman declared, and the cruelty can never be taken out of it. It is "the business of barbarians", as Napoleon in a sane moment confessed, and when professedly civilized men engage in it, the barbarousness of it is not relieved but becomes all the more evident. Until warriors quit shooting, stabbing with the bayonet, throwing shrieking shells, rushing in furious charges, bombarding cities,—until the sinuous, lying arts of strategy are abandoned, and hate and vengeance are dead, war will remain in essence, so long as any of it remains at all, the same brutal thing that it has

always been. Take all these away, and you will have civilized war—out of existence.

A little while ago we were writing of the ghastly horrors on the shattered and burning Spanish war-ships at the battles of Manila and Santiago. But America shut her eyes and said it was all right because *she* had done it. Then came the story of the merciless mowing down of the Dervishes in the Soudan by General Kitchener's troops, and the wholesale killing of the wounded on the battlefield of Omdurman. A part of England, a very small part, confounded and humiliated, uttered a low cry of shame and protest. But that was all. England said it was all right, magnificent, glorious! It was done for righteousness' sake! And the low cry of shame and protest in which the voice of God was heard was stifled by the great cry of imperial selfishness going up throughout the land. It is hard to believe in God, to believe in civilization, to believe in anything good, in the presence of such exhibitions in His name. If God is in them, inspiring them,—but He is not in them. He must be sought elsewhere. It is by other agencies, despised and rejected of men, that He is working out the foundations of His kingdom in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, and one of these days all these "glorious" American and British deeds of blood will be burned up as trash and never mentioned again to all eternity.

In the Philippines civilization has lost its intelligence, its conscience, its heart. It has reverted to pure barbarism. It is hard to look at the cold facts in the case, as they are becoming known through several channels, and not sympathize with the poor soldier,—out there against his will, doing deeds at the command of the government, of his "superiors", the blackness of which he will never be able to efface from his soul—who writes home to his family

that he is "ashamed that he is an American." The war itself, brought on by a policy of aggression, is black enough, even if none of the reports are true about the killing of non-combatants, and the "taking of no prisoners." But the proofs of these deeds are too many and too circumstantial to leave any doubt about the essential correctness of the reports, except in the minds of those who are determined to see nothing but good in it all, even if the American forces kill all the natives and burn to ashes every village in the islands.

The whole story is an appalling one, and the time will come when America would give her right hand to be able to blot out the remembrance of the crime and dishonor of it. The chief degradation of it is not that of the men who under orders are killing prisoners, and non-combatants, burning every village they can get at, recklessly shelling every inhabited or uninhabited spot along the shore where a Filipino soldier is suspected to be in hiding. The real degradation is that of the spirit of a great and mighty nation which is too false to itself and too cowardly to rise up and confess the wrong and insist that it shall be at once righted, so far as that is now possible.

### Roosevelt on the Strenuous Life.

A friend writes us thus in reference to Governor Roosevelt's speech, delivered in Chicago on April 10th: "It seems to me that it is thoroughly tinctured with dangerous virus. Governor Roosevelt ought to have lived about five hundred years ago. He is a survival of the militant stage of civilization. . . . The whole spirit of his address is pernicious. It is dangerous to all the best interests to have such a man as this stirring up the militant passions of the youth of our land. Is it only in war and battle that there are chances of living a strenuous life? And, then, his advice to black-list the men who do not support militarism, who differ from his extravagant military schemes, is a most outrageous assault upon individual liberty, the right of free debate. It is the application of the policy of intimidation and boycott to our public life."

Nobody can deny that Mr. Roosevelt's Chicago speech was brilliant and in a way powerful. The adroitness of its appeal to the selfish passions, which are most easily aroused, was masterful. The enthusiasm evoked by it was of that wild kind which only such an appeal ever awakens. It was interlarded with enough excellent sentiments, enough exhortation to civic honesty and advocacy of "never wronging one's neighbor", to give it an enticing flavor of conscience. But, on the whole, it was one of the most mischievous speeches delivered in this country in recent years, as the writer of the letter above quoted from indicates.

In the first place, the whole speech was built up upon misrepresentation. The friends of peace are not preachers of "the doctrine of ignoble ease", as he slanderously insinuates that they are. They do not "shrink from danger, from hardship or from bitter toil", nor do they advise others to do so. "Timid peace", "ignoble counsels of peace", "prattlers who sit at home in peace", are expressions having no meaning when applied to them. Peace is not synonymous with laziness, sensuality, cowardice, fear. The friends of peace do shrink from butchering their fellowmen, from burning and laying waste property, from the promiscuous destruction of women and children, from the hatred and furiousness evoked by battle, from the loathsome pollutions of camp life, from the vulgarity and profanity of the mêlée of fighting which the Governor of New York knows all about, from crushing the hearts and hopes out of their fellowmen by the awful strain laid upon them and their homes by war requisitions. They abhor these things as heroically as Mr. Roosevelt seems to welcome them. But they advocate, as earnestly as he or anyone else, "the necessity of working for a livelihood", of "carrying on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical work—work of the type we most need in this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation." They go beyond this, and urge and practice, some in one way, some in another, heroic self-sacrifice for the good of others in every quarter of the globe. Not one of them advocates that we should "be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond." But they are opposed to the militaristic rot and gangrene also. They all shrink from contemning, misrepresenting, wronging, robbing other, even weak, peoples. They shrink from Quixotic "adventure", from conquest by violence, from the satanic practice of going about like roaring lions seeking whom they may devour. But they take the largest interest in their neighbors—not to ride boot and spur over them, but to help them and to respect and promote their rights. They are unwilling to "undertake the problem of governing the Philippines", not because of the "trouble and expense", but because it is unspeakably wicked to do it as it is being done. They believe in "playing a great part in the world", but they want this done in at least a half Christian and American way. Governor Roosevelt knows that what he says about those whom he styles "silly humanitarian prattlers who sit at home in peace" is the baldest misrepresentation. He ought never to open his mouth about honesty again until he repents of this great slander on which his speech is built up.

There is something amazing in the cool effrontery



with which Mr. Roosevelt throws the responsibility of the bloodshed now taking place in the Philippines upon those who opposed the ratification of the treaty with Spain unmodified—after having himself “done as much as anyone else to bring on the war” with Spain, and as Assistant Secretary of the Navy having determined upon an aggressive campaign of conquest in the Philippines while Dewey was still at Hong Kong. If his theory of national greatness be true, he ought, instead of berating them, to bestow the highest praise on whoever brought on the Philippine war, as it affords such splendid opportunity for the display of “manly and adventurous qualities”! His contemptuous thrusts at those who he says brought on the war are wholly inconsistent with his exultation at the glorious prospect now before the country,—of preventing this nation from “standing as the China of the Western hemisphere,” by the adoption of the wicked and high-handed policy of the “great” governments who have not the least concern for China or her people except to humiliate and rob her, for their own greedy and ambitious ends. The whole speech is full of curious inconsistencies, which anyone may detect on the most casual reading, but which the Governor seems to have had no consciousness of.

It is easy to understand Mr. Roosevelt's impatient flings at the advocates of peace and humanity. He was simply building a platform for his glorification of war and adventure as means of what he calls “uplifting humanity”. Here is the core of his speech. The strenuous life for which he pleads is, in its real meaning, a “warlike” and “adventurous” life. There is no greatness, no strength, without this. We must take our place with the nations that are making poor China their “door-mat”, that are ruthlessly overrunning the world, stamping into the earth and annihilating native and weaker races, according to their own “commercial” and “glorious” will. This is the way to civilize and to become great! We cannot do our “duty” in this regard in the way by which the nation has grown great and honorable in the past! The methods of peace must be flung to the winds! No more boast of a small military establishment! The navy must be greatly increased. Whoever opposes this, on no matter what high grounds of civilization and Christian principle, must be “hunted down” in the Congressional Record and elsewhere, and repudiated. The army must be enlarged, re-organized, given a “general staff” (*état major* they call it in Europe), and put to exercising in “grand manoeuvres” just like the great civilizing, liberty-giving armies of the Old World! The “renown” which is to come by extending civilization in this way is “the highest and finest part of national life”!

Roosevelt's symbol of the nation which is to be great is that of a knight with shield and sword (army

and navy) striding forth in search of adventure, of war and renown, stamping out all armed resistance in the lands which he has conquered, establishing the supremacy of his flag, over the heads of all opposition, even of lovers of liberty, and then proceeding to administer the sacred trust which Providence has thrust upon him “with absolute honesty and with good judgment”! Nay, this fiery knight of conquest, who has begun his exploits in the same high-handed way as Spain began her career of “renown”, is to keep from the territories which his “good sword” has won all the spoils politicians, unless he is “to tread the path which Spain trod to her own destruction”! Think of this heavenly proceeding, tacked on to the end of a series of events which have blown into white heat the latent instincts of every spoils politician from the Atlantic to the Pacific!

Inconsistency, absurdity, misrepresentation, unfaithfulness to American political and religious ideals cannot go much further than they went in this brilliant speech. One would have thought that an American audience, instead of going wild with enthusiasm over it, would have hung its head in shame and in dead silence at least have shown its disapprobation of such an insidious abandonment of the principles which led the nation up to its late heights of greatness and honor.

There is but one question now before the country, and that is whether the people will allow themselves to be further led astray by the seductive will-o'-the-wisp of Christless power and worldly renown which has already been foolishly followed into the very edges of the swamp of death.

### Military Government.

As a result of the war with Spain the United States finds itself at the present moment controlling, or trying to control, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Guam, Hawaii and Cuba, with an aggregate population of 12,000,000, without a single form of legally established civil government in any of these islands. What is worse, there seems no disposition to care anything about the matter, either on the part of Congress whose constitutional duty it is to provide governments for such of these territories as are already settled portions of the national domain, or on the part of the people as a whole who are constitutionally the real rulers. Even Hawaii, which was annexed, though as a war measure, yet nominally under the forms of law, was left by Congress without any authorized civil government, though the Hawaiian Commission recommended one several months before Congress adjourned.

The situation, then, is that five different bodies of people, in as many territories, with an aggregate population one-seventh as large as that of what was the United States of America a year ago, are under

the sole dictatorship of the President as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy. This is military government pure and simple. There is not the least pretense of civil organization about it. What of civil administration exists in Hawaii is the old government living on, but without any legal status under our laws. The President could change it all any moment if he chose to do so.

It is well understood that for the present the President, for one reason or another, wishes this state of things to continue, except in the case of Hawaii which he apparently meant should have an organized territorial government. Congress seems amazingly willing for this condition to continue, for its members went home with seemingly no concern to perform an imperative duty which the situation lays upon them. If there was ever a condition requiring the immediate and most careful attention of Congress it is the one in which the country now finds itself. No question of tariff or money ever approached it in seriousness. But no pressure is brought upon the President to call, and he shows no disposition to call, a special session of Congress to deal with the subject. The people, moreover, seem to have lost all sense of responsibility for the control of the government, and are supinely allowing all this wide-reaching dictatorship to go on in their name.

The whole situation is one to awaken alarm in the mind of every true citizen. It means that the nation is much farther gone in militarization, or in the moral and political weakness which will make militarization easy, than appears on the surface. The military party, which did so much a year ago to rush the country into war, and whose "constituents" are hovering in thousands about the Capitol for "places", is having things its own way. The professional military men are the men chiefly in evidence in Washington, in the newspapers, in all these outlying dependencies. This is all to go on until next December, as things now appear. Do the people realize what three quarters of a year of military government will have wrought? By that time the President and his "advisers" and subordinates in this military régime can, and probably will, have so shaped things in the conquered territories as to have carried out beyond recall their annexation schemes, and to have made the further development of military and naval power inevitable, and the subordination of the civil interests and civil government to the domination of the military much more complete than it is to-day.

The excuse offered for acquiescing in this state of things and even wishing it to continue for a long time in the future is that so much better a government of the dependencies can be had in this way. If this is true, it is a sad commentary on the state of the nation. It is a confession that civil law and its

administration has either broken down or is hopelessly weak. Congress is a failure. Civil administration is a failure. There is not brains enough in the nation to formulate and put into successful operation a civil system suitable to the needs of the new territories. No effort, therefore, must be made in this direction. The whole matter must be left indefinitely to the dictatorship of the President and his military "friends." If this is true, then the republic is a failure, and "government of the people, by the people and for the people" has already begun, so far as we are concerned, to "perish from off the earth."

We have entered upon the course which in France has put the army on the throne and made everything else its helpless slave; which in the rest of Europe is making of militarism "the most conspicuous tyrant of the age" and bleeding the people to death. The temporary increase of the army will be made permanent. Congress will be lobbied into furnishing all the money needed for armor-plate for the navy. More of the *sixty thousand* young men who recently applied for officers' positions in the army when barely two hundred were wanted, will get places "pulled" in for them. Militarism is the same diabolical thing in this country as in any other country. It has no scruples about constitutions, about liberties, about taxes. It will relentlessly push its demands in season, out of season. After six or eight months of its supremacy, the nation will find next winter that it will be no easy task to pull the tyrant's fingers from its throat.

A condition, not a theory, confronts to-day seventy-five millions of people who suppose themselves to be freemen. There are no freemen where and so far as military dictatorship exists. Military government, no matter how good in specific cases, is the negation of civil liberty and civil law. It is the dangerous substitution of the will of one man, or of a clique of men, for constitution and laws. It matters not whether the man usurps the authority, or the constituted guardians of the constitution and representatives of the people ignorantly and ignominiously resign it into his hands. The results will be the same in the end, as history abundantly demonstrates. The toleration of extended military government in these outlying regions, and the attempt at the same time to save the nation at home from its malign influences will be found utterly impracticable. English imperialistic militarism is eating its way from the colonies back into the very heart of the nation. It will be so here. Give it its way for a few months or a few years in the far away lands, and militarism will make a place for itself at home. There is no safe way but to put an end to it at once. Whatever territory is to be a permanent part of the national domain should at once have a civil administration to which the military, so far as it is used at

all, should be completely subject. The question of what territories should be in this category is an entirely different one, which we have discussed elsewhere.

### Editorial Notes.

**Annual Meeting.** The Seventy-first Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society will be held in Room A, Tremont Temple, Boston, on Monday, May 8th, at 2 o'clock P. M. The annual reports of the Treasurer and of the Board of Directors will be presented, officers will be elected and such other business transacted as may be brought forward. It is hoped that there may be a large attendance of the members. We are glad to announce in this connection that, while there has been a considerable loss by death during the past year, the membership of the Society has been much more than sustained by additions from different parts of the country. The increase has been larger than during any other recent year. The following have recently become members, though their names have not heretofore been published in these columns: R. Jennie Lindley, Avilla, Missouri; Mrs. Edith W. Wait, Medford, Massachusetts; Mrs. Ruth H. Spray, Salida, Colorado; George G. Mercer, Esq., Philadelphia; J. B. Upham, *Youth's Companion*, Boston; Sarah J. Swift, Worcester, Massachusetts; Edwin D. Mead, Boston; Lucia Ames Mead, Boston; C. E. Harrington, D.D., Waltham, Massachusetts; Mrs. Emma H. Unthank, Wilmington, Ohio; Mrs. Henry D. Swift, Worcester, Massachusetts; Francis White, Baltimore, Maryland; Mrs. Richard H. Thomas, Baltimore; Professor A. M. Elliott, Baltimore; Miss Anna B. Eckstein, Boston; Miss Alice Cheever, Boston; Miss Lena L. Carpenter, Boston; Mrs. Albert I. Croll, Boston; Mrs. William G. Preston, Boston; Mrs. Edward W. Dale, Brookline, Massachusetts; Miss Martha Thacher, Boston; Miss Beatrice Haines, Boston; Miss E. D. Swaim, Boston; Mrs. G. F. Butler, Watertown, Massachusetts; Mrs. A. G. Browne, Boston; N. H. Henchman, Boston. Besides this, all of those who have recently contributed two dollars or more in response to the special circular sent out by the Society are entitled to membership. We shall be glad to enroll them as such, if they will let us know their wishes in the matter.

**Secretary's Absence.** The June number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* may be somewhat delayed on account of Secretary Trueblood's absence from the office during the months of May and June. He has been asked by the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society to represent them at The Hague during the sittings of the Conference called by the Czar, and to coöperate with other experienced peace workers who will gather there

to promote the purposes for which the Conference is to meet. The Secretary has also been asked to serve as a member of a small delegation for this purpose representing the peace organizations of this country, England and the continent of Europe, who shall keep in touch with the proceedings of the Conference and render such services as may at any time seem timely and prudent. He will sail from New York on the steamer *Paris* on the 10th of May, and will expect to arrive at The Hague on the morning of the 18th, the day of the opening of the Conference. The readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will be kept informed, through editorial correspondence, what the Secretary sees and hears as to the progress of events at this most momentous international gathering ever held.

**Delegates to The Hague.** The President has appointed as the United States delegates to the Conference at The Hague Andrew D. White, Seth Low and Stanford Newell. To these have been added, in line with what is being done with other governments, a naval and a military expert, A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., and William Crozier, U. S. A. The Commission as a whole is a strong one. Andrew D. White, who has from the first been talked of in connection with the Commission, is at the present time Ambassador to Germany, where he also represented the United States once before. He has also represented our government at the Russian court, and is thoroughly acquainted with conditions prevailing in Europe. Mr. White is an able and conscientious historian, and is well known as one of our foremost educators. He is in thorough sympathy with the movement for the settlement of international differences by arbitration, as shown by his strong public utterances on the subject. No better chairman of the American Commission could have been chosen. Seth Low, President of Columbia University, is one of our most distinguished and conscientious private citizens. He is well known for his brave efforts for the renovation of New York and Brooklyn politics, having been twice Mayor of the latter city. His influence at The Hague will certainly be for the best attainable results. Mr. Stanford Newell is our present Minister to Holland, and has for this reason been named a member of the Commission, as the other Ministers at The Hague have been named on the Commissions from their respective countries. He is a member of the St. Paul Bar, and is considered an accomplished student of international law. Captain A. T. Mahan and Captain William Crozier are both accomplished experts in their departments, and have been appointed for counsel because so many questions touching the armies and navies are to be considered by the Conference. The Secretary of the Commission is Mr. Frederick W. Holb, senior member of the law firm of Holb, Wagner and

Burghardt, of New York City. The instructions given to the Commission have of course not been made public. It is understood, however, that they have been instructed to lay particular stress in the Conference on the subject of arbitration and the necessity of some agreement among the nations there represented for the establishment of some general arbitration system. The greatest result from the Conference is, in our judgment, likely to be along this line, and it is in every way fitting that the United States, because of the leading share which it has had in building up the practice of arbitration, should make its influence strongly felt at The Hague in this direction. Naturally our Commission would also have been foremost in pressing the necessity and the feasibility of a reduction of armaments, and we shall hope that, in spite of the present drift of the country away from our historic and natural policy in this regard, Mr. White and his fellow Commissioners will take the strongest and most advanced grounds in favor of what the Czar has so earnestly insisted ought to be done in this direction.

The House  
in the Wood.

Queen Wilhelmina of Holland has placed at the disposal of the Conference which is to convene at The Hague on the 18th inst. her palace known as the "Huis ten Bosch." It is about two miles out from The Hague and is separated from it by a beautiful wood. It was built in 1647 by Amalia van Solms, after the death of her husband, Stadhouder Frederick Hendrik, son of William the Silent. It has been used by the Kings of Holland as a summer resort. Queen Wilhelmina herself learned to skate in its gardens, and the late King's first wife, Queen Sophie, spent a great deal of the year there. The palace has many rooms of great artistic attraction. The Octagonal room and Orange room are decorated with paintings by Jordaens, Houthorst, Levens, Van Thulden and Zuntman. There is a Chinese room decorated with rice paper tapestry of the beginning of last century. There is a Japanese room in which are found rare works of art from the Mikado's country. The walls of the dining room are decorated with mythological scenes by De Wit. The Orange room, which is one of the principal features of the palace, is an enormous round room whose ceiling is forty-five feet high and surmounted by a huge glass dome by which it is lighted. The sittings of the Conference will probably be held in this room.

John Morley's  
Crusade Letter.

John Morley, whose recent arraignment of British imperialism aroused so much attention, sent the following letter to the great meeting held in London on the 21st of March at the close of the Peace Crusade:

"My Dear Lord Bishop of London: It is a sincere

disappointment to me not to come to to-night's meeting. The movement, in which I take the meeting to be a closing demonstration, has been a striking attempt to organize serious opinion in favor of turning the Czar's proposals to effective account. In no country are such demonstrations more needed than in Great Britain, and in no part of Great Britain more than London. The recent language of the First Lord of the Admiralty would seem to show that Ministers are hopeful, with the energetic sympathy of the nation at their back, of securing something more solid from the Conference than a mere registration of pious opinions. This at least is certain, that if the Conference does not make international conditions much better, it will leave them much worse. Failure must mean the awakening of new elements of jealousy, soreness and confusion, and this is a reason the more, in addition to a hundred others, why England should bend the whole of her immense strength to render the Conference a practical success. No more glorious aim could inspire a statesman or animate a nation."

English Crusade  
Closes.

The English Peace Crusade has been most extraordinary. Within the short space of two months and a half over two hundred towns' meetings—meetings called by the mayors—were held. In addition to these, thousands of public meetings were held all over the country, attended by interested and thoughtful people of all classes. The Crusade Committee published every week many thousands of the sheet *War against War*, which was edited by W. T. Stead. All the English peace organizations, which have labored so faithfully and untiringly for many years, often in the face of contempt and ridicule, entered most heartily into the Crusade, and, in fact, furnished its chief points of support and rallying in many parts of the country. It is difficult to speak critically of such a movement from our distance. But it is safe to say that however superficial the movement may have been in places and even contradictory in its methods and utterances, it was a pronounced success in the one thing it aimed to accomplish. It gave Russia and the world to understand that the sober masses of the British people are in most intelligent sympathy with the purpose of Nicholas II. It enabled the British Cabinet to feel, as Mr. Goschen showed in his speech on the estimates, that its representatives at The Hague can talk reduction of armaments, even of the British fleet, with the certainty that they will have strong support from the British nation. It also impressed upon multitudes of people, who had hitherto not thought seriously of the matter, the idea of the practicability of universal peace, by international agreement. The Crusade, therefore, will take its place among the successful peace efforts, whose fruitage is after awhile to appear in ripeness. It came to a close in a remarkable National Convention held in St. Martin's Town Hall, London, on the 21st of March, at which gathered the hundreds of delegates which had been sent from all parts of the na-

tion, and at which a Committee was appointed to present to the Czar and to the British government the numerously signed memorials. The convention was presided over by Lord Aberdeen. In the evening a great public demonstration was held in Queen's Hall, which was presided over by the Bishop of London. The speeches were by Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, M. P., Hon. Philip Stanhope, M. P., Rev. D. M'Ewan, D. D., President of the London Free Church Council, Mr. G. N. Barnes, Secretary of the Society of Engineers, Mr. W. T. Stead, and Mr. Herbert Burrows. The Committee appointed at the Convention will continue its work until the close of the Conference at The Hague. Closely connected with the close of the crusade was the visit of a large Deputation on the 29th of March to Mr. Balfour, the First Lord of the Treasury, at the Foreign Office. The Bishop of London spoke for the Deputation. Mr. Balfour in his reply stated that the sentiments put forward by the Deputation had the heartiest sympathy of Her Majesty's government.

Dr. Abbott's  
Boston Address.

At the third of the Monday noon peace meetings held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on March 27th, Dr. Lyman Abbott spoke on "International Brotherhood." The first part of the address was given to an able and interesting exposition of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, which Dr. Abbott maintains carries with it the abolition of national lines in one great organization of the nations. It is easy to see in recent years a striking tendency toward unification. Intercommunication is swift and easy. Commercial highways have been opened and commercial barriers are breaking down. Piracy and privateering have disappeared. A great industrial unification is bringing together the laborers of all nations. The great religious forces of the world are now forces of unification. The world is beginning to get itself organized. We must make international brotherhood distinctly our ideal. We must abandon the provincialism that sneers at other nations. Bitterness and wrath between nations must be put away as they have been put away between our homes. The power of law must be established throughout the globe, by the ministry of reason, by the adjudication of legal, recognized tribunals,—and by compulsion!

With scarcely a reference to the great Rescript of the Czar, and the possibilities which it opens for the peaceful establishment of the reign of reason and law throughout the world, Dr. Abbott here turned to a criticism of those who hold all war to be wrong, and to a somewhat impassioned justification of the present policy of subjugating the Philippines. His treatment of both subjects seemed to many of those who heard him strangely specious and one-sided. He classed all the absolute opponents of war on moral grounds as "philosophical

anarchists", though he must know that "anarchism" can be applied only to those who discard all government. This only a few non-resistants do. He assumed that there can be no government except such as is founded in force, and maintained on occasion by force, which of course is wide of the mark. In the case of the Philippines, he ignored completely in his discussion the causes which had been working for months to exasperate the Filipinos and bring on the conflict, the responsibility of our own government at Washington in uncereemoniously proclaiming sovereignty over them, and placing himself in General Otis's place on the night when the conflict began said that he would have done just as General Otis did. This is not to treat the Philippine problem at all, but to conceal it, dodge it, pervert it. Nobody charges Dr. Abbott with believing in war for war's sake. But it sounded much like "cursing and blessing proceeding out of the same mouth" to hear him advocating so eloquently the great unselfish principle of international brotherhood, and in the next breath assuming without compunction that the Philippine inhabitants are not bound by honor, are incapable of being reached by rational methods, and that there was no alternative but to drive them to reason and honor by the bloody horrors of violence, though our government he well knows had not for a single instant tried any other course with them.

Fifth Tremont  
Temple Meeting.

The fifth in the series of Boston Peace Meetings was held in Tremont Temple, Monday noon, April 10th. The speakers were Dr. William Cunningham of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, and Dr. George C. Lorimer, pastor of the Tremont Temple Church. Hon. Robert Treat Paine, president of the American Peace Society, presided. After uttering a word of the strongest disapproval of the Philippine war, he spoke of the duty of America to give the heartiest and strongest support to the proposals of the Czar, because of the leading part which this country has had in the development of the principle of arbitration. The Czar's Manifesto he ranked, as a historic document, with Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. Dr. Cunningham spoke interestingly of the decline of some of the old causes of war, and of the strength of new causes. Wars for religion and commerce have largely passed. He did not believe that England would go to war again for either of these reasons, citing in proof her restraint in reference to Armenia and her recent concessions in regard to China. The causes of war now most to be guarded against are national vanity, and what he termed "government by newspapers." Democratic institutions are not alone a guarantee of peace. Nations must come to understand better the ideas and aspirations of their

neighbors. If the Czar's Conference results, he said, in nothing more than setting us all to watching ourselves to see how we may diminish the dangers of war, it will have accomplished immense good. Dr. Lorimer spoke eloquently of the terrible cost of war and war preparations, as brought out in Mr. Bliokh's recent book in Russia, of the recrudescence of the military spirit, and of the falseness of the assumption that war is the chief school of the manly virtues. "Bloody war is not necessary to make heroes out of men." The type of manhood which we have developed in this country by the strenuous arts of peace, in subduing the continent, in "driving the ploughshare right through from Massachusetts to the Pacific" is as noble as any ever produced.

**The Crusade in Baltimore.** The public meeting held in the McCoy Hall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on the evening of April 6th, in the interest of the Peace Conference at The Hague was a great success. More than a thousand people were present, crowding every foot of the hall space. The *Baltimore American* says it was "one of the largest, most cultured and most representative audiences which ever gathered together in Baltimore." The chief address was by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, whom the Baltimoreans had caught on his way home from the south. Dr. Hale, as we see from the reports of the meeting, was in his best mood, and aroused great enthusiasm by his address. The meeting was presided over by Dr. M. D. Babcock of the Brown Memorial Church, who with Dr. R. H. Thomas had been instrumental in making the meeting so signal a success. The call for the meeting had been signed by Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Paret, President Gilman of Johns Hopkins, the president of the Board of Trade, and many prominent clergymen and citizens. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we are heartily in favor of the policy announced by the Congress of the United States in 1890, of concluding treaties with other nations which shall contain distinct provisions for arbitration.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the great opportunity given by the approaching International Peace Conference at The Hague for more practical and definite measures for the establishment of permanent peace among the nations.

Resolved, That after the advance made toward universal peace in the treaties and conferences of the nations in the last century, this is a fitting time for putting into practical form the best suggestions which have been made in that direction.

Resolved, That the establishment of a permanent court, to whose decision might be referred all questions incapable of diplomatic solution arising between countries, seems to us to be both desirable and feasible. The moral force of such a court, increasing with every year, would carry authority among nations, and its very existence would calm the storm of passion.

Resolved, That we petition the President to instruct those whom he appoints to represent the United States in the conference at The Hague to use their best endeavors to secure the establishment of such a court, and to further every wise plan which, in their judgment, would tend to insure permanent peace among the nations.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and also that a copy be sent to the proposed conference in the care of our delegates.

**Protest Against Philippine Policy.** A meeting to voice protest against the present subjugation policy toward the Philippines was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the evening of April 4th. The meeting, which the *Boston Advertiser* declares will take its place among the most memorable historic meetings of Boston, was attended by two thousand people, of all parties, many of whom are eminent in their callings, in church and state. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed as the Administration and its advisers were arraigned for the course which has been taken resulting in war and the devastation of the Philippines by fire and sword, in the name of liberty and humanity! Hon. A. E. Pillsbury, ex-attorney general of the state, presided, and the chief address of the evening was made by ex-Governor Boutwell, whose eminent services in the state and nation are so well known. For more than an hour this distinguished Republican, in an earnest though calm and judicial manner, analyzed the four great events for which he declared the President to be responsible—the Protocol of August 12th, the treaty of Paris of December 10th, the Proclamation to the Philippines of January 5th, and the Philippine war of subjugation. Mr. Boutwell maintained that the proclamation of January 5th was a virtual declaration of war, that the President abandons the Declaration of Independence, that he openly avows the purpose to enforce submission against all resistance and to govern and tax without reference to the wishes of the inhabitants, or, in other words, "to use all the powers ever claimed by any despot." The venerable statesman condemned, in the plainest terms, this whole policy and asserted, with prolonged cheers from the great audience, that "there is no middle ground, in principle, between the republicanism of the Declaration of American Independence and the broadest claims that were ever put forth by a Czar of Russia." The following resolutions were enthusiastically adopted, without one dissenting voice:

First. That our government should take immediate steps towards a suspension of hostilities in the Philippines and a conference with the Philippine leaders, with a view to preventing further bloodshed, upon the basis of a recognition of their freedom and independence as soon as proper guarantees can be had of order and protection to property.

Second. That the government of the United States should tender an official assurance to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that they will encourage and assist



in the organization of such a government in the islands as the people thereof shall prefer, and that upon its organization in stable manner the United States, in accordance with its traditional and prescriptive policy in such cases, will recognize the independence of the Philippines and its equality among nations, and gradually withdraw all military and naval forces.

Tolstoy's  
Letter.

We print in full on another page the letter of Count Tolstoy on the Czar's Conference, published simultaneously in *The Independent* and in many other papers in this country and Europe. The case against the Czar's sincerity and the successful issue of the Conference, so far as there is any case against them, is presented by him in possibly the strongest light of which it is capable. It is essentially the same, however, as has been made by many others, from different points of view, in this country and in others. We do not hesitate to confess there is such a case, and that, in appearance at least, it is a strong one. The recent action of the Russian government in regard to Finland,—an action which is driving hundreds of young Finns from their country in order to escape conscription,—is not of a nature to allay scepticism as to the purpose of the peace rescript. It is well to have the whole case laid out. The Czar and his millions of supporters in all countries ought to know how every honest friend of humanity feels about the matter. The knowledge of this will help and not hinder the Conference, if the Czar's purpose in calling it, and the purpose of the nations in joining in it, is such as we believe. All these phases of opinion have to be reckoned with. It is the past history of Russia and the other governments, and their present active policies, which give ground for Tolstoy's criticism. What the great Russian, with all his insight and moral strength, fails to see, is the joint and corporate responsibility of the nations for the monstrous condition which militarism has reached. Their duty, therefore, of relieving the world of it is a joint and corporate one. This the Czar has seen, and has commenced the solution at the most practicable point. There is no doubt that if the Czar and a sufficient number of the Russian governors and peoples had strong enough convictions on the subject, Russia could with perfect ease begin the work of disarmament at home. But the change in public opinion on these subjects, as Tolstoy fails to appreciate, comes about gradually. Public institutions, therefore, respond only gradually. Public opinion is strong enough to-day to support a movement for reduction of armaments, if begun jointly by the nations, but it is not strong enough to support such a movement if undertaken by any government alone. No government, therefore, will undertake it. Shall not the governments, then, undertake what they can successfully commence together? A thousand times, yes. We estimate at its

full force the influence of the Tolstoian doctrine of peace. It has been, in our judgment, since the days of William Penn, the most powerful of all moral forces for transforming public opinion and public institutions in regard to war. But it is not the only force. By all means, let every man of us who sees the iniquity of war as Tolstoy sees it, practice what he believes, in every country. More and more people will do this. But long before the number of such people is sufficient to bring about disarmament and the end of war, a number of motives and influences much inferior to this in moral worth will have brought the nations jointly to have throttled the hideous, bloody monster to death. Then all good men will easily become Tolstoians.

The two treatises by Edward Atkinson, "The Cost of a National Crime" and "The Hell of War and its Penalties", noticed some time ago in these columns, have now reached the ninth edition. They have done much to give the thoughtful people of the country a sober estimate of the present and prospective cost of the war with Spain and the wars and war preparations to which it has led and seems destined further to lead, as well as the appalling moral and physical degradation and waste following in the wake. Mr. Atkinson, who is the highest authority on economic subjects, has made a most critical and exhaustive study of these phases of the subject, and those wishing the most instructive facts and figures should read his pamphlets. A third pamphlet of his, "Criminal Aggression: by Whom Committed?", noticed in our last issue, is now in its fourth edition. In the preface to this Mr. Atkinson points out the repulsive and ghastly aspects of the war now waging in the Philippines, for the purpose of "benevolently assimilating" the population of the islands to our "civilization" and our "Christianity." He quotes, as applying to the burning and desolating of the coast towns of the Philippines by our forces, what Benjamin Franklin said about the burning of the coast towns of the American Colonies by the British in the war of the Revolution: "Britain must certainly be distracted. No tradesman out of Bedlam ever thought of increasing the number of his customers by knocking them on the head, or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houses." These pamphlets may be had by addressing Mr. Atkinson at Boston, Box 112, and sending five cents a piece for them.

Peace with  
Spain Proclaimed.

The Spanish copy of the treaty of peace, which was signed by the Queen Regent on the 17th of March, reached Washington on the 10th of April. The exchange of ratifications took place the next day at 3.30 o'clock, in the President's office in the White House. The protocol of exchange

was signed by Secretary Hay and the French Ambassador, Jules Cambon, representing Spain. The President and Mr. Cambon then exchanged the original copies of the treaty of peace drawn at Paris on the 10th of December last and since ratified by the United States Senate and the Queen Regent of Spain. At the close of the ratifications the President issued a proclamation officially declaring the war with Spain ended; it would have been truer to the actually existing state of things if he had said "converted into the war with the Filipinos." The proclamation contains the official text of the treaty completed on the 10th of December. A cablegram was immediately sent by Mr. Cambon to the Spanish government announcing the exchange of ratifications, and the American copy of the treaty was also forwarded. Diplomatic relations between the two governments will be at once renewed. It is understood that Spain will raise her Minister at Washington to the rank of Ambassador and that the Duke d'Arcos will be her first representative in this capacity. It is said that our present Minister to Belgium, Mr. Bellamy Storer of Cincinnati, a friend of the President, will be promoted to be our new Minister to Spain and that he will be made an Ambassador. After the conclusion of the exchange of ratifications the President sent the following message to the President of France: "On this auspicious occasion of the consummation of peace between the United States and Spain, I beg in the name of this government and people, and in my own, to express my high appreciation of the part filled by the republic of France in promotion of this happy result. In this kindly office so performed, my countrymen will see another link in the amity that joins the two nations."

A Soldier's  
Opinion.

Through Rev. Charles F. Dole of Jamaica Plain, Mass., we learn what one of the soldiers at Manila (and many others are writing home in similar terms) thinks of the course now being pursued there by the Administration. A father whose son is a soldier at Manila has sent Mr. Dole a letter in which occur these sentences from his son, which need no comment:

"The longer I stay here, and the more I see and think of the matter, the more fully convinced I am that the American nation was and is making a blunder. I do not believe the United States is equal to the task of conquering this people, or even of governing them afterwards. . . . I don't think I would miss the truth much if I said more non-combatants have been killed than actual native soldiers.

I don't believe the people in the United States understand the question or the condition of things here or the inhuman warfare now being carried on.

Talk about Spanish cruelty; they are not in it with the Yank. Even the Spanish are shocked. Of course, I don't expect to have war without death and destruction, but I do expect that when an enemy gets down on his

knees and begs for his life that he won't be shot in cold blood.

But it is a fact that the order was, not to take any prisoners, and I have seen enough to almost make me ashamed to call myself an American."

During the recent great Peace Campaign in England the following address, signed by the editors of twenty-five of the leading British journals, was sent to one thousand Continental papers:

"On the eve of the meeting of the Conference called by the Czar of Russia for the purpose of 'seeking, by means of international discussion, the most effectual method of ensuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable Peace, and above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments', we, the undersigned British editors, venture to address our fellow-workers throughout Europe on the relationship of the Press to this great movement. Feeling the responsibility which rests upon the Press as the most powerful influence in the formation of public opinion, we are desirous not only of doing what we can to influence the people of our own country in favor of His Imperial Majesty's proposals, but of securing the co-operation of our fellow-editors in other countries in the same work. We do not doubt that you will agree with us in feeling that the enormous power of the Press ought to be directed to the conciliation of the different peoples of the world, the furtherance of their common interests, and the support of any measure that promises a general lightening of their burdens. All the traditions of our profession point to the duty which this occasion imposes upon it. The popular movement in support of the ideas contained in the Czar's message, which has evoked almost unanimous support among the British people, has been initiated also in several Continental countries, and will spread through the length and breadth of Europe, if the Press will take the lead. In the International Crusade of Peace men and women of various nationalities, classes, parties and creeds have agreed to unite in a demand which they believe means gain for all and loss for none. The international organization is in course of development, and we feel assured that it needs only the co-operation of the Press to produce an irresistible demonstration of goodwill and good sense."

Events in the  
Philippines.

The United States troops took Malolos, the capital of the Philippine Republic, on March 31st, the Philippine forces escaping northward, after burning considerable portions of the town. There has been little regular fighting since. The plan of Gen. MacArthur to surround and capture Aguinaldo's army failed. The censored press dispatches stated after the capture of Malolos that the Filipinos were discouraged and scattering, and anxious for peace. Since then, however, they have shown themselves neither entirely discouraged nor scattered. The cast-iron, sugar-coated proclamation issued by the President's Commission on April 4th has so far had little or no effect on the situation, though every effort has been made to circulate

it among the different tribes of the islands. On April 6th the Filipinos opened fire upon a boat sent out by the Charleston. The Cruiser thereupon bombarded Dagupan. The Filipino army has since been reorganized at Calumpit, and at this writing Gen. MacArthur is leading his forces against the place. An attempt was made by the Filipinos on April 11th to cut off Gen. MacArthur from Manila. On April 18th Lieut. Gilmore and fourteen others were captured or slain by Filipinos. The fiercest fighting yet done took place on April 23rd, when Major Bell, with a detachment of cavalry, reconnoitring east of Malolos, was suddenly surrounded by the Filipinos. In the battle which ensued about fifty Americans were killed and wounded. South of Manila Gen. Lawton has made an expedition across Laguna de Bay, but after capturing several places, which he had not sufficient troops to hold, he has withdrawn and has now gone north to aid General MacArthur. There seems little prospect of hostilities ceasing any time soon. In the later conflicts the Filipinos, whose great losses seem not to have discouraged them, have inflicted more serious losses upon the United States forces than in the earlier ones. Gen. Otis's men are also suffering much from the intense heat. The time of the volunteers is out, and they are unwilling for the most part to remain longer, and are to be brought home. The President has ordered more regiments of the regulars to go to the Philippines, and the sad, deadly, degrading business of destroying the Filipinos, their villages and homes, in the name of humanity and civilization, is to go on.

**Peace Work  
in Worcester.**

Through the influence of Mr. William J. Mann, Mr. F. L. Hutchins, president of the Worcester Antiquarian Society, and others, much interest has been awakened in the Crusade movement in Worcester, Mass. As a result of a public meeting addressed by Mr. Mann, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead and Benjamin F. Trueblood, a committee was formed for work, and one thousand copies of the April number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* purchased and distributed among the citizens of Worcester. In addition to this, considerable quantities of literature were secured by Worcester ladies, through Mrs. Mead, and distributed. Arrangements are being made through the leaders of the Christian Endeavor Societies for a large public meeting of the Endeavorers of the city, which it is to be hoped will prove a great success, and give a mighty impulse towards a wider public interest among the citizens of Worcester in the great cause of international brotherhood. The Worcester workers are deserving of the highest commendation for their earnest, persistent and intelligent efforts.

**Harvard-Princeton  
Alliance Debate.**

The subject of an Anglo-American Alliance was debated by Harvard and Princeton Universities at Princeton, N. J., on

the evening of April 5th. The question was: "Resolved, that a formal alliance between the United States and Great Britain for the protection and advancement of their common interests is advisable." President Patton of Princeton presided. The speakers were James Henry Northrup, Alfred Sewall Weston, Nathaniel Smith Reeves, representing Princeton, and S. B. Rosenthal, Henry F. Wolff, Wilbur Morse, for Harvard. The judges were Professor E. G. Phelps of Yale, J. B. Moore of Columbia and J. W. Jenks of Cornell University. The Harvard debaters maintained that such an alliance is not advisable, either on political or commercial grounds, and the judges rendered a decision in their favor.

### Brevities.

The Brazilian government has accepted the proposal of the British government to submit to arbitration the question of the delimitation of the boundary of Guiana.

. . . The peaceful adjustment of the Anglo-French Central African boundary question by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Cambon is a great triumph of good sense. The settlement was made under the form of an additional article to the Niger Convention.

. . . Dr. Henry K. Carroll, the President's special commissioner to the island, will recommend that Porto Rico be given a territorial form of government. He believes the inhabitants fitted for it.

. . . The casualties among the United States troops in the Philippines from February 4th to April 4th, two months, were 184 killed and 976 wounded, a total of 1160, or a number of men nearly equal to one entire regiment. This takes no account of the losses by disease.

. . . During the Peace Crusade in England *one hundred and twenty* town meetings, convoked by the mayors, that is representing the entire municipality, were held within the months of January and February, and the number was greatly increased during March.

. . . George G. Mercer, Esq., of Philadelphia, recently delivered before the Society for Ethical Culture of that city an able and interesting address on "America's Contribution to International Peace."

. . . Count Muravieff has sent a circular to all the Russian diplomatic representatives abroad instructing them to convey the Czar's thanks to all those who, by letter or telegram, have expressed their approval of the Emperor's manifesto.

. . . The first step in Cuba toward independent government has been the establishment of a Cuban postal service entirely independent of the United States postal department. An order abolishing the military postal service in Cuba was issued at Washington on March 29th.

. . . The full stenographic report of the great meeting held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the evening of April 4th, to protest against the present Philippine policy has been published in pamphlet and can be had by addressing the Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, Boston, and enclosing five cents.

. . . The American Sunday School Union, one of the great forces which are gradually but surely working out the peace of society, is to hold its Diamond Anniversary in Philadelphia on the 24th and 25th of May.

. . . Mr. William E. Dodge, the eminent publicist of New York City, has a strong article in the *Christian Endeavor World* of April 20th, on International Courts of Arbitration.

. . . Lord Chief Justice Russell of England has been appointed a member of the Venezuela Arbitration Tribunal to succeed the late Lord Herschell.

. . . When Baron Herschell, the most conspicuous member of the Joint High Commission, died in Washington on the first of March, the Supreme Court adjourned, for the first time in its history doing this as a mark of respect for a foreign statesman and jurist.

. . . In accordance with a suggestion of the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers, special services were held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the evening of March 26th, to further the Czar's peace proposals. Addresses were made by Professor George Gunton and Dr. Charles L. Thompson.

### In Gladstone's Day.

AND NOW.

BY HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH.

He saw the growing wrong, and spoke:

"The Afghan wills our arms to stay,  
And he is right; I take my stand;  
His waving spears ye may not charge!"  
Then free again the Oxus flowed,  
And open gleamed the mountain road.  
For great to be was more than large  
In Gladstone's day!

He saw the settled wrong, and spoke:

"The Transvaal wills our arms to stay,  
And we were wrong; I take my stand;  
Her reeds of air ye shall not charge!  
Vee Boer, shall England justice lack?  
I your republic give you back!"  
For great to be was more than large  
In Gladstone's day!

The Afghan's heart so England won,

The Hinterland to her gave way,  
And rose and set the unsullied sun  
On Afghan peak and Afric marge!  
Old England's flag was glory then  
When right was might, and men were men,  
And great to be was more than large  
In Gladstone's day

False is the war no poet sings,  
And false the pride that will not lower  
The flag to Justice—ours or king's—  
To rise in glory evermore.

For to retreat for right is worth  
All alien victories of the earth,  
And great to be is more than large  
To-day!

— *Springfield Republican.*

Boston, April 4, 1899.

## The Peace Crusade in Boston.

### ORGANIZED LABOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

ADDRESS OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

At the second of the peace meetings in Boston, held in Tremont Temple March 20th, Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, spoke in substance as follows:

Peace is usually disturbed by those having a sordid purpose. It is always the interest of the masses of the people to be at peace. Progress is usually interrupted when peace is interrupted. It has too often been true that wars are brought on by those who have power in governmental affairs, who have abused that power by unjustly treating the people over whom they ruled, and who sought then to divert attention from domestic injustice by foreign contests and conquests.

Mr. Gompers spoke at some length of the present war in the Philippines and of the question of "expansion", so called. He regarded the movement for expansion as really a movement actuated by desire for wider trade; and he deprecated a war upon the only people of Asia who had ever attempted to establish a republican form of government. The United States of America, he said, should not only be a powerful nation, a nation of might; but the republic of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln and Wendell Phillips and Garrison and Sumner should always be in the right. When we depart from the right we lose that influence which we as a nation have exerted upon the progress of other nations. Returning then to the special subject of the address, he said:

The organizations of labor believe that a large standing army is always essential to maintain a policy of imperialism. We realize, too, that a large standing army is a menace to the liberties of the people and is always one of the causes contributing toward the rupture of peaceful relations among men. The army and the men who command it are desirous of exercising their profession, the butchery of man.

Our organizations aim always to lead the man, by association with his fellows, to realize that he does not live for himself alone and to feel that it is his duty to extend a fraternal hand to his brother-worker; thus he becomes broader and more intelligent. Organized labor recognizes that peace is necessary to successful industry and progress as air is to our lungs,—not only peace national but international. Peace, national or international is one of the underlying principles of the labor movement. And as we send our organizers from country to country, and organize not only the skilled workers but the unskilled as well, I look forward to a time when we shall not only inculcate peace among all classes in society, but when, if we cannot secure peace by intelligent action on the part of the powers that be, then the working people of all countries, united and federated, will refuse to make those articles and munitions of war that deal the death-blow to brother-men. I look to the dock-laborers to refuse to handle machines to destroy man; and I look to the seamen of the world to organize in a federation which shall extend the hand of fraternity and help to industry and commerce, but never to strike down a fellow-man.

It is one thing to declare for a principle and it is

another thing to make sacrifices in order that it may be maintained. One of the finest illustrations of unselfishness which the history of man has shown was the action of the cotton operatives in Lancashire during our Civil War. The ports of the South were blockaded by our ships; the cotton which supplied work for the Lancashire operatives was not forthcoming, and the weavers and spinners were unemployed and hungry, their wives and their children were pinched and tattered. The Cabinet of Great Britain were willing not only to recognize the belligerency of the Confederacy, but to employ the ships of Great Britain to raise the blockade so that the cotton could find its way to Lancashire. But when they sought to obtain the approval of the Lancashire operatives for that course, from meeting after meeting came the unanimous declaration, "We want no bread nor work that is based upon human slavery." It is to the lasting credit of British workers. It is so much to their credit that our martyred president, Abraham Lincoln, in one of his messages to Congress, took occasion to pay a well-merited tribute to the organized union workers of Great Britain and the service they rendered to the maintenance of the republic and the abolition of human slavery.

The union workers have not only resolved upon reaching international peace, but have gone as far as any body in the community in expressing this resolve. At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1887 in the city of Baltimore, the declaration went forth, "We desire universal peace, and urge upon the government of our country the recognition of the treaty" then proposed. The chief promoter of international arbitration between the two English-speaking nations was none other than William Randal Cremer, the ex-secretary of the stone-cutters of Great Britain, a union man who carries his union card with him to-day. He came and Tom Pickard, member of Parliament, member of the coal miners' union, to this country with Sir Lionel Playfair, bearing about three hundred signatures of the members of the British Parliament, and waited upon President Cleveland to urge him to submit the treaty which was negotiated by the representatives of both countries. I am not sure whether an international treaty at this time is advisable; but I know that a treaty is being formulated by the workers of Great Britain and the United States which shall make for permanent peace.

At the conventions of the labor organizations in this country held in 1846, 1850, and 1868, protests were made against foreign wars, and resolutions were passed demanding disarmament in foreign countries, so that republican institutions and the peaceful solution of great problems might have proper opportunity. At the last convention, in Kansas City, I had the opportunity of saying this: "By a steady demand in the direction of maintaining the bond of fraternity and the recognition of the principle of solidarity in the international labor movement, we shall not only help to bear each other's burdens but shall continually make those burdens lighter and be a lever toward that international brotherhood of man when the wars of nations shall be a thing of the past, and the song of the poet, the dream of the philosopher, and the hope of the philanthropist and humanitarian be achieved." This was but my own feeling, but the convention, after having sifted the matter by a committee and reported upon it, adopted unanimously this statement:

"We endorse the position taken by the president on the invitation extended by the Czar of Russia to the nations of the world, inviting them to send representatives to a conference with a view to the disarmament of nations. And this convention places itself on record as approving of any movement which will tend to bring peace to the world."

The organizations of labor in all civilized countries are now in correspondence with each other. We send and receive annually our fraternal delegates, we issue our travelling cards and the members who take them find them a passport and bond of fraternity among the workers of all countries. There has never been a convention or a conference of workers which has not declared for peace, that has not taken every means at its command for creating peace and for impressing upon the public mind the absolute necessity for tranquility. I urge upon you all the consideration of this great problem as it affects the laborer, for every improvement in the lot of the worker means the upbuilding upon a higher level of the whole human structure. Let us hope and pray that no wrong may come to our country; but though we are Americans first, yet in being Americans we are not less humanitarians and lovers of our kind. For that peace which shall bless the whole of humanity we ask, for it we pray, and until it is achieved for it we shall contend.

Mr. Harry Lloyd, one of the best known labor leaders of this country, spoke briefly at the close of Mr. Gomper's address. He said, in substance:

Last Friday night when speaking in the Cooper Union of New York, I happened to mention this meeting, and the cheers that rang through the hall were startling. Three-quarters of the audience were members of the organizations of workers.

I was present at the British Trade-Union Congress in Bristol last year, when Pete Curran, representing the dock-laborers of Ireland, offered that splendid resolution commending to the workers the message of the Czar and asking the government of Great Britain to see to it that commissioners were sent to a peace conference. I do not know that the same motives prompt you which prompt me in seeking international peace. I am afraid of "the man on horseback." I have spent too many years of my life in fighting involuntary poverty to care to have "the man on horseback" at my door every day. From my youth up I have heard orators on the platform declaiming against standing armies in the Old World, and inviting those governments to take the soldier off the shoulder of the workingman. And because of my experiences abroad I am more firm in my belief. I cannot forget how in Germany I saw those beautiful young men, gorgeously dressed in their magnificent uniform, strutting up and down the streets; and how in that same country I saw a milch cow, a horse and a woman hitched to the same plough. In France, militarism is rampant, and the wage-worker starving. In Holland, with its large standing army for a small country, I saw four women dragging a canal-boat. In Belgium, I saw women carrying the hod and working in the coal mines. In England, I saw women, almost stripped to the waist, making nails and chains as blacksmiths for seven shillings a week, and singing, "For Britons never, never, never shall be slaves." It is because of these things that I am for international peace.

The labor organizations stand against war; we know

what it means. We have seen in history how, when the common people have got their attention fixed upon great public questions at home, that moment "a vigorous foreign policy" is inaugurated and a war started and fools are running to fight. When we point out to the powers that be that there are two millions of men unemployed upon the street, the answer is, "Hurrah for the flag!" Yes, but fourteen hundred thousand married women leave their homes every morning to work in mill and factory. "Never mind, hurrah for the flag!" But there are millions of little children denied the advantages of education. "Never mind, hurrah for the flag!" The labor organizations will cheer the flag when the flag stands for the protection of the home, the fireside, the women and the children, but not when it is carried into war to impose upon the people burdens that do not belong there. Boston and Massachusetts stand for peace. We know what it means. We are glad to be in sympathy with you in this movement. I am not in favor of an alliance offensive and defensive with any country, that we may send our army and navy officers strutting round the world with a chip on their shoulders; but I am in favor of a great international board of arbitration that will settle those questions by the arbitrament of wit and of thought, and not by the arbitrament of the sword and the pistol.

Mr. George E. McNeill, the veteran of the labor movement in Boston, spoke a few words before the meeting closed. He said:

War comes with injustice, peace comes with equity. Wherever injustice exists, there must and will be war. There is war in our hearts if we deal unjustly with our neighbor. There is war in our institutions if through them inequity exists. Organized labor stands for peace, not only for the peace called for by the Czar of Russia but the peace which was called for over eighteen hundred years ago.

### Women's Work for Peace.

#### GRAND RALLY IN TREMONT TEMPLE.

Addresses by Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore and others.

The Women's Peace Crusade meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, at noon on Monday, April 3rd, was a most impressive occasion. At least two thousand five hundred persons were present and much earnestness and enthusiasm were manifested. Addresses were made by Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Lucia Ames Mead, Miss O. M. E. Rowe, president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, and by Alice Freeman Palmer. The addresses of Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Livermore are given in full below. Mrs. Mead gave some of the startling economic facts which show that armed peace has come to be, in its way, as great a curse as war itself. Recent weapons are, she said, from ninety to two hundred times as powerful as those of thirty years ago. The war debts have doubled, the armies have grown to enormous proportions, the burdens of taxation have greatly increased, every nation in Europe is spending from two to twelve times as much upon armaments as upon education. The remedy is found in the substitution of arbitration for the arbitrament of the sword. Arbitration is already here and has been eminently successful. One hundred years hence war will have been put away as duelling has been put behind us.

Miss Rowe spoke briefly, but most forcibly of the work which is being done and should be more fully done by the Women's Clubs, and presented the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the great audience:

*Resolved*, That this assembly urges the national and state Federations of Women's Clubs and other organizations of women throughout the United States to prosecute a vigorous campaign of education in regard to the evils of standing armies and navies, with a view to secure the establishment eventually of a permanent tribunal for the adjustment of international difficulties.

*Resolved*, That we urge the clergy and the press to take a more active interest in the coming peace conference called by the Czar at The Hague, to the end that the commissioners sent by our government may be reinforced by a strong public opinion; and that we urge all lovers of right to use their utmost influence to create a powerful public sentiment in favor of settling all international differences by courts instead of by armed force, by appeal to reason rather than to passion.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Czar, to President McKinley, and to organizations of women throughout the country.

The closing address of the meeting was by Alice Freeman Palmer who urged all individuals to arouse themselves to a sense of their personal responsibility, and to do their duty in their personal spheres. She also urged the training of the children in the schools to right ideas in regard to arbitration and peace, and suggested the offering of prizes in the schools for essays on arbitration and peace.

### The Development of the Peace Ideal.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

The theme allotted me for my ten minutes speech today was the Development of the Peace Ideal. To treat this ever so briefly I must revert to matters in the past which make evident the progress already made in this direction. I might go back to that Latin author, Tacitus, if I mistake not, who tells of an Advocate of Peace who, when once the legions of Rome were drawn up in battle array, confronted the ranks, and endeavored to dissuade the soldiers from the shedding of human blood. The historian avers that this apostle met with a rough response and would have been roughly handled if he had not ceased his untimely exhortation (*nisi intempestivam sapientiam relinquisset*).

I remember in my early youth to have seen at a friend's house in New York a modest elderly man who was pointed out to me as being all that was left of the American Peace Society. Into the history of this Society I did not then inquire. If I had done so, I should have found that Judge William Jay, son of John Jay, had given it the assistance of his name. I was in Boston in 1845 when Charles Sumner delivered his celebrated oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations." This plea for peace principles was at the time regarded as a Quixotic and mal-apropos utterance and although admired by some was derided by many. I, myself, first thought seriously of these matters in the year 1870, when my sympathies turned strongly towards France betrayed by her government into an insensate war, from which she came forth mutilated and humbled. The cruel waste of human life



thus brought on by the ambition of rulers affected me as even our own Civil War had not. Seeking in my mind a counteracting force which might avail to protect society from such wanton acts of devastation, I bethought me of the sacred right vested in the women of civilized communities to keep the bond of Peace and to protect the lives bought by their bitter pain, and fashioned by their endless labor. Impelled by this thought, I made a sudden and considerable effort to arouse my sex all the world over to some sense of their responsibilities in this regard. I endeavored to institute a combined action among the mothers of men to promote in every possible way the just and peaceable settlement of all questions which are likely to arise between nations. Alas! the time for this has not yet come. Organized action among women scarcely existed.

Even so sincere a philanthropist as my husband would quote to me this saying: "Slaughter is God's daughter."

My cry came back to me with but the faintest echo. Nearly thirty years have passed since then, and during that time some of the prophecies foreboding the termination of war have approached fulfillment. One of these was that the methods and implements of warfare would become so deadly that men would no longer encounter them.

Not quite in this wise, but on economic grounds, the burthens of war have ceased to commend themselves either to rulers or to nations. The unproductive legions, eating up the earnings of the community perpetually mustered and drilled in view of a result from which every government shrinks are now felt to be superfluous. They must be maintained at high cost, in the enjoyment of every condition essential to bodily well-being while their wages and cost of keep are wrung from the peasants' wage, the widows' pittance, the merchants' gain. When they are not in active service they bring with them the threat of bankruptcy. When they take the field, all the powers of destruction are let loose, to prey upon commerce, civil government and the sacred immunities of family life.

The shadow moves forward on the dial of history, and now one, foremost among the rulers of the civilized world, cries out that the burthen of armed Peace is becoming intolerable. To the sovereigns, his fellows, he says; "Let us, with one accord, lift it from our shoulders." These brave words, from a crowned autocrat, have astonished the world.

We women who meet here to-day are gathered together to utter our response: "Yes," we answer, "the burthen of these huge armaments is intolerable—we have long felt it to be such." We women do not stand to-day as we did thirty years ago. A new revelation has come to us, the gospel, not of our weakness, but of our strength. We have found each other out. We have learned the power that lies in union, and we feel ourselves able to confront the Angels of Desolation, and to turn them back from their direful work. The more excellent way has appeared to us trodden by martyrs of old, by missionaries of our own time, illuminated by the torch-light of ancient prophecies, glorified by the star-light of Christian hope. In one hand we grasp the roll of Isaiah—in the other, the silver shield of Paul. The one has foretold the days in which nations shall cease to learn the art of warfare and shall convert their weapons into tools of agriculture. The other sets

before us the figure of that most excellent spirit of Charity, and bids us overcome evil with good, and violence with justice.

As the political horizon widens before us, revealing features unknown before, how fortunate is it that human intelligence widens also, and that the agencies which promote the well being of society constantly display new resources and unfold new benefactions.

A great word spoken among men is a great gift from God. Even if, like my feeble cry of thirty years since, it should remain without an answer, I hold the Czar's Peace Manifesto to be one of the foremost gifts of the present century, fit to rank with the feats of Garibaldi and the sacrifice of John Brown.

The greater accord of human intelligence, of which I spoke just now, points the way to an agreement hitherto unknown between the different domains of Christendom. Here, philosophy and religion stand side by side. Kant, the greatest modern philosopher, arrived before his death at the conclusion that universal peace was as possible as it must ever be desirable. And in the various sects which constitute the great world-church the cruel hatred of barbaric times has given place to a recognition of brotherhood which will grow clearer with every coming year.

Ours be it, as women, lovers of peace and guardians of the home, to cherish the sacred flame of goodwill which should consume the thorns that afflict society. The moment of these beautiful enthusiasms passes, but each one is bound to leave its record in the consciousness of mankind. Each one carries our race a step forward in its true progress.

### Let Us Demand the Uttermost.

BY MARY A. LIVERMORE.

The appointed time draws near for the convening of the International Conference, called by Nicholas II. of Russia, to discuss the possibility of placing a check on the increasing armament of nations. The American people have paid little attention to the notable manifesto of the Czar. The danger of our short war with Spain still sounds in our ears, and the suddenly evoked war spirit has hardly died out in our breasts. Moreover, we have never needed a large standing army, or a mighty navy, and know nothing of the burden of maintaining an armed peace, with the enginery of war continually changing, as science, invention and skill evolve that which is more deadly and destructive.

Across the water it has been otherwise. The nations of Europe have waited long and wearily for a lessening of the monstrous militarism prevailing there, which "the people have more and more difficulty in bearing." The heavy war taxes push them to the uttermost verge of poverty, they find it more and more difficult to obtain even poor and insufficient food, are weakened bodily and robbed of education, and are thus stunted physically, morally and mentally. So many men are withdrawn from productive industries to increase the army, that women are forced into employments unsuited to them. They become de-womanized, and sometimes de-humanized, and are ruined for motherhood and home-making.

The Czar's manifesto has been received with profound interest by the people of Europe. Organizations have been formed in Berlin and Munich to awaken public sentiment in its favor, and there is similar activity in other

cities of Germany. Austria is moving systematically in endorsement of the Conference, and the same may be said of Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Everywhere there is an intense desire for the complete success of the "Peace Conference", that the "crushing burdens" of the people may be lifted, and their gloomy prospects brightened.

In England, which we are accustomed to regard as one of the most warlike nations of the world, there is hearty sympathy with the proposed Conference. The movement in its favor has taken on immense magnitude. A paper was started months ago in the interest of the Peace Crusade, which has been circulated to the extent of millions of copies. A friend writes me from Wales, "We have sown England ankle-deep with peace literature." In a single day, one hundred thousand dollars were subscribed toward the advancement of the Peace Crusade. The great heart of the world has throbbed responsively to the Czar's manifesto, and public sentiment is increasing in its favor.

There are not a few who cavil at all this, and scout the idea that the Czar has any sincerity in his proposition. They are hopeless of any good results from this Conference, because they are confident that Nicholas II. has only sinister purposes in issuing his manifesto, and they advise the people of the United States to stand aloof from the proposed Conference at The Hague. They ask us to explain the absorption of Finland by the present Czar, in utter disregard of the solemn guarantees given by his predecessors that the Finns should be protected in their liberties, their religion and the freedom of the press. And they warn us that Nicholas II., who has Russianized Finland, as his predecessors did Poland, will proceed eventually to accomplish the complete extinction of Norway and Sweden in the same way.

The present Czar is not responsible for the Russianizing of Finland, which became a part of the Russian Empire in 1809, by the peace of Frederiksham, and was thus severed from Sweden. The Finns were guaranteed large political liberty by the Czar Alexander. But these have been gradually curtailed by the Russian government, whose business is carried on by a Bureaucracy, in departments, each under the control of a chief, where many things are done of which the Czar is ignorant, and for which he is not responsible. It is very different from a system of government in which the officers have a co-ordinate authority. And the present Czar has only completed a work which was planned and begun long before he ascended the throne, and which he could have stayed only by a wide departure from the system of government prevailing in Russia.

The Czar is also blamed for the compulsory emigration of the Doukhobors, a Russian sect resembling in some particulars the Quakers who are fleeing to Manitoba to escape the persecutions to which they were subjected, because they would not join the Greek church, or perform military service. Four thousand have already arrived in Canada, and some six thousand more are expected—a noble, simple, and highly moral and religious people. In any other country of Europe, except England, the Doukhobors would have been forced into the army, at any cost, and could not have escaped it. And it is to the credit of the Czar that these unmilitary people were allowed to emigrate, and to choose

expatriation rather than service in the Russian army.

There is very little doubt that the Czar is actuated by the highest considerations in calling a Peace Conference, and he is right in his assertion that "international discussion is the most effectual means of insuring all peoples' benefit,—a real and durable peace." Mr. Wm. T. Stead, who has had a personal interview with the Czar, and has written a resumé of the same for the *Review of Reviews*, leaves no room for doubt of the young ruler's honesty. And Mr. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, late United States Ambassador to Russia, assures us that the Czar is perfectly sincere in his peace program.

"But," somebody asks, "what would you do with four million soldiers that know nothing but how to fight?" Softly! We shall not disband them all at once. When we see that one or two millions are to be disbanded, we will begin to think about it. I have been through that scare. In 1865, when a million trained soldiers in this country were mustered out, not only our own papers but the papers of Europe were full of alarm. What was going to become of these soldiers? The country would be full of murder and rapine! And although I had been among soldiers all through the war, I, too, worried a little about it. But we never had any trouble. I think we need not worry about that now.

But suppose the Czar is not sincere? That he is only proposing a reduction of the armaments of the world to gain time for the realization of his own selfish purposes? It does not interfere in the least with our duty in this matter. It does not absolve us from our obligations, as Christian women, to seize upon the opportunity presented to take a decided stand for universal peace. When Daniel O'Connell assumed the leadership of the Irish movement which sought the betterment of impoverished and oppressed Ireland, he was advised "not to ask too much of the English Parliament. Secure a little here, and a little there, and gradually you will gain all." "No!" said O'Connell, "I shall do no such thing. Demand the uttermost, and you will get something!" Let us come to the same decision. We must demand the uttermost! And that is disarmament, universal peace, and the establishment of a permanent international tribunal, which shall be to the nations what the Supreme Court is to the United States.

Do not be afraid to demand so large and grand a thing, for it is as surely coming up the steep of time, as the sun of to-morrow will follow the darkness of to-night. It is reasonable, it is possible, it is the behest of Christianity. Our great captain of the Civil War, General Grant said, "I never knew of a national dispute that might not have been settled without resort to the sword." If the young Autocrat of all the Russias, who rules one hundred and twenty millions of people, among whom are one hundred and twelve different nationalities, many of them of the most primitive type, differing in race, traits, language, customs, and religion,—if he dares take the initiative toward a world's peace, shall any of us hesitate to follow?

"Oh, lay your firm foundations in the skies,  
And then build upward! Who can tell  
How high the glory of the house shall rise?  
Or in what golden chambers ye shall dwell?"

"He that hath friends must show himself friendly."

## Count Tolstoy's Opinion of the Peace Conference.

This letter of Count Tolstoy, translated by Mr. Aylmer Maude, was published in the *Independent* of April 13th, and simultaneously in many other papers in different languages:

"It is said that the easiest and surest way to universal disarmament is by individuals refusing to take part in military service. This is most just. I am even of opinion that this is the only way to escape from the terrible and ever-increasing miseries of wardom (militarism). But that at the conference which is about to assemble at the Czar's invitation the question should be debated whether men who refuse military service may not be employed on public works instead appears to me quite a mistaken idea—in the first place, because the conference itself can be nothing but one of those hypocritical arrangements which aim not at peace, but, on the contrary, at hiding from men the one means of obtaining universal peace, which the foremost men are now beginning to discern.

The conference, it is said, will aim, if not at disarmament, then at checking the increase of armaments. It is supposed that at this conference the representatives of governments will agree to cease increasing their forces. If so, the question involuntarily presents itself: How will the governments of those countries act which at the time of this meeting happen to be weaker than their neighbors? Such governments will hardly agree to remain in that condition—weaker than their neighbors. Or, if they have such firm belief in the validity of the stipulations made by the conference as to agree to remain weaker, why should they not be weaker still? Why spend money on an army at all?

If, again, the business of the conference will be to equalize the fighting forces of the various states, and to keep them stationary, then, even could such an impossible balance be arrived at, the question involuntarily arises: Why need the governments stop at such armaments as now exist? Why not decrease them? Why need Germany, France and Russia have, say, for instance, 1,000,000 men each, and not 500,000; or why not 10,000 each, or why not 1,000 each? If diminution is possible, why not reduce to a minimum? And, finally, why not, instead of armies, have champions—David and Goliath—and settle international questions according to the results of their combats?

It is said that the conflicts between governments are to be decided by arbitration. But, apart from the fact that the disputes will be settled, not by representatives of the people, but by representatives of the governments, and that there is no guarantee that the decisions will be just ones—who is to carry out the decisions of the court? The army? Whose army? That of all the powers. But the strength of those armies is unequal. Who, for instance, on the continent is to carry out a decision which is disadvantageous, say, for Germany, Russia and France allied together? Or who, at sea, will carry out a decision contrary to the interests of England, America and France? The arbitrator's sentence against the military violence of states will be carried out by military violence—that is to say, the thing that has to be checked is to be the instrument by which it is to be checked. To catch a bird, put salt on its tail.

I recollect, during the siege of Sebastopol, sitting one day with the adjutants of Saken, commander of the garrison, when Prince S. S. Ourousoff, a very brave officer, a very eccentric man and one of the best chess players of that day in Europe, entered the reception room. He said he wished to see the general. One of the adjutants took him to the general's cabinet. Ten minutes later Ourousoff passed out again, looking discontented. The adjutant who had accompanied him returned to us and recounted, laughing, on what business Ourousoff had come to Saken. He had proposed to challenge the English to play a game of chess for the possession of the advanced trench of the fifth bastion, which had been lost and regained several times, and had already cost some hundreds of lives.

Undoubtedly it would have been far better to play chess for the trench than to kill people. But Saken did not agree to Ourousoff's proposal, for he knew well that it would be useless to play at chess for the trench unless both sides trusted each other implicitly, and knew that what was agreed upon would be carried out. But the presence of the soldiers before the trench, and the cannon pointed at it, were signs that no such mutual confidence existed. While there were armies on both sides it was clear that the matter would be decided not by chess, but by charges. And the same consideration applies to international questions. For them to be decided by courts of arbitration there must be, among the powers, full mutual confidence that the decisions of the court will be respected. If there is such confidence, no armies will be necessary. But if armies exist, it is obvious that this confidence is lacking, and that international questions can be decided only by the strength of the armies. As long as armies exist they are necessary, not only to acquire fresh territories, as all the states are now doing, in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe, but also in order to maintain by force what has been obtained by force.

Obtaining, or retaining, by force can only be done by conquering. And it is always *les gros bataillons* which conquer. And, therefore, if a government has an army, it should have as large a one as possible. That is its business. If a government does not do that, it is unnecessary. A government may undertake many things in internal affairs; it may emancipate, civilize, enrich a people, build roads and canals, colonize waste lands, or organize public works, but there is one thing it cannot do, viz., the very thing this conference is summoned to do, i. e., reduce its fighting force.

But if, as appeared from the explanations that followed the manifesto, it will be an aim of the conference to prohibit implements of destruction which seem particularly cruel (and why, while they are about it, not try to prohibit the seizure of letters, the falsification of telegrams, the spy system, and all the terrible meannesses which form an integral part of military defence?), such prohibition to use in strife all the means that exist, is just as impracticable as it is to forbid people fighting for their lives to strike the most sensitive parts of the body. And why is a wound, or death, from an explosive bullet worse than a wound from the most ordinary bullet or splinter, inflicted on a very tender part? The suffering in that case also reaches the utmost limit, and is followed by just the same death as results from any other weapon.

It is amazing that sane adults can seriously express such queer ideas. No doubt diplomatists, who devote

their lives to lying, are so accustomed to vice, and live and act in so dense an atmosphere of lies, that they themselves do not see all the absurdity and mendacity of their proposals. But how can honest private people (not such as curry favor with the Czar by extolling his ridiculous proposals)—how is it that they do not see that the result of this conference can be nothing but the strengthening of the deception in which governments keep their subjects, as was the case with Alexander I.'s 'holy alliance'?

The aim of the conference will be, not to establish peace, but to hide from men the sole means of escape from the miseries of war, which lies in the refusal by private individuals of all participation in the murders of war. And, therefore, the conference can on no account accept for discussion the question suggested.

With those who refuse military service on conscientious grounds, governments will always behave as the Russian government behaved with the Doukhobors. At the very time when it was professing to the whole world its peaceful intentions, it was (with every effort to keep the matter secret) torturing and ruining and banishing the most peaceable people in Russia, merely because they were peaceable, not in words only, but in deeds, and therefore refused to be soldiers. All the European governments have met, and still meet, refusals of military service in the same way, though less brutally. That is how the governments of Austria, Germany, France, Sweden, Switzerland and Holland have acted, and are still acting, and they cannot act otherwise.

They cannot act otherwise, because they govern their own subjects by force—i. e., by means of a disciplined army—and can, therefore, on no account leave the reduction of that force (and consequently of their own power) to the casual inclination of private people, especially because nobody likes to kill or to be killed, and, should they tolerate such refusals, the great majority of the people would probably prefer to do other work instead of being soldiers. So that as soon as people were permitted to refuse army service, and do work instead, there would soon be so many laborers that there would not be soldiers enough to make the workers work.

Liberals, entangled in their much talking, Socialists, and other so-called advanced people, may think that their speeches in Parliament and at meetings, their unions, strikes and pamphlets are of great importance, while the refusals of military service by private individuals are unimportant occurrences not worthy of attention. The governments, however, know very well what is important to them and what is not. And the governments readily allow all sorts of Liberal and Radical speeches in Reichstags, as well as workmen's associations and Socialist demonstrations, and they even pretend to sympathize with these things themselves, knowing that they are of great use to them in diverting the people's attention from the great and only means of emancipation. But governments never openly tolerate refusals of military service, or refusals of war taxes, which are the same thing, because they know that such refusals expose the fraud of governments, and strike at the root of their power.

As long as governments continue to rule their people by force, and continue to desire, as now, to obtain new possessions (Philippines, Port Arthur, etc.), and to retain what they already possess (Poland, Alsace, India, Algeria, etc.), so long will they not voluntarily decrease

their armies, but will, on the contrary, continue to increase them.

It was recently reported that an American regiment refused to go to Iloilo. The news was given as something astonishing. But the really astonishing thing is that such things do not occur continually. How could all those Russians, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians and Americans who have fought in recent times set off to kill men of another country at the whim of strangers, whom in most cases they did not respect, and submit themselves to sufferings and death?

It seems plain and natural that all these men should recollect themselves, if not when they are enlisted as soldiers, then at the last moment when they are being led against the enemy, and should stop, fling away their weapons, and call to their opponents to do the same.

It seems so plain and natural that every one should do this, and if they do not do so, it is only because they believe in the governments that assure them that all the burdens the people bear for war are laid upon them for their own good. With amazing effrontery all governments have always declared, and still go on declaring, that all the preparations for war, and even the very wars themselves that they undertake, are necessary to preserve peace. In this sphere of hypocrisy and deception a fresh step is being made now, consisting in this: That the very governments for whose support the armies and the wars are essential pretend that they are concerned to discover means to diminish the armies and to abolish war. The governments wish to persuade the peoples that there is no need for private individuals to trouble about freeing themselves from wars; the governments themselves, at their conferences, will arrange first to reduce and presently quite to abolish armies. But this is untrue.

Armies can be reduced and abolished only in opposition to the will, but never by the will of the governments.

Armies will only be diminished and abolished when people cease to trust governments, and themselves seek salvation from the misery that oppresses them, and seek safety, not by the complicated and delicate combinations of diplomats, but in the simple fulfilment of that law, binding upon every man, inscribed in all religious teachings and present in every heart, not to do to others what you wish them not to do to you—above all, not to slay your neighbors.

Armies will first diminish, and then disappear, only when public opinion brands with contempt those who, whether from fear or for advantage, sell their liberty and enter the ranks of those murderers called soldiers; and when the men now ignored and even blamed—who, in despite of all the persecution and suffering they have borne, have refused to yield the control of their actions into the hands of others, and become the tools of murder—are recognized by public opinion to be the foremost champions and benefactors of mankind. Only then will armies first diminish and then quite disappear, and a new era in the life of mankind will commence. And that time is near.

And that is why I think that the refusals to serve in the army are facts of immense importance, and that they will emancipate mankind from the miseries of war. But the opinion that the conference may conduce toward this is quite an error. The conference can only divert people's eyes from the sole path leading to safety and to liberty.

Yasnaia Poliana, Russia."

### The President's Opportunity.

Edward H. Magill, ex-president of Swarthmore College, Pa., sent the following letter to the *Springfield Republican* under date of April 2:

"I have read with great interest the papers sent me the past few weeks. Your positions are surely tenable and unassailable, but I have continued to hope that your severe strictures, while applicable to the country, would not be found to apply personally to our president, whom I have regarded as a man seeking earnestly the practical way of solving, in the most Christian manner possible, the truly intricate problem which he has had before him. He surely tried to avoid the Spanish war in the beginning, and I had hoped that he would find for us a way to secure autonomy and ultimate self-government to the Philippines. But matters have now gone so far that I fear he has missed his glorious opportunity to place himself as one of our political trinity, and be ranked with Washington, the founder, and Lincoln, the savior, of his country. If his daring and his conscientious convictions were equal to the occasion, I believe he could even yet do this by ordering a prompt cessation of the war and proclaiming, through a peaceful medium, like President Schurman's committee, an early establishment of a government in the Philippines, 'of, by and for' the Filipinos. Such proclamation should be promptly translated into every one of the dialects of these motley peoples; and such action and proclamation would be doubtless followed by a prompt cessation of the shedding of human blood.

But will the president dare to risk this, or is he 'in the hands of his friends', for another term of office?

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Can he not rise to the higher plane of individual duty, and be satisfied, if needs be, with one glorious term, which will make his name immortal, instead of eagerly catching at the shadow of a second, and thus, if success attend his efforts, barter this opportunity to bless his country and immortalize his name, for the sake of occupying before the country the unenviable position of a political time-server for a period of eight years. Would that he would yet listen to the urgent entreaties of his own and the country's best friends, and make this present seeming sacrifice."

### A Cruel Blow at Independence.

"The mockery of the fine talk a while ago about giving to the Filipinos their independence when they are fitted for it appears in strong relief when one considers that the policy of the administration was and is utterly antagonistic to the idea of Philippine autonomy. The one power in the islands capable of establishing and maintaining a native government was that of which Aguinaldo was the head and front. That power should have been nurtured, protected and recognized, if the United States was ever to develop in the islands a native government. To pursue a course sure to bring on an armed collision, and then to hurl upon the native power the whole force of the army and navy of the United States was bound to blight, and perhaps destroy, the tender plant of self-government which it had always been the mission of this republic to cultivate at every legitimate opportunity, among all peoples. A native government to be successful must have local dignity and prestige. Every cruel blow, therefore, which the native government receives from Gen. Otis's army is a blow at the possibility of ever raising up a native government that shall be able to maintain itself. The insurgent army and the brain back of it represented the one virile, masterful force capable of making of the Philippines a self-governing federation. In destroying that army and the idea it cherishes, we commit a terrible crime at the very threshold of the temple of liberty."

—*The Springfield Republican*.

Mental courage, the courage to think straight according to all the facts, is rarer than physical courage, or even than moral courage.

### The Duty of America.

"America, however, does not have to cast her eyes across the sea to point morals upon the curse of militarism. It is a curse which threatens ourselves. The man who does not see it, and is not spurred as an American and a lover of America to new devotion to the rational organization of the world is a fool and blind.

The duty of America to frown upon military policies and the military spirit is peculiar. America, in truth, holds the key to the situation. John Bright pointed this out clearly in a Fourth of July speech twenty years ago. America, not burdened by taxes for the support of great armies and navies, was free to devote all her resources and energies to the development of her industries. This gave her an incalculable advantage over the burdened countries of Europe, an advantage which every one of them was feeling keenly. Let her maintain this advantage in the industrial competition, and they would all soon be forced to disarmament for sheer economy and self-protection."—*New England Magazine*.

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and goodwill towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

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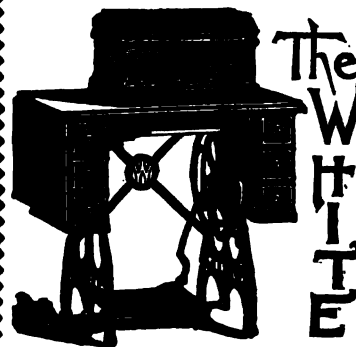
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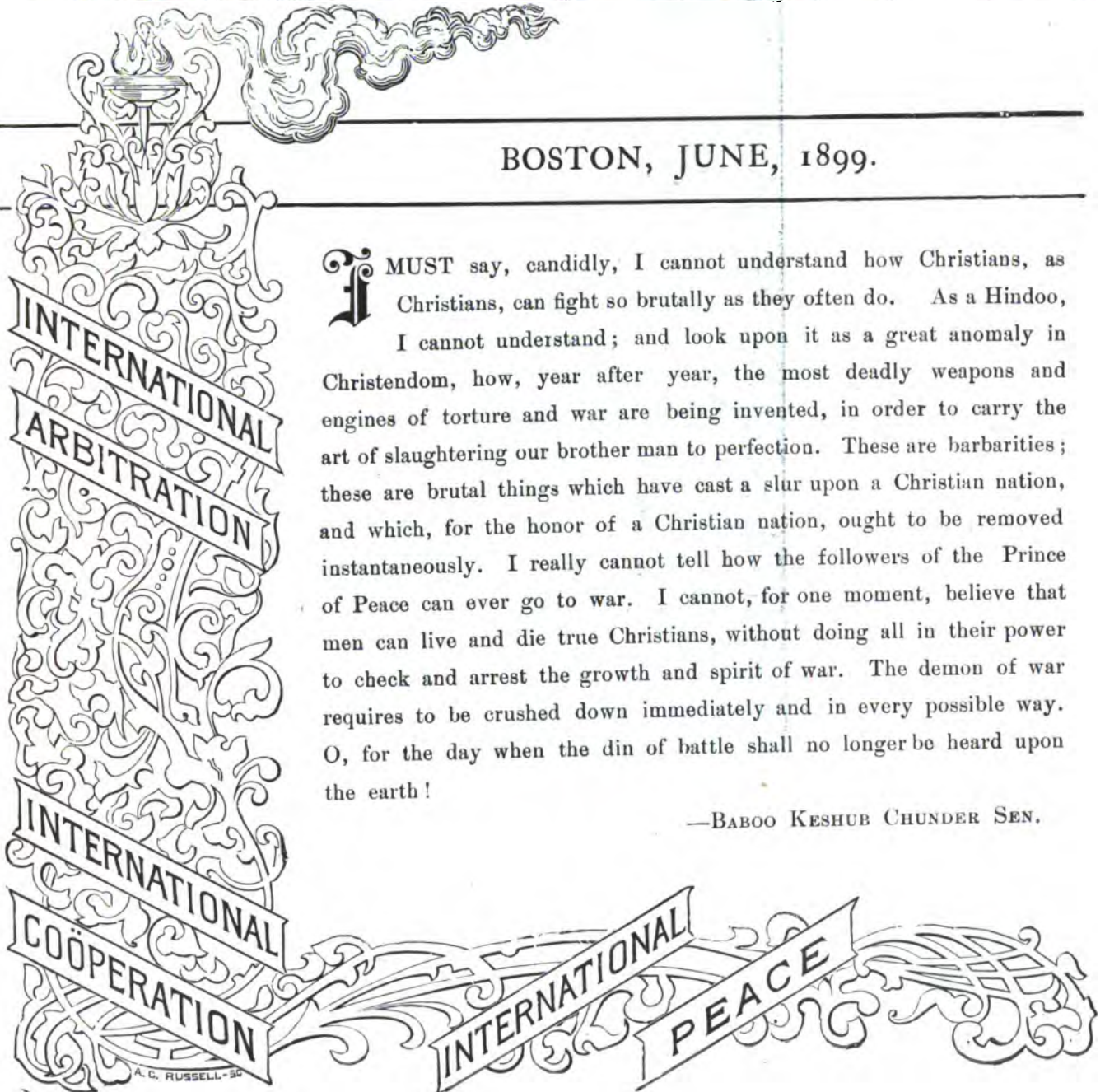
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I MUST say, candidly, I cannot understand how Christians, as Christians, can fight so brutally as they often do. As a Hindoo, I cannot understand; and look upon it as a great anomaly in Christendom, how, year after year, the most deadly weapons and engines of torture and war are being invented, in order to carry the art of slaughtering our brother man to perfection. These are barbarities; these are brutal things which have cast a slur upon a Christian nation, and which, for the honor of a Christian nation, ought to be removed instantaneously. I really cannot tell how the followers of the Prince of Peace can ever go to war. I cannot, for one moment, believe that men can live and die true Christians, without doing all in their power to check and arrest the growth and spirit of war. The demon of war requires to be crushed down immediately and in every possible way. O, for the day when the din of battle shall no longer be heard upon the earth!

—BABOO KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.





**NICHOLAS II. EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.**



# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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## What the Conference at The Hague may be expected to Accomplish.

There are several reasons why important results may be expected from the Conference at The Hague, which will be in session when this number of the *ADVOCATE* is published. The age of the Czar and his position in the political world will cause him to put forth every influence of which he is capable to have the Conference result in as much as possible of what he has proposed. His reputation, both for wisdom and for sincerity, is involved in the outcome; and to a larger extent than many suppose the future internal peace and industrial development of his empire are likewise involved. Russia, therefore, will not only desire and work for the largest results, but she will be ready to make important concessions in order to obtain them.

The seriousness with which for the most part

the governments invited have taken the matter also augurs good results. Almost without exception they have appointed as delegates able men of large experience, many of whom are known to be in thorough sympathy with the purposes for which the Conference has been called. It does not stand to reason that either these men or the governments sending them will be content to have the Conference consume itself in mere idle and wrangling discussions, and end in failure.

Supporting this contention is also to be reckoned the large expression of intelligent public interest in every country which will have delegates at The Hague. This interest has continued unabated since the Rescript was published nine months ago, and in many parts of the civilized world has grown in intensity up to the last moment.

A third and most weighty reason for believing that the Conference will not prove fruitless is the absolute necessity of speedy relief from the vast and growing burdens of European militarism. This is the chief cause of the meeting of the Conference, and it may be expected to work as effectively in bringing good results from the deliberations as it did in calling the Conference into existence. Failure to find means of relief in this direction will be almost equal to the opening of the great war which has been so long talked of. At any rate, failure to make things better will, as John Morley has declared, almost certainly make them much worse.

Those who believe, as we do, that the Spirit of God is in the movement see a still deeper and stronger reason for believing that some really important results will be attained. The mere meeting of the Conference means much, as has been often said. Yes, but the time for more meetings and discussions has about gone by. The Pan-American Conference met and talked and drew a treaty. But nothing came

of it except its moral influence. The Anglo-American treaty was drawn and discussed—and failed. The time has come for something more, as the ratified treaty between Italy and the Argentine Republic indicates. The Conference at The Hague will do something, and that something will be ratified, in part at least, by the governments. What will it be?

First of all, the Conference will draft some system of arbitration, by which it will be agreed that certain classes of disputes shall be referred to an impartial tribunal, or tribunals, for adjustment. The Czar wishes this. Public sentiment in all the countries represented has expressed itself strongly in favor of this. The delegates of the United States and of Great Britain go instructed to urge such an arrangement. The classes of cases which it will be agreed thus to refer will probably not be very numerous nor of the most serious character. But however limited in scope the agreement may be, this will be the first and supreme thing done by the Conference, and the results of it will be vast and far-reaching in the development of better international relations.

Grave doubts have been expressed from many quarters as to the accomplishment of anything by the Conference in the way of disarmament. There are of course immense difficulties to be overcome. But it seems to us that accompanying any arbitration agreement must be something in the way of disarmament. It will be impossible to secure any agreement to maintain the *status quo*. Insurmountable difficulties will be put in the way of this by some of the nations. It seems equally impossible that any limitation can be placed upon the future development and use of more perfect instruments of destruction. Any such agreement would be evaded, just as that with regard to explosive bullets has been nullified by inventions in other directions. There remains therefore as practicable only some form and measure of disarmament. Without this an arbitration agreement would be of little if any value. We shall expect, therefore, as the Czar has laid the greatest emphasis on this point, that an agreement will be drawn by the Conference by which a small and gradual reduction of armaments both on land and sea will be provided for. The percentage will doubtless be inconsiderable and the dates at which

the reduction will take place not very close together, but something will be tried, simply because the situation is such that there is no other way out of it, except the way of destruction and ruin.

Beyond this two or three other things of minor importance will doubtless be done. The Geneva Red Cross Convention will be extended to maritime warfare. This is already tacitly done in international understanding, as in the case of the United States and Spain in the recent war. This will be a gain to civilization, but indirectly rather than directly. It is questionable whether the Red Cross, however much suffering it alleviates, actually lessens, in the long run, loss of life or even suffering. Governments seem disposed more and more to leave the care of the wounded and sick in time of war to Red Cross and private care, and to concentrate their energies upon the fighting. Thus death and suffering are increased on the one hand almost as much as they are diminished on the other. Nevertheless the Red Cross is of immense value in the development of a larger spirit of mercy, and it thus acts powerfully in an indirect way, in enlarging and strengthening the humanitarian feelings which are the chief force in limiting war, and will be also in its ultimate entire abolition.

The Conference will also doubtless do something in a more general way in the revision of international law as it relates to the rules and customs of war. Just how much, it is not easy to forecast. The United States Commissioners carry instructions to urge that private property at sea be hereafter considered inviolable in time of war. This will almost certainly be agreed to. It has long been urged by the Interparliamentary Peace Union, the International Law Association and by many eminent statesmen and publicists.

But whatever may be done in the way of revision of the rules and customs of war or of extension of the Red Cross Convention, the chief work of the Conference will center in an arbitration Convention of some sort, and in a provision for gradual disarmament. Without one or both these, the Conference on whose outcome, millions of the best people in all lands are waiting with large and confident hopes, will be a practical failure. The reasons which will impel the delegates to come to some agreement for disarmament, and their govern-



ments afterwards to ratify what they do, are so overwhelming that it seems to us they will break down all obstacles. No civilized government or its delegates at The Hague will care to take the fearful responsibility of inviting the disasters which will almost inevitably follow, and follow speedily, if the Conference breaks up and leaves events to go on as at the present time. At least we shall not believe this of any of them, until we are compelled to do so.

### Editorial Correspondence.

#### OPENING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

On the steamer *Paris*, on which I sailed from New York on the 10th ult., I found all sorts of opinion and lack of opinion about the Peace Conference. A lawyer, who talked intelligently, even enthusiastically, about cases and corporations, on hearing that I was going to The Hague to be present during the Conference, asked, with pleasing innocence, "What Conference?" When it was described to him, a look in his face indicated a vague remembrance as if from some far-off ancestral time. I did not smile at him, nor ask him if they had polygamy in Utah, whence he came. A prominent member of the United States legation at one of the principal European courts was sure no good would come of the Conference. It would merely give a decent burial to the Czar's proposition. That was the opinion, he said, in European circles.

A gentle little stewardess, who served in the corridor near my stateroom, hearing us talking of The Hague and the Conference, said she had read everything she could find about it, and she thought it the greatest thing she had ever heard of. A member of a New York and Boston publishing house was greatly interested in the Conference and hoped it would be abundantly successful. So did a learned professor from the University of Zurich, who has watched with great interest the development of the European peace movement.

Notwithstanding the opinions held by the various members of the little world on our "good ship" *Paris*, the Conference at The Hague has met. The delegates, about one hundred of them, have been arriving for several days, and are now nearly all here. The delegations are not all of the same size, some governments having appointed as high as ten or eleven. The members of the delegations have been exchanging visits and preparing for "the battle", as a rather sceptical one of them spoke of the work of the Conference. Most of them are seen in citizen's dress, but the German military delegates and some

of the French have made calls in military dress. The English delegates are housed in the best suite of rooms in the Hotel des Indes, the finest hotel in The Hague. Flanking them on one side is Count Münster with his German delegation and on the other the French, the English serving as a kind of buffer between these peaceful enemies. Overlooking and watching them all from the other side of the Voorhout, the principal square, is Ambassador White with his American contingent. They are in the Old Doelen, a quaint but beautiful antique house with its memories of the early seventeenth century. Following in line with the Stars and Stripes I counted this morning the flags of nine other delegations. The Spanish are, curiously enough, in the same quarters with the Americans, while on the other side of the square the Russians are in alliance with the French, and in striking proximity to the English. Other delegations are some in one place, some in another, in hotels or the houses of legation or private homes.

Everything is crowded, and such a mixing up of nations, twenty-six of them, was never seen before. The city, usually quiet and staid, is thoroughly aroused and everybody seems to have caught the peace spirit. The pedlers, the street-car drivers, and the hurdy-gurdy grinders, all put extra force into their horns, bells and instruments-of-all-strings, as if to say, "Peace! Peace!" One has to make his peace here with every language that is spoken or written, and some new ones that seem to have sprung suddenly into existence out of the mixing of the old ones. I tried an hour ago to communicate with a policeman. I plied him first with English, then with French, then German, to all of which he shook his head. I then threw at him what little Dutch I knew, and he seemed only vaguely to comprehend that.

The "House in the Wood", two miles away, where the Conference is being held and to which I have just made a pilgrimage, has had an army, perhaps I ought to say a peace-band, of painters, and upholsterers and cleaners at work fitting it up for the occasion. The reporters are ringing the changes on the appropriateness of this quiet and secluded palace for holding a peace conference. But of course this is all sentiment, if the gentlemen of the press will pardon me; for any other place would have done just as well, though this is one of the loveliest spots in Europe. The Orange Hall, the meeting room of the Conference, is an octagonal chamber with a cupola twenty metres high. It is lighted from above and from the sides. The upholstering of the seats and rows of benches is in dark green baize. There is a table of horse-shoe shape for the president and his bureau, at one side of the hall. A number of side rooms have been set apart for sectional meetings, and a refreshment room, fitted up with thirteen tables—the reporters say that this is an unlucky arrangement.

There are many journalists here, "clouds of them", one paper says, "from Indianapolis to Athens, from Moscow to Milan." There are also many persons from among the peace workers in different countries. The Conference is really an affair of the world, and not of the few official personages who will furnish the talking and planning and conclusions in the Orange Hall. The Baroness von Suttner, whose "Lay Down Your Arms" has impressed every quarter of Europe, is here with the Baron. So is Mr. Bliokh, whose recent work has made all the Continent knit its brow. Mr. Stead, the Peter the Hermit of the Peace Crusade, is on the ground, and I hear of others on the way and to come later. I hope we shall all be able to help some by contributing to the general spirit of the occasion if nothing more. I see no reason yet for changing my opinion that good results are to come from the Conference. The London papers yesterday had a very significant utterance, made the night before by the English Liberal leader, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, in which he deplored that in any quarter the Conference should be ridiculed or belittled in advance.

The opening exercises of the Conference yesterday were very simple and lasted only about twenty minutes. Mr. de Beaufort, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an address of welcome, which I shall give in full in a subsequent number of the *ADVOCATE*. Mr. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, who was made President of the Conference, briefly expressed thanks to the Queen of Holland and her government for the hospitality extended to the delegates, and to the delegates themselves for their presence. On Mr. de Staal's proposition Mr. de Beaufort was made Honorary President. The Vice-Presidency went to Germany. On the proposition of Mr. de Beaufort a telegram was sent to the Emperor of Russia and one to Queen Wilhelmina. After the appointment of the Secretaries the Conference adjourned till Saturday.

The subjects before the Conference will be examined by sectional committees under three heads, (a) arbitration and mediation, (b) disarmament and kindred questions, and (c) Geneva Convention, Rules and Customs of War, etc. The delegates are very reticent about their instructions, and it is not possible now to tell how long the Conference will last.

The Hague, May 19.

B. F. T.

### Editorial Notes.

Temperance  
Women.

On Tuesday, May 9th, the W. C. T. U. was in charge of the noon meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston. At none of the Peace Crusade meetings has the speaking been of a higher or truer

tone. "Forty-five minutes of superb talk" is the language in which it was characterized by Mary A. Livermore, who was to have been the last speaker, but did not speak because of the lateness of the hour. The meeting was presided over by Mrs. Katherine L. Stevenson, who said that the meeting was held, in part, because of orders from W. C. T. U. headquarters to hold peace meetings everywhere. She spoke briefly of the way in which war wrecks men physically and morally through intemperance and other vices. Rev. W. T. McElvern spoke of the attitude which the Christian ministry should, but does not always, take on the subject. But one position can possibly be taken, and if the Christian church is true to itself it will always express its abhorrence of war and pronounce a benediction on every heroic effort for peace. Mrs. J. K. Barney of Rhode Island, who has been all round the world in the interests of the White Ribbon movement, spoke most persuasively of the way in which the women's sisterhood of service, which she illustrated with incidents from her travels, may promote the sisterhood of nations. She felt that much of what has been recently happening cannot bear the test of the searchlight of the century about to open. Dr. Everett D. Burr gave a short but most eloquent and inspiring address on the great Christian law of community of service. Society must be lifted together. One member cannot suffer without all the members suffering with it. This is as true in international affairs as anywhere. There are no longer any foreign lands. The American flag symbolizes the great principle of community of interests and it is a monstrous travesty of its meaning if in the Orient or anywhere else it is made to stand for war and subjugation.

Christian  
Endeavorers.

The Peace Crusade meeting in Tremont Temple, Monday noon, April 24th, was in the hands of the United Society of Christian Endeavor. Dr. Francis E. Clark presided and spoke of the sad effects of war in Cuba, which he had just visited. Mr. Shaw, business manager of the *Christian Endeavor World*, read a number of letters from prominent men in this country and Europe, expressing strong approval of the course taken by the Endeavor Society in entering so heartily and largely into the war against war. The chief speaker of the occasion was Joseph Cook, who had not spoken in Boston since his health gave way some years ago. He spoke with much of his old time vigor, and received a grand welcome when he rose to speak. He spoke of the broadening of suffrage, the progress of liberty, intelligence and Christian principles, of speed of intercommunication, as hastening the abolition of war. Wars are now more limited in time and space. The growing deadliness of military weapons, the cost of war in blood and treasure, call aloud to earth and heaven for its abolition. The very selfishness of trade may bring

about a consecration of commerce. The fact that the sky is now the roof of but one family emphasizes the supreme demands of Christianity. The desirability of avoiding war is now conceded except by heated barbarism in politics and cormorant carelessness in commerce. Mr. Cook spoke of the cases settled by arbitration, of the desirability of a permanent international tribunal, and of what David Dudley Field called a league of nations. Even if a peace league were established only within the far-spread dominions of the Anglo-Saxon family, it might settle many of the disturbing questions of the world. Mr. Cook thought the Czar's conduct toward Finland not in harmony with his call for a disarmament Conference, but the Conference ought to be made a trumpet calling the whole earth to peace. Others who spoke briefly were Mary Clement Leavitt, Rev. A. A. Berle, and Dr. Edward Everett Hale.

**National W. C. T. U.** The Peace Department of the National W. C. T. U. considers the Conference at The Hague as "the beginning of the end of wars." The following resolution was passed by the Union at its last annual convention: "We are in favor of a permanent system of arbitration for all civilized nations, and hail with enthusiasm the valorous declaration of Nicholas II., Czar of Russia, against the ruinous armaments of the world, and in favor of an international peace conference." Since then, the *Union Signal* says, the officers of the sixty state and territorial unions have signed similar papers in the name of their several constituencies, expressing satisfaction at the coming together of the representatives of the Powers to consider this important subject, and they most earnestly pray that "effectual means may be found whereby universal peace may be brought about and thereafter maintained throughout the world." These are accompanied by a document signed by the general officers and the National Superintendent of the Department of Peace and Arbitration, of which the closing paragraph reads: "We pray that you may not close your Conference until you have come to some conclusions which will result in hastening the time when the unreasonable methods of cruel warfare shall give place to reasonable arbitration in settling national and international disputes." The State Superintendents of peace and arbitration and the general officers of the W. C. T. U. have been holding meetings in their several communities to promote public interest in the Conference at The Hague. For these the National Superintendent provided a suggestive program.

**Court of the Small Powers.** Early this year Mr. Frederic Passy, the distinguished French Peace Advocate, addressed a letter to the young Queen of Holland, urging her to take the initiative in trying to induce

a number of the secondary powers to institute by treaty among themselves a permanent court of arbitration for the settlement of such differences as may arise between them in the future. The Dutch ambassador at Paris has informed Mr. Passy of the great interest with which Queen Wilhelmina has read his letter. Mr. Passy has also received a number of private letters from Holland indicating the great impression which his letter, published in the newspapers, has produced. The hope is expressed by prominent men in Holland that some way be found of carrying out the suggestion. The small powers, if such a step should be taken, may thus lead the way in the accomplishment of what the great powers ought to lead in, but which they have so far failed to do, because of their ambitions and mutual fears. There is one difficulty in the way of anything being accomplished in this direction, and that is the manner in which the secondary powers are overshadowed in international affairs by the great powers. This renders them slow to take any important step of this kind. No action, certainly will be taken in this sense until after the Conference at The Hague. If the results of The Hague deliberations shall be such as many are hoping, in the matter of a general system of arbitration, there will then be no need of separate action by the governments of the smaller states. Otherwise, the way will be open for the government of Holland to proceed in accordance with Mr. Passy's suggestion. Now that Italy and the Argentine Republic have an established treaty for the adjustment of their difficulties by a court of arbitration, there is no reason why Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark and other secondary states may not take with every hope of success, the initiative in creating an arbitration tribunal of a still wider international character. By inaugurating a movement to this end, the young Queen of Holland may as justly lay all mankind under obligation to her as the Emperor of the great domain of Russia has done.

**The Samoan Trouble.** The troubles of the past few months in Samoa, and the strained relations between the United States, Great Britain and Germany which they have threatened, recall what Secretary Gresham said in 1894 in regard to the tripartite Berlin convention as to the protectorate or rather government of Samoa:

"In our relations to Samoa we have made the first departure from our traditional and well-established policy of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign Powers in relation to objects remote from this hemisphere. Like all other human transactions, the wisdom of that departure must be tested by its fruits. . . . Every nation, and especially every strong nation, must sometimes be conscious of an impulse to rush into difficulties that do not concern it except in a highly imaginative way. . . . But our first adventure in that direction afforded most signal and convincing proof that the only

safeguard against all the evils of interference in affairs that do not specially concern us is to abstain from such interference altogether. . . . The general act of Berlin has utterly failed to correct, if indeed it has not aggravated, the very evils which it was designed to prevent."

The bad fruits of the entanglement in Samoa have more than justified Mr. Gresham's advice. We ought to have kept out of it in the first instance. We ought to get out of it now. A simple protectorate of the three powers, the "hands off" policy, the natives being left to their own government, might work. But a British—American—German—Samoan—Consul-General—Chief-Justice—War-ship government,—nothing could be much more incongruous. War between the three great nations involved may be avoided this time, and the Commission just sent out may arrive at some temporary adjustment, but if the present mode of government is continued it means trouble in the future. The Samoan and Philippine first fruits of our entrance upon the career of a so-called world-power bodes anything but peace either to ourselves or others. It is a policy of blood, as it has been with every European power from the beginning.

The Ludicrous-  
ness of it.

Ernest Howard Crosby, in *The Coming Age*, in an article urging that the opportunity offered by the Czar's Conference be made the most of, writes thus:

"I am inclined to think that the most effective way to approach the subject is on its ludicrous side. It is really a matter for opera bouffe, this business of armaments. If only Gilbert and Sullivan had depicted a neighborhood organized on the same principle! Fancy all the householders of a village day after day bringing into their homes new catapults and blunderbusses, watching each other from the windows, each one trying to scrape money together to buy two weapons when his neighbor buys one, practicing at shooting at the mark with their families in the back-yard, going barefooted and hungry so as to pay the gun-smith's bill, treating each other with the most punctilious politeness meanwhile, and in twenty long years never so much as shaking a fist at each other, and yet making greater preparations for a row than ever! Even in Kentucky such a comic opera would bring down the house. Now, imagine in such a community that one of these starving householders suggests a conference to spare himself the necessity of spending the best part of his income next year on bludgeons and battering-rams. The meeting is convened under safe conducts in a room bristling with bayonets and smelling of powder. Is it really possible that these honest gentlemen could look each other in the eye with a straight face? I doubt it, and if the diplomats and courtiers of Europe,—and alas, the statesmen and politicians of America as well,—were not steeped in an atmosphere of the most ridiculous make-believe, they too would find it easy to bring the whole absurd system to an end in a hearty fit of laughter. Oh, for a little of that sense of humor which we think we have, and which we so sorely need!"

## Brevities.

. . . Mr. Thomas Willing Balch of Philadelphia we are glad to see has just published a new edition of the little book entitled "International Courts of Arbitration", first published by his father Thomas Balch in 1874. The book which was noticed in these columns some time ago, gives an interesting account of the movement of opinion which led to the Alabama arbitrations. The publishers are Henry T. Coates and Co., Philadelphia.

. . . Dr. Frederic R. Marvin of Albany sends us a copy of a little book of his entitled "Christ Among the Cattle", published by J. O. Wright and Co., New York. It states the argument for the immortality of animals in as strong a light as is probably possible. It cites the opinions of a number of eminent men—Agassiz and Whittier among them—who have believed in the immortality of animals. It is a beautiful book, in make-up, in thought and in spirit.

. . . Rabbi Hirsch of Chicago says that "triumphant democracy cannot wear the helmet of the war-god. Aggression cannot be its temper. It must be a prince of peace. Militarism shall have no apologists and prophets among a free people. The plough, and not the sword, is the emblem of the people's consecration to the ideals of liberty.

. . . Ex-President Harrison is to be the leading counsel of Venezuela before the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal which is to meet in Paris this summer for the settlement of the Venezuela boundary question. Otherwise it is said that he would have been the chairman of the delegation to the Czar's Conference at The Hague.

. . . "Take a hundred ruffians out of any Anglo-Saxon city, wash, dress, feed and arm them, and they will storm batteries, capture cities at the point of the bayonet, and die in heaps for their party; yet they are but ruffians."—*Ian Maclaren*.

. . . William T. Stead has published under the title, "The United States of Europe", his observations during his tour of Europe made last autumn in the interest of the Czar's Conference.

. . . In the March number of *Education* President Ethelbert D. Warfield, of Lafayette College, Pa., discussed the subject of "International Sympathy" in a short but strong and lucid paper.

. . . Out of the 180 members of the Danish Parliament 111 are members of the Inter-parliamentary Peace Union. An address to the Danish government in support of the Czar's rescript has been signed by nearly 300,000 out of the 2,000,000 of inhabitants.

. . . The annual meeting of the French International Arbitration Society was held on the 21st of March. The chief feature of the meeting was a brilliant address by Dr. Charles Richet of the Sorbonne in reply to recent strictures made by Mr. Ferdinand Brunetiere.

. . . The report that the circulation of Mr. Stead's Peace Crusade paper, *War Against War*, was forbidden in Russia proves to be without foundation. The Baroness von Suttner's great romance, "Lay Down Your Arms", also circulates without opposition in the Czar's dominions.

. . . The French Committee having charge of the arrangements for the Peace Congress to be held at Paris in 1900 announce that the Congress will be held in the month of September, on the Exposition grounds, in the *Palais des Congres*, or building set apart for Congresses.

. . . The Swedish parliament has voted 2,388,000 crowns for the purchase of rifles, and 2,200,000 for the improvement of the Swedish fortifications. Thus does militarism continue to devour both small and great.

. . . Signor Marconi, the inventor of the system of wireless telegraphy has succeeded in transmitting messages across the English Channel a distance of thirty-two miles. The first message transmitted was sent by the Morse code and was published in the *London Times*.

. . . Of the total appropriations, \$1,566,890,016, made in two years by the last Congress, \$482,562,083 were on account of the war with Spain. When all counted it will be \$500,000,000.

### Manifesto of the Czar.

JOHN COLLINS.

The hour has struck—its echoes wake the nations,  
Drifting unconscious on a stormy sea,  
While, far and near, its solemn, deep vibrations  
Appeal for peace through centuries yet to be.

From frozen climes where winter reigns forever,  
From southern seas by icy winds unknown,  
Rings out the cry, "Shall aught our friendship sever,  
Parting the peoples of each distant zone?"

"Shall war with all its horrors devastating  
And influence malign, its power extend  
From year to year, in reckless fury wasting  
Millions of men and treasure without end?"

"Forbid it, heaven!" comes up in chorus swelling,  
From fur-clad Russ and Cossack of the Don,  
From Scandinavian and Italian dwelling,  
Or lands the burning tropic sun shines on.

From fields once drenched with blood of foes contending,  
From cities ravaged by the tide of war,  
A thrilling protest now the past is sending,  
Imploring men that it be known no more.

Nor these alone—a cry of bitter anguish  
Or hopeless grief on every breeze is borne,  
From homes, where thousands now are doomed to languish  
And loss of friends and nearest kindred mourn.

On Britain's shores, from many a heart ascending,  
Prayers rise in concert to a Power on high,  
That diverse nations, all their interests blending,  
May know a common brotherhood and tie.

Columbia, too, declares her friendly greeting,  
With voice responsive to the Czar's appeal,  
In worn humanity's best cause, entreating  
Peace, for the sake of every commonweal.

Ah! may we learn from all the desolation  
Of former empires crumbled into dust,  
Naught can avail to elevate a nation  
Placing on brutal force alone its trust.

Let not the myriad mingled voices crying  
For justice, love and mercy, be unheard,  
But, round the earth fraternal words be flying,  
That monarchs may to better life be stirred.

Up then! all patriots of whatever station,  
Denounce the spirit and the aims of war,  
Till swords are sheathed and final arbitration  
Shall end its woes and confidence restore.

So shall mankind be blest throughout the ages  
That yet may dawn upon a guilty world,  
And History show no more its blood-stained pages  
When flags of Peace are everywhere unfurled.  
Philadelphia, May, 1899.

### Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society.

The seventy-first Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society met in room A., Tremont Temple at 2.15 P. M., May 8th. President Paine presided. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Charles G. Ames. L. H. Pillsbury was appointed Secretary of the meeting. The records of the previous meeting were read and approved. Secretary Trueblood reported that all the persons chosen at the last annual meeting as officers had accepted their appointment.

A number of letters were presented by the Secretary from members of the Society expressing their regrets at not being able to be present, and their continued interest in the work.

On motion, the chairman appointed Wm. E. Sheldon, Dr. S. F. Hershey, and Rev. Wm. S. Heywood, a committee to bring forward names of persons to serve as officers of the Society for the coming year.

The Treasurer's annual report was then read. It showed that \$5610.51 had been received during the year and \$5250.17 paid out, leaving a balance on hand of \$360.34.

The assets and liabilities account showed a balance of \$1560.00 due the Permanent Peace Fund, against which the Society has ten shares of railroad stock estimated at \$1400.00, and the \$360.34 in the hands of the Treasurer.

The Auditor reported that he had examined the accounts of the Treasurer and office account of the Secretary, and found them correctly kept and vouchers for all money paid out.

Secretary Trueblood presented for information the annual statement of the Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund showing the income received from the fund. He stated that the income had materially diminished, owing to decay of buildings, and that the Society is dependent for the time being on the generosity of its friends for funds with which to carry on its work.

The Committee to nominate officers reported the list of

persons which on ballot were declared elected to the various positions.

On motion, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, Ind., Mrs. Ruth H. Spray of Salida, Col., and Mrs. Geo. W. Bingham of Derry, N. H., were also chosen vice-presidents.

The annual report of the Board of Directors was then read by Secretary Trueblood.

Discussion followed which was participated in by Dr. S. F. Hershey, Dr. C. G. Ames, W. E. Sheldon, Rev. A. E. Winship, Rev. Wm. S. Heywood, President Paine, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, N. T. Allen, L. H. Pillsbury and Secretary Trueblood.

The report was then approved and ordered to be published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

The Society then adjourned at 8.50 P. M.

## Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society.

*Mr. President and Members of the American Peace Society:*

The Seventy-first Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society is herewith respectfully submitted.

### MEETINGS AND ACTION OF THE BOARD.

Since our appointment last year we have endeavored to represent and promote the cause for which the Society has so long labored, as well as we could with the resources at our command and under the peculiar difficulties and anxieties which the year has brought with it. We have held regular meetings every two months, except during the summer vacation, and in addition to the more general work of helping to educate the public in the principles of arbitration and peace we have had under careful consideration the important questions arising in connection with the war with Spain, the outbreak of hostilities in the Philippines, the Peace Manifesto of the Czar of Russia, etc. In connection with each of these we have taken such action as was demanded by our principles and as seemed expedient at the time.

### PERIODICALS.

The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and the *ANGEL OF PEACE* have both been continued under the editorial care of the Secretary. The interest in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been greater than at any other time in recent years. The course which it has taken in reference to the momentous questions which have agitated the country, has not, to our knowledge, alienated anyone, but has won many to active coöperation with us. The paper has been sent regularly, as heretofore for years, to the reading rooms of colleges, universities, theological schools, to many Y. M. C. A.'s, to public libraries, to ministers, teachers and other leaders of opinion, as our funds have permitted. The Miles White Beneficial Society of Baltimore, the Obadiah Brown Benevolent Fund of Providence, the Rhode Island Peace Society, the Peace Committee of the New England Friends Yearly Meeting, and a number of individuals in different states have made special contributions for its circulation.

No part of our work is more important than the education of the young to right methods of thinking on the subject of peace and the methods by which it may be maintained. The events of the past year show how painfully far public sentiment yet is from being what it ought to be on this subject. The war spirit still lives and is, we fear, behind much of what is given a nobler name. The campaign of education must be, if not undertaken anew, at least carried forward with greatly increased energy and devotion. All the members and friends of the Society in all parts of the land can do much by aiding in the circulation of our journal, and in other ways which lie open to them before their own doors.

### GENERAL LITERATURE.

Many thousands of copies of the various pamphlets, leaflets and reports which we keep in stock, for sale and free distribution, have been sent out during the year. One constantly encouraging feature of this work is the numerous calls for literature coming from the college and university young men and women who are studying and debating the subjects of arbitration, disarmament and universal peace. This has been more than ordinarily the case the past year, the calls coming also from High Schools, church debating societies and working-boys' clubs. The women's clubs are becoming awakened to interest in the subject of international peace. We have assisted in supplying a number of these with literature.

We have tried to keep on hand a good supply of the best peace literature, both old and new, as far as our limited funds have permitted. As this department of our work is by no means self-supporting, we are dependent on the generosity of the friends of the cause for its maintenance.

### PUBLIC WORK.

The president and members of the board have during the year, in addition to their official action as a body, sought as individuals to promote in various ways the principles for which the Society stands. Other members of the Society also, in other parts of the nation, have done timely and effective service, especially in efforts to prevent the train of evils following in the wake of the Spanish war. The press has been used, public addresses given and various private efforts put forth to awaken interest in the cause of peace and goodwill, and to win for it new supporters. The Secretary, in addition to his editorial and office duties, which demand much time, has given a number of public addresses, particularly upon the significance of the Peace Rescript of the Czar of Russia, and the dangers of the growing spirit of militarism and of national vainglory in many of the people of our beloved country. The efforts of the Secretary, of members of the Board, and of other members of the Society, some of whom in different States it would afford us peculiar pleasure to name, have resulted in considerably increasing the list of subscribers to our journal and in the addition of more than fifty new and valuable members to the Society.

### THE CZAR'S PEACE MANIFESTO.

At our meeting in September, soon after the publication of the now famous Rescript of the Czar of Russia, we took action expressing strong approval of his proposals, our profound gratitude at the step taken, and our desire that the most signal success might crown the effort.



A message of this import was forwarded to Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington, for transmission to the Emperor. At the same time a message was sent to President McKinley declaring our appreciation of the action taken by him in notifying the Czar that our government cordially sympathized with his purpose and would send delegates to the proposed Conference, if held. We also respectfully suggested to the President that it would, in our judgment, be appropriate and every way desirable for the Conference to take up the subject of a general system of international arbitration, and asked that the United States delegates might be instructed to bring the subject before the Conference. The President replied that the subject should have careful consideration. In the Czar's second Circular, published in January, this is mentioned as one of the points to be discussed, and it is understood that the Commissioners appointed by our government go to The Hague instructed to make a special effort in this direction.

#### END OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The war with Spain, which had broken out at the time of our annual meeting last year, came to an end on the 12th of August by the signing of the peace protocol providing for a cessation of hostilities and the appointment of a joint Commission to decide upon the terms of peace. In common with all friends of humanity we rejoiced that the conflict, which had seemed to us so unnecessary, had so speedily come to an end. Our Secretary at once sent a message to the President expressive of the feeling of the members of the Society and of the hope that the problems left by the war might be settled in a generous Christian spirit which would be conducive of good feeling and peace in the future.

#### THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The treaty of peace with Spain was signed at Paris on the 10th of December, 1898. As soon as its contents became known, the gravest doubts were awakened in many minds as to the policy adopted in it by the Administration in dealing with some of the territories wrested from Spain, particularly the Philippine islands. This policy seemed a serious infraction of the most cherished American political principles, as well as of justice and humanity. In these doubts our Board nearly unanimously shared. While the treaty was under consideration in the Senate, the subject was taken up by us, and, after earnest discussion at two meetings, resolutions were unanimously passed declaring that there is no such thing as a right of conquest, that the sovereignty of the United States ought not to be extended over any people without their free consent, that the proposed policy was fraught with danger of serious international entanglements, of war and of the fastening upon the nation of a great navy and army, that for these and other reasons the Philippine islands ought not to be annexed to the United States, but allowed to set up a government for themselves with such assistance as might be necessary. Time has only deepened the conviction that if a truly fraternal, unambitious policy had been followed, the nation might have fulfilled every international obligation growing out of the new situation, all its duties to the Filipinos themselves, and at the same time have avoided a peculiarly deplorable war.

#### THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Since the 5th of February, the day before the ratifica-

tion of the peace treaty, the nation, in trying to establish its war-bought sovereignty over a far-away group of peoples, hitherto in nowise connected with its jurisdiction, finds itself in the anomalous position of bombarding the coast towns, laying waste the property, burning the villages and shooting to death thousands of the inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants, in the name of liberty, humanity and peace, for no other crime than refusing to submit, without any choice or expression of opinion, to the authority of a remote, to them alien, state, which at least all the leaders of the islands had supposed was helping them to attain their long-coveted independence. Shall the friends of peace, at such a moment as this, have no voice of protest in the name of truth and of righteousness?

#### THE GROWTH OF MILITARISM.

War breeds war and the spirit of war. One of the most deplorable things in connection with the war with Spain and its resultant, the war in the Philippines, has been the increased force given to the spirit of militarism. Both at home and abroad the army and navy estimates have felt the impulse. The swift victories of the American navy, flashed by the wires throughout the world, have stirred into intenser life the old passion for exploits and glory. All the great nations of Europe are adding to their fleets or armies, or both, with a feverishness not felt in recent years. Whatever other influences may have operated—and they are many—the chief cause of this fresh emulation has been the sudden emergence of the United States, contrary to all her best traditions and most cherished policies, as a war-power. Temporarily,—let us at least hope it may be nothing more—has she become a powerful agency in maintaining alive and developing the very evil which from her birth she has most dreaded. Granting, if you please, all the good that may be claimed to have come out of the war with Spain in wresting from her oppression her West India colonies, the events which we are passing through, the militarism which, like a plague of locusts, is invading the national life, have shown anew that war cannot be employed as an instrument for any cause without leaving behind it the deterioration which is its inevitable fruit. It becomes increasingly clear each year that this ancient barbarism has no proper place in our modern society. The nation cannot turn to it without paying the severest penalty. The good which is sometimes thought to be unattainable without it, ought to be, and might be, even in the extremest cases, secured by other means, if governments only had the wisdom and the courage to try them.

#### THE UNREST OF THE NATIONS.

The year has been peculiarly marked by unrest on the part of many nations. Ambition has abounded, international sensitiveness has been great, diplomatic daring and rusing have been common. Several parts of the world have been in imminent danger of war. The Anglo-Egyptian campaign for the reconquest of the Soudan, the bloody horrors of which have brought the blush of shame to multitudes of English-speaking people, accompanied by the aggressiveness of the French in Africa, at one time brought France and England to hasty war preparations and dangerously near to hostilities. Russia and England in the East have glared into each other's eyes over their prey, and have pushed each other as far as they dared to

do, without taking the fearful risks of going to war. Germany, France and Italy, as well as Russia and England, have all found, or made opportunities to push, by hook or crook, their colonial ambitions in the East, regardless of the rights of China and of the demands of conscience upon professedly civilized peoples. They have, in spite of present makeshifts of agreement, laid the foundations of future contention and strife in those regions, the results of which are not encouraging to think of. Austria and Russia still frown at each other over the Balkan provinces. South Africa is still the scene of trouble, through race and national differences, through ambition and greed. The war which has been devastating Samoa seems to have been as much the result of the selfishness and unreason of the "civilized" consuls and justices sent out to assist the islanders in their government as of the barbarians themselves. South and Central America have had within the year, if not their usual crop of insurrections and civil wars, enough at any rate to show that there is still a great transformation to be wrought in the countries south of us, as well as elsewhere, before the reign of universal peace sets in. It must in fairness, however, be confessed that these Latin American states have not in recent months been the chief sinners, and that they may well have the privilege of throwing stones at their former maligners.

#### THE ENCOURAGEMENTS OF THE YEAR.

Turning to the other side of events, we find much to give encouragement. The forces that make for peace have been active, vigilant and courageous as never before on so great a scale. If the old spirit has abounded, the new has even more abounded, often where least expected. The past year, for more than one reason, will always hereafter be justly reckoned famous as the turning point in the history of the peace movement. The problem of the abolition of war has finally taken its place in the sphere of practical politics, from which it can never again be withdrawn until war is no more.

#### ARBITRATION TREATY BETWEEN ITALY AND THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

On the 23rd of July last the first general treaty of arbitration ever established went into effect. The treaty was negotiated by the governments of Italy and the Argentine Republic and ratified at Rome on the above date. It will be seen from the text of the document, which was published in full in the February (1899) *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, that the treaty is even a better one than that drawn by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, the failure of the Senate to ratify which was so sore a disappointment in both this country and Great Britain. Italy and Argentina thus have the honor to lead the procession in the march toward the greater conquests of peace hereafter. The treaty has made no great stir in the world, the noise and confusion of war having drawn attention elsewhere, but it is justly to be reckoned among the foremost events of the year in real and lasting importance.

#### CASES OF ARBITRATION.

A number of cases of disputes have been under consideration by arbitral tribunals or commissions during the year. Of those pending a year ago, the Bering Sea case, the dispute between Great Britain and Belgium, and that between Japan and Hawaii have been finished, the latter

by the absorption of Hawaii into the United States. Cases still under consideration are the Venezuela boundary dispute, the Delagoa Bay railway case, the Franco-Brazilian boundary dispute, the Denhardt claims case between Great Britain and Germany, the railway case between Great Britain and Colombia, the boundary dispute between Hayti and San Domingo, similar ones between Bolivia and Peru, and between Bolivia and Costa Rica, the Toga Hinterland dispute between France and Germany, the boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina, and a similar one between Great Britain and Brazil. The two latter are new cases. In addition to these, a joint commission, composed of most eminent jurists and statesmen, has had under consideration all the outstanding differences between the United States and Canada. After many months of laborious service, the commission has adjourned without being able to reach an agreement on some of the more important differences, but there is reason to believe that ways will yet be found by which all the matters under discussion may be adjusted. The serious trouble between France and England over the Fashoda affair, which at one time led to hurried war preparations on the part of both nations, has been, we are happy to say, by an addition to the Niger Convention, adjusted in such a way as not only to remove danger for the present, but also to lessen friction in the future. The commission appointed by the two governments will, it is hoped, in the near future be able satisfactorily to arrange all the serious differences between the two nations.

These cases, not only by their number, but also by their importance, show that steady and not very slow progress is being made in the application of the principles of justice and forbearance in the relations of nations to each other.

#### ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION.

The subject of an Anglo-American treaty of arbitration has not been lost sight of, though no further official steps have been taken towards its consummation. Many leading men and organizations in both countries have from time to time during the year urged that the time is most favorable and that such a treaty be not longer delayed. President Paine made a special visit to Secretary Hay to urge the re-opening of negotiations. But in spite of the fact that there has been so much talk of better feeling between the two nations, no step has been taken by the governments, so far as we know, to revive the subject. Nor is any likely to be taken until it is seen what the result of the Conference at The Hague is likely to be.

The talk of an offensive and defensive Anglo-American alliance, growing out of the political events of the year, has nearly died away, and we hope and expect that it will not be revived. An Anglo-American permanent peace convention, which would attract and inspire other nations, is in every way desirable and imperative; but an alliance of force, against the world, would be repulsive, and unworthy of any nations inspired by Christian ideals and speaking the English or any other tongue.

#### THE WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

The peace societies, which have steadily increased, even the past year, until there are now more than four hundred of them, have carried on a vigorous propaganda during the year. The unfortunate wars and threats of war which have occurred, instead of discouraging them and rendering them faithless to their principles, have only stimu-

lated them to more heroic efforts for the attainment of their purposes. In season and out of season they have pressed the claims of their principles and lifted their protest against the violation of justice, humanity and brotherhood committed by war and the monstrous, ever-growing preparations for war. The unexpected support brought to their cause by the Peace Rescript of the Czar of Russia has given the whole movement a vast increase of strength and of confidence, and a new standing before the world. To the peace societies in Europe especially, which have struggled most heroically against both neglect and contempt, has the Czar's Irenicon been like a pentacostal inspiration from heaven. Henceforth the societies, having now for three quarters of a century uttered their prophetic voice in the midst of a gainsaying world, though there will yet be difficulties and delays, have a right to believe that their cause is on the eve of victory. The times are ripening fast, and universal peace is no longer a dim and distant vision.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU.

The International Peace Bureau, whose seat is at Berne, Switzerland, has continued to render most efficient service, through the *Correspondence-Bi-mensuelle*, in keeping the societies informed of one another's work, and in bringing their united influence quickly to bear in times of excitement and threat of war. The Bureau is gradually collecting and classifying all the literature of the peace movement, and already has a library of very great value.

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BUREAU AT TURIN.

Because of the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, and for other reasons, both the annual Peace Congress and the Interparliamentary Peace Conference which were to have been held last autumn at Lisbon, were given up. A special effort was therefore made to render the annual meeting of the Society of the Peace Bureau of as much importance as possible. It was held at Turin, Italy, one of the cities which had bid strongly for the annual meeting of the Peace Congress, and the occasion was the more noteworthy as it was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Count Sclopis, the President of the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal. Many of the leading peace workers of Europe were present, and the meetings held in connection with the annual meeting of the Bureau were most enthusiastic and useful, the interest being greatly heightened by the then recent issuance of the Czar's manifesto, which naturally became the chief subject of discussion.

#### THE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

As an agency for promoting international arbitration, and through that the ultimate peace of the world, the Mohonk Conference, created and sustained by Mr. Albert K. Smiley, is unsurpassed in its usefulness. The fourth annual meeting was held the first week in June last, soon after the breaking out of the Spanish war. The Conference, at Mr. Smiley's wish, excluded the war from its discussions. Notwithstanding the limitations thus imposed, the discussions were full of life and power, and the Conference, which was attended by about one hundred and twenty-five persons, proved to be one of the most successful in the series.

Our Secretary attended the Conference, took part in the discussions and served as a member of the Business Committee. Other members of our Society also participated in the deliberations. Ten thousand copies of the steno-

graphic report, edited by our Secretary, were printed and have been widely circulated. The Conference was presided over, with great ability, by Col. George E. Waring, Jr., whose recent untimely death was not the least of the misfortunes to the country growing out of the war with Spain.

#### PEACE SUNDAY.

The Sunday before Christmas was again observed as Peace Sunday. The observance of the day in England was more general than ever before, owing to the special efforts put forth in its behalf by the London Peace Society. More continental churches also kept it than in any previous year since its institution in 1890. In this country, while the day was regarded by a few pulpits, as in other years, there has never been anything like the recognition of it, or of the cause which it represents, that the supreme importance of the subject demands. In last December there was less than usual, for reasons which it is painful to have to recall. The Christian pulpit is always remiss in its duty when it fails to make prominent the great principles of peace taught and lived by Jesus Christ. It is something more than remiss when it turns to the advocacy of principles and policies which lead directly to war.

#### THE PEACE CRUSADE.

In the line of peace work, the most remarkable phenomenon of the year, next to the Manifesto which called it out, has been the Peace Crusade. Originating in England, where, supported by prominent men of all classes, creeds and parties, it developed into a popular demonstration of proportions hitherto almost unknown, it spread to many parts of continental Europe. It has considerably stirred our own country in spite of the preoccupation of the public mind by the events growing out of the Spanish war. The events of the Crusade, with its numberless meetings, its great sheet, *War against War*, and its lesser sheets in other parts, are so recent as to need no comment. Coming at a time when it has had to encounter strong waves of war excitement and peculiar obstacles from national vanity and international friction, it has afforded unmistakable proof of the rapidly growing and deepening interest of the civilized world in universal and perpetual peace and the means by which it may be attained.

#### THE COMING CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

As the Peace Manifesto of the Czar of Russia, alluded to already, is to be ranked amongst the greatest political documents, possibly as the supreme political document of this century and of all the centuries, so the Conference which is to meet at The Hague on the 18th inst., to discuss measures by which general peace may be attained and the nations relieved of the crushing burdens of the great armaments which are fast ruining them materially and morally, will be, in its purpose and in the scope of its national representation, the most important assemblage of men of state ever convened. We shall hope and pray that the results attained may be in some degree commensurate with the high aims which have called the Conference into existence. Our hopes are supported by the character and political position of the Czar, by the prompt and serious interest shown by all the governments which are to participate, by the eminence and conscientious intelligence of the delegates, who have been appointed, by the large and growing public interest in the meeting,

by the demands of the general conscience of the civilized world, and by the absolute necessity of speedy relief from the direful situation into which the nations have allowed militarism to bring them. However meager the immediate results of the deliberations may be, the mere fact of the meeting of such a Conference is an omen of the brightest promise.

#### THE FUTURE OF OUR WORK.

There is still an immense and difficult work before our Society, and those of like purpose in this and other countries. But many of the great movements of our time are with us, and the friends of peace may hereafter labor with larger and stronger hopes of early success than they have ever done before. The scourge of militarism has become so great and tyrannous that it must soon perish of its own madness. The dream of peace has become the waking purpose of peoples and rulers. The progress of events which are rapidly converting the whole earth into one brotherhood bids us patiently wait for the full day whose dawn is already so radiant, and in the meantime to do what we can to hasten its coming.

With devout thanks to God for his blessing during the year, we respectfully submit this report.

On behalf of the Board of Directors,

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD,

Boston, May 8, 1899.

Secretary.

### Militarism—The Enemy of Civilization.

BY REV. JOSEPH MAY.

*"They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword."*

—MAT. XXVI: 52

A fact, lately reported, in two lines, by the newspapers, has really a grave significance. It is this: the President having to commission, in our new-made army, one or two hundred officers of the lower grades, there were received, at the War Department, within a few days, sixty thousand applications for appointment to those positions.

I beg you to carry this fact in your minds, and reflect upon all that it means. It means first, that, in our country which ought to be so prosperous,—and perhaps seems to be so,—sixty thousand young men, of such age, social relations, intelligence and education as would fit them to become lieutenants are so loosely related to the active world as to need and be tempted to seek occupation in the trade of war. This is serious enough, as a token of the times, from the business point of view.

But, what is far worse in my eyes,—a thing every lover of his country, and especially every true lover of the democratic principle, must deplore,—it is a peculiar token of the recrudescence of the war-spirit, the awakening of the military instinct among our people.

It is one thing for citizens, fired by patriotism, to come forward, at the call of government, to support it in the actual exigency of even a bad war. It is another, that the orderly profession of arms should begin to allure the ambition of our youth; that *militarism* should become an established factor in the characters and lives of our population.

When, at the outset of the secession movement, nearly forty years ago, the manhood of the country, aroused by the peril of our Constitution, gathered in immeasurable

volume and poured itself out, a living flood, to quench the fires of disunion, there was no prevailing element of military ardor in the men's enthusiasm. The spirit of military ambition was conspicuously deficient in our volunteers. When the war was over, the great armies of the North melted back into civil life instantly, as if rejoiced to be set free from a hateful service. The nation returned to the ways of peace, breathing freely from its long and unaccustomed strain. Our standing army was not materially increased. The whole terrible experience, heroic from a military point of view, had been so essentially civic in its quality, that it confirmed, encouragingly, the conviction of our being a radically peace-loving community.

Yet, not the most justifiable war,—and in civilized times it is hardly possible that any war should be justifiable,—not any war waged for the most genuine and defensible ends, *can be waged without serious moral evils resulting.* The thorough unselfishness of spirit in the war for the Union, its elevated motive, the presence in our armies of such a large proportion of high-minded, educated men, defended us measurably—even greatly,—from such evils. But they were *there*. And the worst of them has manifested itself during this last year—namely the implanting in our citizens of the war-spirit, the development of militarism.

I confess I was astonished, as I was deeply chagrined, by the way in which our population responded to the call of the Spanish War. I have not changed, in the least, my judgment of that event, as expressed to you just before its outbreak. I hold it to have been as superfluous, and for that reason alone, as unjustifiable and wicked, as it was prematurely brought on and blunderingly managed. In its motive and inception, it was a politician's expedient, to which, with unsurpassed adroitness, the men whose interests it was to serve, gathered the forces, ever so ready in our community, of the humanitarian sentiment. The sentiment of philanthropy certainly continued the dominant one in the minds of our people. But it was far from being the only one which was evoked, and the readiness with which we accepted war; the eagerness of so large a portion of the people for it; the alacrity of our young men to engage in it, the popular enthusiasm over our victories; the idealization of the men who have led in our successes, have been painfully significant of the presence among us of the war-spirit, to a degree which gives me, at least, very anxious forebodings for our republican experiment.

Our political corruptions are enough to discourage any but the stoutest optimistic heart. If we are to add to these evils, the development of militarism, our national future becomes distinctly precarious. If our enormous power as a people is to be directed by the genius of warfare, it is impossible to foresee the complications into which we shall be led among the nations, or their disastrous consequences, material and political as well as moral, to ourselves.

The word I am using—militarism—is new. It has arisen under the exigencies of modern days to formulate the idea of the enormous extent, and the terrible, scientific orderliness of the preparations for warfare now existing among the great nations. It implies the organization, as seen in Europe, of whole populations into standing armies, always ready for service.

But the *thing* is only new in its proportions, its elaborateness and the terrible instruments it commands; and the underlying principle is as old as human nature. It goes back beyond the period of our *humanity*, to that in which men were still only brutes. It is the principle of self-assertion, in its highest form, supported by the enormous material power of great peoples, and directed to utilize all the gains of science and civilization in the interest of brute-force.

Militarism is the orderly expression, in forms now methodical and costly beyond description, of the principle formulated in the ancient and infidel maxim, "Might makes right." It organizes the animal propensity, so soon as there arises any conflict of interest, to resort, not to rational processes of mutual consideration and conciliation but to physical strife. It invests the heroes of force with a lustre which the men of intellect, of religion, of art, of benevolence, cannot attain. It blinds the eyes of the people to their true interests. Under its influence, men discredit the principles which have been dear and which are most highly essential to their welfare—as we are seeing to-day among our own people. The spirit of conquest aroused among us, flouts to-day the axioms of our immortal Declaration of Independence.

How can this be so, my friends? How can a population of quiet people, pursuing the avocations out of which their comfort and welfare are procured, be excited to the terrible excesses of war's pecuniary extravagance, of cruelty mutually inflicted by combatants utterly unknown to each other, to the rage of battle, to murder, incendiarism and rapine?

It is perfectly plain, how. It is simply because in our race, still imperfectly advanced in a true and high civilization, there lingers, below our culture, below our morality, below our religion, the element of *barbarism*, the quality of the *brute*. Within the limits of orderly communities, in the relations of *individuals*, this element of our nature has been taught restraint. Society has been possible because, at length, the assertion of the brute in the relations of life has been found incompatible with the orderly, decent and happy life which communities have resolved to maintain, and they will no longer tolerate it that individuals should vindicate even their clearest rights by physical force. The majority simply will not permit citizens who disagree to fall to fighting in our streets. If two of you have a cause of dissension, no longer may you saddle your horses, and with armor and arms, meet each other, backed by your retainers, in such contests as were habitual in feudal times. Civilized societies ordain laws, provide courts of justice, and absolutely insist on peace among their members. The brute exists in us all. Passion exists in the most refined, as a rudiment of feeling. But so far has civilization advanced, the lower propensities are restrained to the point of practical non-existence. On the borders of civilized lands,—in Arizona and New Mexico—private warfare is still practiced. Our Southern fellow-citizens defy law and cruelly murder defenceless accused persons—at least those of a different color. Occasionally, a riot breaks out in more polished communities, in which classes of men, more brutal than the rest, for a moment assert themselves and fling themselves against the forces of order and government. But, effectively, in private relations, the brutality which was rampant in barbarous periods, and which controlled all in

the still earlier times of savagery, is conquered and as an overt fact, extirpated.

But, as between *peoples*, over which a common law has not yet extended itself, authoritatively, the same citizens who will not tolerate brutality among themselves, still uphold brute-force as a justifiable principle of mutual behavior and means of adjusting their differences. They rejoice in its horrible deeds. They invoke it enthusiastically. The principle underlying international war is *exactly the same* as that of the duel or the street fight. But it is still possible to glorify it, and for civilized men to practice it at the end of the nineteenth century of Christianity.

This, I say, is simply due to the survival of *barbarism* in civilized times and peoples. It marks the limit of all that religion, science, culture have so far been able to do in lifting men above the brute to the nature and condition of children of God.

I am not saying that it is yet possible to abandon all resort to force in maintaining the institutions of men, and the good order of communities. So long as there linger barbarous elements in a community, and criminal individuals and classes ready to break the peace of civilized society, so long some orderly force will be required, as in cities we maintain the police. Perhaps the day, even of warfare, is not wholly past, although I believe it never need be necessary now, if any nation will on its own part fixedly maintain justice, manifest consideration and persevere in a self-controlled policy of internal civilization. Would all the civilized nations together, abandoning selfish greed, devote themselves, severally, to the real interests of their peoples, it would never occur again. What I am saying implies that, however it should occur, it would still exhibit the deficiency of the world's civilization. War is the device of the *barbarous* period of social progress. If practiced by civilized peoples, in some crucial exigency, it should still be deemed like capital punishment, a horrible and tragic thing, not to be glorified in, but penitentially to be lamented before Almighty God. What militarism does is to entrench this barbarism as a permanent fact in civilization; to gild it over so that its brutality is not clearly seen by civilized eyes. *And this is the comprehensive evil of militarism. It makes it, at this moment, the most effective foe of human progress, the most difficult obstacle in the way of advancing civilization.*

The actual facts of warfare are forever horrible. I once saw a series of photographs taken after the battles of the Civil War, so shocking in their realistic presentation of the scenes of carnage that they were never deemed fit for publication. The French government prohibited the circulation of the novels of Erckmann-Chatrian, as the Russians did the pictures of one of their greatest painters, because they would tend to discourage enlistment. They told the truth too plainly. If we could see the effects of the hideous volleys which our brothers and friends are now engaged in pouring in upon the half-naked bodies of the Filipinos, we should doubtless be revolted beyond measure, and loudly demand that such brutalities should cease. One could hope that the sufferings of our men in the miserable Cuban campaign might, at least, have this recompense, that the brutality, the moral vulgarity, of such a means of settling disputes, still more of enforcing righteousness, might forever be imprinted on our national consciousness.

But, alas, I fear—so powerful is the barbaric strain which lingers in civilized men,—that these things seem to have, as yet, no appreciable effect in quelling the war-spirit and dissipating the illusions of a false glory.

Of course, we must remark that, in all ages, and still what goes far to obscure the evil and wickedness of the war method is that, in individual combatants, while it unquestionably brutalizes, hardens, coarsens men, and makes them cruel and indifferent to suffering, it also evokes, in limited measure, some noble qualities. If you have any doubt as to the former class of effects, it would suffice to read of the campaigns of Alva in the Netherlands, or Tilly in the Palatinate, or of the armies of the French Republic, or of the English in India, or of the petty but savage wars by which we have exterminated the aborigines of this country. Yet, especially in modern days, heroism, self-sacrifice, endurance, moral as well as physical courage, generosity, with intellectual alertness, strategic skill, discipline and the power over men—these and other fine qualities are developed wherever men unselfishly accept the function of the soldier. If the motive of the war be elevated, as it was in our Civil War, as among our population it became last year, even communities are exalted by their sacrifices and measurably defended from the evil moral effects of wars.

But these facts do not touch the question of the actual character of warfare in itself. It remains a *brute* expedient wholly inconsistent with civilization, as it is with religion and morality. It violates all the principles of Christian ethics, as it offends against the refinement which is the last grace of civilized progress. In calling in the methods of barbarism to assist its exigencies, civilization imperils all the bulwarks it has erected for its own defense. But the achievements of civilization are too dearly purchased to be risked by the voluntary return of communities to barbarous ways. It is dangerous to treat the domesticated beast to blood. And no bad lesson is more readily learned by nations than that of military ambition. Hence it is that the recrudescence of militarism is, for our country, a fact so portentous. Militarism makes the war-method the established fact of civilized order. It is warfare made chronic, with all its demoralizing effects. See what it does in Germany and France! Those nations are living in the atmosphere of war and its passions. All their ideals are colored by it. The Emperor of Germany seems the god Thor incarnate. The population is a vast machine of destruction, ever ready, and each citizen is deeply permeated with the sentiments which belong to his trade as soldier. In France, the apotheosis of the army leads to the utter annihilation of justice, as has lately been shown. The war-spirit, the hatred of Germany which it sustains by making revenge a feasible hope, is utterly corrupting that nation, and hastening it on the downward path which Spain has trodden to the end.

If we, in America, my friends, cannot check the uprising of this spirit of militarism, if we cannot resist the development of militarism in our institutions, our civilization will receive such a check as it defies forethought to imagine. It is working, at this moment, as a gangrene on the hearts of our people. And yet we see but the beginning. The tissue of events, which have brought us to where we are, are lamentable. They have seemed like a terrible accident,—if such a term might be used in a world where all is providential. And *they* are providen-

tial, because they are the natural result of false steps, inconsiderately taken, under the leadership of unprincipled statesmen and the hasty and mistaken impulse of inconsiderate philanthropy. But we ought, with vision clarified by the terrible incongruity of our present course as a nation, now and daily to be lifting up our voices at the things we are doing, against the complications into which we are hastening, and above all against the tendencies we are fostering in our national life.

In a republic, militarism is the most dangerous of influences. Its whole spirit is antagonistic to the personal independence of character which is the noble fruit of free institutions, and is congenial with that subordination of peoples to governing classes, and to a single head, which belong to monarchies. And, historically, militarism has, in republics, always tended to imperialism, and again and again brought about the ruin of the republican experiment. The exigencies of warfare are sure to call for that efficiency which is found in the absolute domination of a single head. In republican times, when war pressed hard with the Romans, they chose a dictator. At length they submitted to an emperor. So has France done twice within, to so speak, our memory. If we should become a military republic, one of two things would assuredly result—imperialism, or the breaking up of our nation into disunited and antagonistic States.

I entreat you not to regard these warnings as chimerical. Cassandra was rejected, but she had told the truth. They bring up the last and worst possibility; one I ardently hope and firmly trust will be averted by the recovery of a saner mood among our people, and the reassertion of their wiser and nobler instincts. But national decline and extinction have been the recurring phenomena of human history. The earth is strewn with the wrecks of great nations, which perished through the decay of the virtues which had been their strength. Assyria, Egypt, Rome—where are they? To what has Spain, once the great power of Europe, been reduced! The decline of France becomes an ominous present fact, which chills the hearts of her true patriots. That we are becoming permeated with the virus of forces inimical to the health and vigor of our nation is so clear that our pressing question, at this moment, seems to be whether our national constitution has vitality to endure the strain. Add to what we are actually suffering, the immense influence of the morbid forces of militarism, and it is no idle or pessimistic fear that holds up to us the vision of national decay.

But, apart from such anxieties as these, as to events which, at the worst, we might hope should still be distant, it is sufficient to see clearly the present inconsistency of militarism with the generous spirit of democracy, and the immediate practical and moral evils of which it is the source. If you will reflect upon it, as it is now organized in Europe, you will see that it is, literally, as I have called it, the one great foe of progressing civilization.

It is such merely from its enormous, its bewildering costliness. A few years ago I spoke to you on this particular theme—the terrible waste of war. Little did we think, then, that, carrying still the immense burthen of pensions, inherited from our great civil struggle, we should presently be plunged into such expenditures as those of the last year have been, and those we are now incurring. The amount of money actually appropriated



by our last Congress, for expenses growing out of the Spanish war, was over \$482,000,000. Indirectly, the cost was vastly more than even this gigantic sum. Including new pensions, contracts for new ships, and the campaign (if we may so dignify our ignoble raids) in the Philippines, it is, probably, already near a thousand millions! The imagination is baffled in the attempt to figure to itself such sums. Where are they to come from, my friends? Let me illustrate my point of to-day by saying—from the resources of civilization. The cost of militarism is the tax which civilization pays to barbarism. A single war-ship costs, to build and maintain it in commission (think of it, my friends), as much as a well-equipped university! All that is annually spent on libraries, art-institutions, for refined pleasures, even for public-school education, would be swallowed up by a few days of warfare; even consumed by the preparations, or for the results of warfare. The schools of this State have latterly cost five and a half millions annually, although thirty thousand children in this city are deprived of their privilege for the want of school houses, and our Governor declares that the estimates must be reduced. Five and a half millions of dollars would scarcely build and equip two first-class ships of war.

I can but refer, now, to the sums which all the great European nations spend on this relic of barbarism. They were formerly inconceivable to us, as burthens to which intelligent communities would submit, and irrational beyond description. Let not familiarity with such figures in our own estimates lead us to an acquiescence in such profligate waste. Remember, friends, it is these barbarous expenditures that keep the private citizens of European nations poor. It has been expressed in the saying that the war-system puts a soldier on the back of every civilian. Beautiful, fertile Italy is actually bankrupt as a nation; the people are individually impoverished by her military expenses. Even rich and prudent England at last encounters a deficit.

While such extravagances—all, the needless tax of barbarism on civilization—go on, civilization must halt. The comfort of homes, the conveniences of civic life, education, art, all that goes to procure that happy thing, civic prosperity, must needs be restricted. The people of Europe give up their earnings and pinch themselves as to the necessities of life, that they may make these costly offerings to the Moloch of war. To all this, we have to add the diversion of the mental and moral energies of a people from the ennobling arts of peace with all their fruits of comfort and happiness, and the disastrous interruptions to the educational and business careers of individual men compelled, on the threshold of active life, to leave their homes and occupations and serve their terms in the armies. I have repeatedly met men whose careers as scholars or business men had been radically checked and thwarted so. In a word, like a vampire, militarism sucks the life-blood of the European peoples. So it will do ours, if we foolishly let it. I say, again, *militarism is the one great present obstacle to the progress of civilization. It consumes the means needed for civilization.*

But it is still worse as a moral influence hostile to civilized progress. As it exists in Europe, it deeply distorts and taints personal character. It holds up thoroughly false ideals of personal and national greatness. The very virtues which it fosters (and such there are, and I have

always done justice to them, in speaking of the military character) go out towards a false aim, the general effect of which is a hardening of spirit, a brutalizing of the feelings, very evident in the characters of European men in respect to the finer relations of life. The contemptuous attitude of the military towards the civil class in Germany is a sufficient illustration here. The persistence of the duel in Europe is another. The licentious vice which accompanies militarism as a congenial fact, due to the unnatural status of the soldiery isolated from domestic life in the full warmth of youthful manhood, is another. A recent writer declares that, in this respect, a French barracks is a "hell upon earth." It was publicly declared, at a meeting in this city, by one who seemed to have studied the facts, that the worst part of the disease which decimated our soldiery last summer and sent home those thousands of miserable physical wrecks, was due to the vices into which they had been led.

But, in their whole essence, the spirit and system of militarism are, as I have said, peculiarly inconsistent with republicanism. Militarism debases the human individual to an animated machine. I hate to see our young men wearing the uniforms which, picturesque as they may be, are tokens of the impairment of that individualism which is the noble fruit of a true democratic order. It galls me to hear bodies of our fellow citizens, freemen of a great republic, spoken of as "*troops*." So many muskets, so many cannon, so many horses, *so many men*—a mass of barbarous, death-dealing material for the general to employ against a similar mass, collected from some other nation! The whole thing, my friends, is degrading; as inconsistent with civilization as it is with Christianity. It is as *vulgar* as it is wicked.

The logic of militarism is, I repeat,—might makes right. It is the violent, arrogant, self-willed method employed by nations to enforce their ends instead of securing them by reason, mutual conference and conciliation, in the spirit of justice and law. The possibility of it is a dangerous temptation. There is no falsier dictum than that which the great Washington unhappily re-echoed—"in time of peace prepare for war." Far wiser and truer to the facts of history was that saying of Jesus, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." The ages bear witness to its truth. The expectation and preparation for war breed war. The maintenance of the provision for war fosters the war-spirit and makes nations ready to assert their claims by barbarous force, instead of by orderly adjudication. I remarked how, in civilized lands, we have repressed and nearly extirpated all recourse to violence between individuals in their disputes. Orderly adjudication of these is now a fixed fact—it is one of the great triumphs of civilization. We must press for the establishment of international courts, with the confident assurance that when they are provided, the disposition to resort to force for the settlement of international disputes will speedily abate. I cherish an ardent hope both that such courts will be established and that they will serve *rapidly* to curtail the influence of the war-spirit, the practice of warfare and the extension of militarism. Nations will be ashamed to confess that they dare not entrust their causes of dispute to such adjudication. The verdicts of such courts will become the sufficient corrective and assuagement of the false pride which now impels them to refuse justice lest concession should imply weakness. If

the populations become, as I think they must become, restive under the awful cost of militarism, the popular demand will require that appeals should be to the courts and not to the senseless ordeal of battles.

What could be more irrational for the settlement of a dispute, than that two nations should choose masses of the most precious thing they have—their young manhood—and hurl them against each other, like so much timber or metal, till the mere physical issue should incline this way or that! A profound immorality underlies the whole method. Might cannot make right. If force is ever to be invoked to maintain right, it can only rightly be used when all just moral methods have been exhausted.

It was a nobly prophetic word, uttered by one of our preachers very lately—"There is no such thing as a right of conquest. *Mere conquest confers no right whatsoever.*" When we weary, friends, of our inhuman massacre of the Filipinos, the obligation of justice towards a people over whom it is not possible that we should acquire by purchase, or force, any right to rule, will remain the same as ever. The only formula for our dealings with them will be the Golden Rule. We must apply to them the principles of 1776.

Right makes might—right makes might. The strength and security of nations rest in their allegiance to the truth, to every highest ideal and law which they discover. This, which is the teaching of religion, is equally the verdict of history. The progress of civilization has actually consisted, as I have shown you here before, in the gradual ascendancy in communities of the unselfish virtues. Its key-note is the third Beatitude. Let us open our eyes, and, seeing the danger to which our nation is now perilously exposed, use all our influence to bar the extension among us of the war-spirit, and to resist the system of militarism.

### The Best of All Banners.

BY F. P. WILLIAMS.

I have seen the most wonderful vision that ever was shown unto men;  
Oh, what joy it would give me to know that my eyes may behold it again—  
And that some glad morn I shall waken to welcome the advent of day,  
In a world where such things are abiding—not dream-like and passing away.

In the vision there was a great nation whose sons were called free men and brave—  
They had humbled the haughty usurper—uplifted the suppliant slave—  
And men looked to that nation for guidance, all through the broad, civilized world;  
Eyes grew brighter and heart-throbbings quickened, wherever her flag was unfurled.

Not by words had she won her great glory, but wrought it by fiery deed.  
She bowed down to a "Lord, God of battles"—her sons had adopted this creed:  
Men should ceaselessly fight against evil, though they cover the earth with the dead.  
And the stripes on the flag of that nation were red, like the blood she had shed.

While I pondered these matters and marveled, there came o'er the vision a change;

A man had arisen—a teacher—whose tongue uttered sentiments strange,  
For he spoke of a courage far higher than ever that nation had found;  
He denied that her children were freemen, he said, they were shackled and bound.

He declared that the God whom they worshiped was not that Great Father above,  
Who commandeth all men to obey him by dwelling in brotherly love—  
But that as the creatures of darkness, by angels on high they were known;  
And he spoke of their idolized flag as an emblem of Satan's black throne.

Then he looked at their threatening bastions—their cannon's forbidding array—  
And their menacing, steel-covered vessels on ocean and river and bay;  
"The sweet peace that surpasseth all knowledge—oh, what do ye care for it, here!  
"The peace that ye offer—what is it? The peace that's begotten of fear."

So spake the new-risen apostle—"Dismantle your glowering walls!  
"In the Name of the Meek One, I charge you. Repent ye! 'tis Jesus who calls;  
"Lo! the Wonderful Counsellor speaketh—all knowledge of warfare must cease;  
"In the place of your battle-stained banner lift up the white emblem of peace."

They assailed him with horrified voices, they approached him with wrathful cries—  
"What! lower the best of all banners? The villain who ventures it, dies!  
"Like a dog—like a viper—a traitor—he perishes quick, where he stands!"  
Then they fell on the daring apostle—they seized him with patriot hands—

And they thrust him away from among them. Deserted he wandered—alone—  
Like that One in Gethsemane's darkness, whose prayer and whose agonized groan  
Were unheard, save by heavenly spirits appointed to watch over man;  
True believers in peace are as outcasts; God wills it—He makes it His plan—

Yet their true hearts are fixed and unchanging—they sacrifice friendship and more;  
Their fortunes and lives they count worthless—nor can the promoters of war  
Lay down more for their blood-crimsoned banners than is pledged to the flag pure and white;  
The deepest and truest devotion is shown by the children of light.

And now there was quick preparation, the land was convulsed with alarms;  
The nation was hot to give battle—her sons she was calling to arms.  
She was threatened by stealthy assassins—a blow at her life had been sped—  
And she called to her children for vengeance; the blood of her foes must be shed.

But the man without comrade or country—the friend of true peace, once again  
Was upraising his voice, loud and fearless: "Oh, nation of traitorous men—

"When your armies press forward to battle—when  
your weapons rend quivering flesh—  
"Lo, 'tis written in heaven against you, ye murder  
Christ Jesus afresh.

"Why else was our dear Lord incarnate—why else  
was His wonderful birth—  
"But that men should become loving brethren? but  
that peace should prevail upon earth?  
"For what did He die in such torture, save the cause  
of goodwill among men?  
"Oh, will not that torture suffice you? Oh, why  
would you slay Him again!

"Far better for you in the Judgment if ye lay down  
your lives in His cause;  
"See! On high I lift up His white standard; for-  
sake the flag crimsoned in wars,  
"And gather, with me as your leader, beneath this  
pure emblem of peace;  
"So shall we draw near to the Master—our spirits  
gain happy release."

And behold! as he pleads comes a marvel; he has  
touched on an answering chord—  
Men are heeding his words, men are turning, men are  
throwing down rifle and sword  
And assembling beneath the white banner. At last  
the peace army is born—  
To the shame and the lasting confusion of ministers  
false and forsworn

Who libel an All-loving Father—who preach a black  
gospel of hate  
And set wicked approval on warfare, when enemies  
threaten the state;  
Lo! our foes can be conquered by meekness—Christ  
said it, and therefore they can.  
Unto whom ought men look in a crisis, but Jesus the  
Savior of man?

But none can receive this great truth, save a handful—  
the very elect;  
With men nourished on patriot maxims Christ's  
words can have little effect.  
And I saw it was so in my vision, they who stood fast  
for God and the right  
Were called, by the masses, deserters—coward knaves  
drawing back from the fight.

Yet, though scourged by the tongues of the nation,  
though assailed with reviling and sneers,  
It was steadfast—that little peace army—that handful  
of God's volunteers;  
But I thought of the oncoming trial—the billows of  
flame rolling nigh—  
"Can they meet that baptism, unshrinking?" I said,  
and a voice made reply:

*"These are they whose true hearts are unchanging;  
they sacrifice friendship and more,  
"Their fortunes and lives they count worthless—nor  
can the promoters of war  
"Lay down more for their blood-crimsoned banners  
than is pledged to the flag pure and white.  
"The purest and deepest devotion is shown by the  
children of light."*

Then the banner unstained was borne onward—the  
march of Christ's soldiers begun—  
That the patriots' hope might be blasted—the will of  
Our Father be done—  
And the peace be revealed to that nation, that is  
known in the Kingdom above;

The true peace that is born, not of terror, but deep  
and unquenchable love.

On a far spreading plain were two armies, confronted  
and strongly intrenched—  
The moment had nearly arrived when the earth with  
hot blood would be drenched—  
And each army declared that its standard stood alone  
for the cause of the right,  
That the "Lord God of battles" was with it to con-  
quer its foes in the fight.

Then into that field came the soldiers who bore neither  
rifle nor sword,  
But were valiant for God the All-Father, the true and  
the sovereign Lord—  
The brave army of peace with its banner—the best of  
all banners and signs—  
To the heart of that field it advanced—right between  
the grim, threatening lines—

Oh, I wish that all they could have seen—they who  
tremble lest Christ lived in vain,  
When the patriot hosts are recruited and rallied by  
preachers profane—  
The troops of that bloodthirsty nation, their foes on  
the opposite side,  
And the army of peace holding back the terrific—the  
murderous tide.

Down the field, from the hostile encampments, came  
messengers riding with speed—  
Sent to halt the audacious invaders and find out the  
cause of their deed;  
"Go ye back to your ranks," was the answer—"con-  
temners of Christ's holy will,  
"Ye, whose infidel hearts hate that God who com-  
mandeth that men shall not kill—

"Ye, who soon may be summoned to Judgment, to meet  
your Creator's dread face—  
"Take these words to your murderous comrades—oh,  
who would dare stand in their place!—  
"We, who gather beneath the white standard, we trem-  
ble with horror and dread  
"When we think of your blood-guilty souls—ye who  
soon may be stricken and dead—

"And we therefore have come here to save you—to lay  
down our lives for your own;  
"Train your guns! Let your murderous missiles come  
crashing through flesh and through bone—  
"Strike us down as we stand here, defenceless, beneath  
this pure banner of peace;  
"Strike us down! and so give to our spirits triumphant  
and happy release—

"Free our spirits forever from bondage, in mansions  
above give them birth—  
"Where no scenes are enacted like these that ye force  
on the sorrowful earth."  
Astounded, the patriots listened—they who over and  
over again,  
Had been told that to perish in war is to die like the  
Savior of men.

And then there was quick consultation, there was  
speeding on fleet-footed horse—  
There were signals—and answers—and orders—and  
threats of compulsion by force—  
But all were in vain; the peace soldiers bore the  
onset unshrinking, unmoved—  
Saying only that they were determined the power of  
love should be proved.

Men have slaughtered their foes in all ages; some say  
that they will till time ends—  
But the soldiers have never been seen who could  
ruthlessly slaughter their friends;  
So the death-dealing cannon kept silence, the mur-  
derous sword was undyed,  
The white banner of peace was triumphant—and  
patriot voices had lied

When they said there's no way save through warfare  
that warring of nations can cease—  
That only the muzzles of cannon give birth to the  
Angel of Peace.  
For the spirit of Jesus is able to conquer the spirit  
of war;  
This, the vision had clearly revealed. And the  
wonderful vision was o'er.

Montclair, N. J.

### The Peace Manifesto of the Workers of Britain to the Workers of all Countries.

This manifesto was sent out by the British workmen during the great Peace Crusade. It was signed by more than seven hundred labor leaders representing nearly every industry in the United Kingdom:

"The undersigned, while holding diverse views upon political and social questions, are united in deploring that, after centuries of so-called civilization, barbarism abounds, and the world is still governed by brute force.

In that spirit we venture to address you, and knowing how vitally you are interested in the Czar's proposals for stopping the further increase of armaments and the gradual introduction of a system of international mediation or arbitration, we hope you will join us in demanding that our respective governments shall cordially co-operate with the Czar in taking the initial step—a step which, if taken, must at no distant date lead to the reduction of armaments and lightening the worker's burden.

If the millions of War's victims, whose blood has dyed every ocean and saturated the soil in all parts of the globe, could momentarily revisit us, what a mighty chorus of approval would be raised at the announcement that a practical effort is being made to arrest the further slaughter of our fellows!

Generation after generation has protested against the awful sacrifice of life, the terrible burdens imposed upon industry, the incalculable waste of wealth, which labor created and War destroyed; but until now neither protests, entreaties, nor prayers have been heeded, and the evil continued—every nation rushed madly into the race, essaying to rival each other in armaments and to-day nearly five millions of men, skilfully trained in the art of destruction, are ready at the word of command to destroy what generations have toiled to build up, and to kill every one who resists them.

Not one of this mighty host produces anything, and those who do produce have to pay for feeding, clothing, housing and arming these unproductive millions.

In nearly every country able-bodied men in the prime of life are forced to quit their useful occupations, enter the army, and remain there for years, while the women at home work and pay taxes. If they escape from destruction on the battlefield, barrack life and the drill-

sergeant sap their manliness and too often transform them into idle loafers. The cost of maintaining these armed hosts is incalculable, but it has all to be defrayed out of the fruits of labor, and all producers have to work an hour longer every day of their lives to pay for these institutions, which are a perpetual menace to Peace.

Statesmen in every country profess to lament the magnitude of the evil, but until recently no responsible government has been bold enough to take the initiative and propose a remedy. At last, however, a ray of hope comes to us from an unexpected quarter—the Czar of Russia has invited all professedly civilized Powers to consider whether it is not possible to stop the suicidal rivalry in armaments and to mutually agree that for a term of years no country shall increase army or navy.

For our part we hail the Czar's Rescript and are not disposed to question his sincerity. Whether he has any ulterior object in view, whether the form of government of Russia is good or bad, are questions which it is not our present purpose to discuss. If we wait until a similar proposal is made by a government which is free from such nefarious practices as empire-expansion taking the form of land-grabbing and exploitation, our hopes will be long deferred, indeed, must be abandoned, for there is no such government. No! we have waited long enough, and now that a definite proposal is before us why should we, who have so much to gain by its acceptance, hesitate to be deluded by cries about the Czar's insincerity?

It may suit the purpose of people who live upon taxes to raise such cries, and it is but natural that they should be joined by army and navy contractors, who supply soldiers with provisions unfit to eat, boots and clothing unfit to wear, and weapons frequently useless in warfare—of course, all these vested interests would suffer. But what they lost the people would gain.

The reason assigned for the continual increase of armaments is that they are necessary for defensive purposes. Every government blames some other government for the continuance of the evils, and no one knows which is the real sinner; but a Conference would prove which is the great stumbling-block in the way of Peace.

Should the Conference not be held, or, if held, prove abortive, nations will go on increasing their armaments, wasting more millions and imposing more taxes, while year by year their fighting strength will be relatively the same as now, but the danger of a universal War will be greatly increased.

If, however, a truce is called for a term of years the people will have time to reflect and prepare for another step, namely, a gradual reduction of armaments, and instead of squandering the fruits of labor upon war-provoking institutions utilize the wealth which is now wasted upon armaments in useful works of productive industry.

So profoundly are we impressed by the appalling evils of militarism, and the enormous advantages which its arrest would give to industrialism, that on this question we have buried our differences upon other subjects, and agreed to unite in support of the Czar's proposal, and earnestly entreat you to join us in our Crusade for Peace.

Friends! the toilers of the world have had a long night of suffering through War and its manifold horrors. Let us, therefore, rejoice that a ray of light, even if it comes from Russia, heralds the dawn of a brighter and happier day!"

### He Would go Wild.

A gentleman of high character who lives near the army post at San Antonio, Texas, writes as follows, in one of our exchanges, about the demoralization of the soldiers, and the temptations to which they are subjected: "Two of the most conspicuous buildings of the city, and in fair view of the post, are immense breweries, which have saloons at every possible point to be maintained, to excite and gratify thirst, and these in addition to the post canteen. At night the soldiers congregate in the red light district, and when very numerous the officers at the post are appealed to to come and corral them. The principal offenders are fined and restrained a few days and then another round."

I here repeat some of the remarks made to me one night on a car by a young soldier as he was going, with many others, to the city: "At home I am a church member, a Christian. I have not been to church in two years. A soldier has no business at church. A man cannot live a Christian life and be a soldier. There is not one in a hundred who does not every three or four days get on a drunk. If a soldier should attempt to live a moral life, he would be tormented to death by the baser sort. The only way to do is to go along with them. If my father knew that I am living the life I am, he would go wild."

The *American Monthly Review of Reviews* speaks as follows of the removal of some of the important causes of war: "Among the very greatest recent events making for peace have been the agreements which practically complete the partition of Africa."

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First came the settlement of differences between England and Germany as respects southern and central Africa—a notable triumph of honorable diplomacy. And later came the understanding worked out between Lord Salisbury and M. Cambon in settlement of the very serious differences between France and England respecting northern Africa. Almost all of the great Sahara region is now French so far as English recognition can make it. It is suggested that to make this comprehensive agreement between England and France the better operative in the future, there ought at once to be agreed upon some plan for a commission to arbitrate any difference that might arise in the future in the interpretation of the various features of the settlement."

### Should be Speedily Terminated.

The following resolutions were passed at the State Convention of the W. C. T. U. at Colorado Springs, Colorado, on April 21st:

"Whereas, The United States is waging cruel and remorseless war in the Philippine islands against a people defending their liberties, and

Whereas, We believe all wars to be unnecessary and cruel, therefore be it

Resolved by this Conference, That in justice to the Philippine patriots and in justice to our American volunteers who have so valiantly fought in defence of the weak and oppressed and also in justice to our boasted American principles, the warfare now being waged against one of the peoples whom our nation has lately defended from oppression and tyranny should be humanely and speedily terminated, and

That the coming Peace Conference at The Hague has our earnest sympathy and prayers."

### A Plea to Peace.

BY ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

When mighty issues loom before us, all  
The petty great men of the day seem small,  
Like pigmies standing in a blaze of light  
Before some grim, majestic mountain  
height.

War with its bloody and impartial hand  
Reveals the hidden weakness of a land—  
Uncrowns the heroes trusting Peace has  
made

Of men whose honor is a thing of trade,  
And turns the search-light full on many a  
place

Where proud conventions long have masked  
disgrace.

Oh, lovely Peace! as thou art fair, be wise;  
Demand great men, and great men shall  
arise

To do thy bidding. Even as warriors come,  
Swift at the call of bugle and of drum,  
So at the voice of Peace, imperative  
As bugle's call, shall heroes spring to live  
For country and for thee. In every land,  
In every age, men are what times demand.  
Demand the best, oh Peace, and teach thy  
sons

They need not rush in front of death-  
charged guns,  
With murder in their hearts, to prove their  
worth.

The grandest heroes who have graced the  
earth

Were love-filled souls, who did not seek the  
fray,

But chose the safe, hard, high and lonely  
way

Of selfless labor for a suffering world.  
Beneath our glorious flag, again unfurled  
In victory, such heroes wait to be  
Called into bloodless action, Peace, by  
thee.

Be thou insistent in thy stern demand,  
And wise great men shall rise up in the  
land.

—Cosmopolitan.

## The Angel of Peace

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and goodwill towards men, may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or of the Executive Committee may be called by the President or the Secretary or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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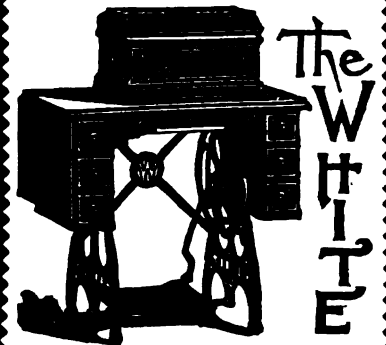
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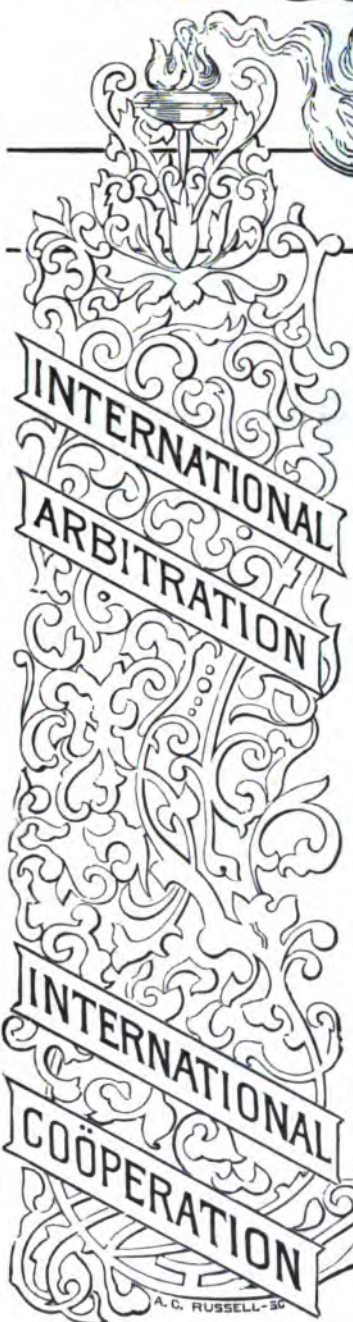
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# The ADVOCATE — OF — PEACE.

BOSTON, JULY AND AUGUST, 1899.



## The Message of Peace.

*By Julia Ward Howe, in the Sunday School Times.*

Bid the din of battle cease;  
Folded be the wings of fire;  
Let your courage conquer peace,  
Every gentle heart's desire.

Let the crimson flood retreat;  
Blended in the arc of love  
Let the flags of nations meet;  
Bind the raven, loose the dove.

At the altar that we raise  
King and kaiser may bow down;  
Warrior knights above their bays  
Wear the sacred olive crown.

Blinding passion is subdued,  
Men discern their common birth,  
God hath made of kindred blood  
All the peoples of the earth.

High and holy are the gifts  
He has lavished on the race:  
Hope that quickens, prayer that lifts,  
Honor's meed, and beauty's grace.

As in heaven's bright face we look,  
Let our kindling souls expand;  
Let us pledge, on Nature's book,  
Heart to heart, and hand to hand.

For the glory that we saw  
In the battle flag unfurled,  
Let us read Christ's better law:  
Fellowship for all the world!





**NICHOLAS II. EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.**



# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

VOL. LXI.

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No. 7.

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## The Peace Conference at The Hague.

The Peace Conference at The Hague, which had awakened so much interest and discussion in advance, proved in reality to be all that could have been reasonably expected of it. It was composed of ninety-six delegates from twenty-six nations. The nations represented were the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Holland, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Roumania, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Bulgaria and Montenegro, the latter having no representatives separate from the Russian. The record shows, therefore, two nations

from the Western hemisphere, twenty from Europe, and four from Asia. No South American nation was represented. We have been unable to discover why. The delegations were not uniform in size, the United States having six members, Great Britain five, Germany five, France six, Italy five, Russia eight, Belgium three, China three, Austria six, Denmark two, Spain three, Greece one, Japan four, Luxembourg, Mexico, Persia and Bulgaria two each, Holland five, Portugal four, Roumania, Servia and Switzerland three each, Siam four, Sweden and Norway five, Turkey four. There were thirty-two secretaries and attachés of the delegations, though eleven of them had none. Fifteen of the delegations, including all those of the great powers, had military and naval delegates. Adding the honorary president, the general secretary, and five of his staff not connected with the delegations, we find the whole number in and connected with the Conference to have been one hundred and thirty-five.

The delegates were all men of ability and of high standing in their respective countries. More than thirty of them were actual ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary of their governments to foreign countries. About half a dozen were ex-ministers of foreign affairs, and a number of others were or had been in cabinet positions. There were seven eminent university men, two of whom were presidents. There were several senators and representatives, and two presidents of houses of representatives. In fact, it would be difficult to bring together a superior body of living statesmen, diplomats, jurists and scholars. But, as always happens in such gatherings, only a few were really prominent in the deliberations. This was in part due to the fact that many of the delegates only used moderately the French, the official language of the Conference. The leading men, from the public point of view, were Mr. de Staal, chair-

man of the Russian Commission and president of the Conference, Sir Julian Pauncefote, chairman of the British delegation, Andrew D. White, of the American, Mr. Léon Bourgeois, of the French, and Mr. Auguste Beernaert, of the Belgian. These five men were able, conscientious, of large and generous spirit, and thoroughly in sympathy with the purposes of the Conference. No others exercised so strong a general influence in developing and sustaining the spirit of the gathering.

Closely allied to them was another set of men who were foremost in the practical work of the committees. These were Professor Martens of Russia, Senator Descamps of Belgium, Prof. Louis Renault of Paris, Sir John Ardagh of Great Britain, Mr. Holls and Captain Mahan of the United States, Count Nigra of Italy, Mr. Asser, Gen. Den Beer Poortugael and Mr. Van Karnebeek, of Holland, Baron Bildt of Norway, Mr. Rolin of Siam, and Mr. Kunzli of Switzerland. Many others, of course, were just as able men as these, and were of great usefulness, especially in the work of their own delegations.

As to delegations, the British, American, Russian, French, Belgian, Dutch and Italian were most influential. Belgium and Holland exercised an influence altogether out of proportion to their rank as nations. This was due to the superb abilities and character of their men. The Japanese delegation was an excellent one, and worked steadily to promote the success of the Conference. That from Norway and Sweden did most important service to the cause of arbitration through the powerful support of Baron Bildt. The Swiss delegation, though ably served by Mr. Kunzli, was much crippled through the sudden departure of its first delegate, Dr. Roth, on account of the death of his daughter in a railway accident. The German delegation was composed of very strong men; but the weight of its influence through the first half of the Conference was entirely negative. After its open opposition to arbitration it was brought by a good deal of patient effort into support of the scheme finally adopted. When the disarmament proposals came up it was totally opposed to anything being attempted. It was the only delegation in the Conference which may be said to have shown real opposition to the general drift of the proceedings, except as Turkey and possibly Austria followed in its wake. Most of the smaller powers exercised their influence chiefly by voting.

As each delegation had but one vote, they were as strong in this particular as the greater powers.

The Conference was divided into three sections, and each of the delegations was allowed representation in each of them. The first section dealt with the subject of armaments, and was presided over by Mr. Beernaert, the first Belgian delegate. The second section dealt with the laws and customs of war, and had for its chairman Professor Martens, of Russia. The third section treated the subjects of arbitration and mediation under the presidency of Mr. Bourgeois, of France. Each of the first two sections was divided, the first into army and navy committees, the second into one on the rules of war and one on the Geneva Red Cross Convention. The arbitration section had a Drafting Committee, which became the center of interest of the whole Conference. This Committee had for its chairman Senator Descamps, of Belgium, probably the finest arbitration expert in Europe.

### The Spirit and Work of the Conference.

The Conference gathered with a good deal of scepticism and uncertainty. Many of the delegates knew nothing of peace ideas and peace work. But after the first two meetings, when they had heard the addresses of the honorary president and president, and had seen and become acquainted with each other, a great change came at once over them. A spirit of confidence and determination to accomplish something sprang up. This was fostered and extended by the faithful work among the delegates of Sir Julian Pauncefote, Andrew D. White and others. It was also strengthened by the splendid, sympathetic welcome of the Dutch government, and by the numerous telegrams, letters and memorials which came in from all over the civilized world. After this there was no more hesitation on the part of the delegates in general.

As soon as the committees were arranged they planned their work at once, and from that time until the last report was in there was no trifling. Committeemen worked early and late in the most serious, faithful and methodical way. So far as we could learn, there was perfect freedom and frankness of expression in the committee rooms. The discussions were earnest and differences of opinion on details were many. But there was no dissimulation, no purpose by disguised methods to make the work a failure. The members set their faces steadily toward the accomplishment of something tangible. They felt that the honor of their governments as well as their own reputation was at



stake. They felt their responsibility to the great civilized public which was watching them, and in whose interests they had come together. The governments were very fortunate in the men whom they chose. They were serious, practical men, for the most part, and there was very little of what is ordinarily understood by European diplomacy connected with the deliberations. Even the social side of the Conference, which was very marked, was not allowed in any way to interfere with the practical work. The spirit of friendliness, harmony and coöperation was very strong in the Conference throughout the entire two months. This was in a measure to have been expected from the nature of the gathering. But it is remarkable, to say the least, that representatives of twenty-six nations, including all the military powers, with such differing languages, characteristics and traditions, should have come together and labored together so long without any real discord. Even the German opposition to arbitration was no real exception. It was made in a straightforward way. And it was met not with pugnaciousness, but with respect, patience and intelligent appreciation of Germany's position. The German delegates and the German government at home felt the force of the friendly and respectful spirit which was shown them. But for this it is doubtful if they could ever have been brought to support a permanent arbitration scheme of any sort.

There seemed to be no disposition among the delegates to outwit or discredit one another. There was no high handedness on the part of the representatives of the great powers towards those of the small nations. Three or four of the very ablest men present were from the small nations, and they were treated universally according to their abilities and practical good sense, not according to the size of the countries from which they came. The delegates from the secondary powers voted freely their own judgment, not a judgment imposed upon them, and they were in favor practically without exception of a strong, progressive peace policy. The delegates kept in close touch with their governments at home, and there is reason to believe that the spirit of the Conference was due in no small degree to the hearty coöperative disposition shown in the different capitals. This fine spirit which pervaded the Conference has the greatest significance for the future of civilization. It is really of more value than anything which was actually done, important as that may have been. The Czar, it will be remembered, laid stress in his rescript on "international discussion" as a means of discovering the best ways in which to deal with the serious problems now confronting the nations. International discussion of the subjects at issue, carried on in the lofty and harmonious spirit which characterized the Hague meeting, is the strongest possible assurance that the day is not far off when the nations, acting

in their joint human capacity, will put an end to the ruinous institutions which uncommunicative international selfishness and hate have built up. Such discussion marks indeed the opening of a new era for humanity — an era which will develop with a rapidity for which the faith of few of us is indeed prepared.

### The Practical Results.

It will be a long time before all of the results of the Conference appear. Chief among these will be a series of special conferences to deal with reduction of armaments, private property at sea in time of war, and kindred international questions. It was considered by leading men at The Hague a foregone conclusion that such congresses will inevitably follow. The American Commission, after a very able presentation of the case by Dr. White and Captain Mahan, secured a nearly unanimous vote, Russia, France, and England voting in the negative, recommending a special conference to deal with the private property question. Dr. White felt strongly that the Conference would fail of its mission if it did not succeed in propagating itself. The meeting at The Hague has finally brought the whole question of international peace and war into the realm of practical politics, and has almost certainly proved to be the commencement of a real parliament of the nations in a much wider sense than any previous international congress has been. This in itself is a great practical accomplishment. It opens an entirely new era in international affairs. Not only will the effect on the enlargement and development of international law be tremendous, but international relations of every kind will speedily feel the impulse. In just what ways it is needless to speculate.

The chief of the immediate results is the agreement to constitute a permanent court of arbitration. The extension of the Red Cross Convention to maritime warfare is an important transaction. An attempt was made to do this in the Supplementary Geneva Convention of 1868. But the nations never gave their ratification. The Hague Convention, we have every reason to believe, will be ratified. The restatement of the rules and customs of war will doubtless do something to cut off some of the attendant horrors of war. But far and away beyond these in importance is the arbitration scheme which has been framed. We need only give here the general features of the plan, which has already been published in the daily papers. It provides for a permanent bureau at The Hague, with a secretary, archivist and assistants. This bureau shall be under the direction of the foreign ministers at The Hague, under the presidency of the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. The nations entering into the agreement shall appoint each not more than four jurists of eminence, who shall constitute the board of arbitrators. From these any two

nations having a difference may select through the bureau, through which all the business will be done, a number of arbitrators to adjudicate their case. Recourse to the court is to be entirely voluntary.

This plan is somewhat different from any of those which have hitherto been suggested, but it has the valuable features of several of them. It was proposed at The Hague by Sir Julian Pauncefote, who for many years has had much to do with arbitration. It may not be the most perfect scheme which could be devised, and if adopted will doubtless grow into greater perfection. But it is probably as practicable a scheme as could be adopted at the present stage of the development of the principle of arbitration. It was carefully elaborated by skilled diplomats and lawyers at The Hague, and was believed to be more practicable at the present time than a permanent tribunal always sitting. It was generally thought by leading delegates that if this scheme shall go into practice it will prepare the way rapidly for disarmament.

Along with the arbitration project a scheme of mediation was also agreed upon, and one for commissions of inquiry which, in case of disputes between nations, shall examine into all the facts in the case before the nations proceed further in the matter. We shall reserve for another time further remarks upon the plans, which we hope to publish in full hereafter. So far as arbitration and mediation are concerned, the Conference has been a triumphant success. Nobody expected beforehand that this subject would take the preëminence which it did. But it was the logical thing after all, for war and armaments can only be abolished as positive peace principles and methods come into use.

Even on the subject of armaments much more was accomplished than would appear on the surface. There was a strong disposition on the part of many delegations to stop the introduction of new implements and methods of destruction, and to limit or eliminate some of those already in use; but other delegations were sure that no good could come of any such action. There was a general fear to tackle the subject of disarmament; but it was deeply felt that it was the question above all others pressing for solution, and must soon be grappled with by the governments, and that the Conference could do much to promote it by adopting a good working arbitration scheme. Notwithstanding the outspoken opposition of Germany to any thought of disarmament, when the subject was introduced by Mr. de Staal, a resolution, introduced by Mr. Bourgeois, was finally passed by a large vote, declaring that reduction of the present excessive armaments was an object for which all the governments ought earnestly to labor. So by the adoption of an arbitration court, and by throwing the weight of its virtual condemna-

tion against the present armaments, the Conference did much to assure the early consideration of the disarmament problem. We confess our disappointment that nothing more was done. What was done will have much less value than it would have had if some measure of disarmament had been provided for. But this fact and the growing perilousness of the present situation will drive the governments to an early attempt to find relief, either through a special conference or by direct diplomatic negotiations.

### The Mohonk Conference.

The fifth Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was held by invitation of Mr. A. K. Smiley on May 31-June 2. The Conference was made unusually interesting this year because of the meeting at The Hague and the prominence there given to arbitration. The Mohonk meetings continued three days, two sessions being held each day. Mr. and Mrs. Smiley were never more generous in their hospitality, nor happier over the part they have been able to take in promoting the cause of international peace. The number of eminent men representing all classes and callings was unusually large; particularly was there a good representation of business men. The meetings were again presided over by Ex-Senator Edmunds, who has presided at all the previous Mohonk Conferences, except that of last year, when the lamented Colonel Waring was in the chair. Many new faces were seen among the guests, but a large number of old members were present.

The subjects discussed were "The American Proposals at The Hague," "Is Arbitration Practicable?" "The Proposals of the New York Bar Association," "Causes for Encouragement," etc. Among the prominent persons present were Judges Chester, Gilbert, Stiness and Ashman, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, Mr. Walter S. Logan, Mr. W. Martin Jones, Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Hon. W. L. Scruggs, Hon. W. J. Coombs, Dr. E. E. Hale, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. George Dana Boardman, Dr. P. S. Moxom, Dr. T. L. Cuyler, Hon. Samuel B. Capen, Prof. J. B. Clark, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Meade, Mr. John Crosby Brown, Mr. A. C. Barnes, Presidents Strong and Seelye, Mr. Amos R. Wells, Dr. Richard H. Thomas, Colonel Church, Professor Bracq, Mr. G. C. Mercer, Gen. O. O. Howard, Mr. Edward Atkinson, Mrs. H. J. Bailey, etc.

The discussions, centering chiefly about the subject of a permanent tribunal, were very able and valuable. We are sorry that our limited space this month compels us to defer to another number the publication of more of the noteworthy addresses made. The rule adopted last year was applied again this, and the present policy of the administration was excluded from the debates. The general tone

of the Conference was one of hope and encouragement. All felt that the meeting at The Hague was one of vast importance. A resolution of congratulation and a telegram were sent to the American Commissioners at The Hague. At its closing meeting the Conference adopted the following declaration :

"We urge the immediate establishment of a permanent international Court, which shall be open to all nations for the adjudication of whatever controversies may arise between them, and which they are unable to settle by diplomacy or mediation.

"In the constitution of this Court we urge the application of the same principles which experience has shown to be most conducive to the ends of justice in judicial controversies between individuals.

"In this highest of human tribunals the judges should be selected solely for their recognized ability, learning, and impartiality.

"During the past few years the cause of arbitration has made wonderful progress. Since our last meeting a treaty between Italy and Argentina has been negotiated. This marks a great advance over all former arbitration treaties, in that it provides for the settlement of all disputes that may arise between them, questions of honor not being excepted.

"Within the past year another event of transcendent importance has occurred, in the summoning by the Czar of Russia of a great international Conference to consider how war can be avoided and its burdens reduced. This Conference marks an epoch in the history of the world. It is the first great step toward the federated peace of the world. The Czar is entitled to gratitude and respectful admiration for his noble initiative.

"Earnestly do we hope that the work so auspiciously begun at The Hague will go forward, until at last, and at no distant day, the peace of the world shall rest on the sure foundation of justice, and nations be relieved from the well-nigh intolerable burdens of war.

"We must not forget, however, that the work of that Conference is only preliminary, and that the results of its deliberations must be submitted for ratification to the several governments there represented.

"We, therefore, here earnestly resolve to do what we can to promote popular intelligence and quicken the popular conscience, to the end that when this subject comes before our representatives at Washington there shall be no doubt as to what the people demand in this time of supreme opportunity.

"We believe that the gratifying progress already made and the inspiring hopes which we confidently entertain for the future are because men are learning the moral righteousness of peace, and because God rules the world."

### Notes on The Hague Conference.

Secretary's  
Attendance.

Secretary Trueblood reached The Hague on the morning of the 19th of May and remained there four weeks. The spirit of the Conference was by that time fully developed, the work all mapped out and nearing completion. He, along

with other peace workers who were present, was treated with great respect by the members of the Conference and by the officials of the Dutch government. He kept daily in close touch with the proceedings, had many opportunities to see and converse with the delegates, to study the spirit and workings of the Conference, to observe the characteristics of the different delegations, to confer with the European peace leaders, many of whom were present for longer or shorter periods, to talk with newspaper correspondents, etc. During his absence Secretary Trueblood attended and spoke at the annual meetings in London of the Peace Society, of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, and of the Friends' Peace Union. He arrived home on the first day of July, refreshed by the journey and greatly pleased to have had the opportunity of coming into personal and intimate contact with what will always hereafter be regarded as, to date, the most important political assemblage of men ever gathered together. The following notes, together with preceding editorials and the report of the proceedings given further on, contain some of his impressions of the Conference and its surroundings.

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The Dutch name of the city in which the Conference was held, and which seems likely through the permanent bureau of arbitration to be established there to become the capital of the world in some sense, is 's Gravenhage, meaning the Count's Hedge. It was originally a village which grew up about a hunting lodge, subsequently transformed into a palace, built by Count William II. in the forest in the year 1249. As the city has grown it has retained much of the village character. It now has nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants. But as one of the peace visitors said, "It does not seem like a serious city, but a place to rest and play in." It has many wide streets, squares, large rectangular open spaces, with groups and long rows of splendid trees. The city seems to have cut its way into the forest with great respect for the latter. On the north and east the wood (the Dutch call it "bosch") has been preserved in much of its original state, many very old trees still standing. Through these woods walks and drives and avenues have been made, along some of which now run street car lines. There is nothing more picturesque and beautiful in its way in Europe. In the center of many of the streets run canals, so well known everywhere in Holland. "We have in Holland nothing but water and windmills," said one lady. The Hague is one of the cleanest cities in the world. Its hotels are quaint old buildings, erected originally as private places of barons, etc. The newer parts of the city, though thoroughly Dutch in style, are

very neat and attractive. The royal palace, the royal library, the museums, the government buildings, the churches, are all interesting. About the Lange Voorhout, the principal square, are located the chief hotels and many of the foreign embassies. About this square were quartered many of the delegations, and here, to the public, was centered the chief interest of the Conference, rather than in the "House-in-the-Woods," in which the sessions were held in secret.

**The "House-in-the-Woods."** "The most beautiful historical monument" at the disposal of the Queen, is the way in which in his opening address Mr. de Beaufort described this building. It is situated about one mile east of the center of The Hague, in the edge of the forest. The front of it opens into the forest. In the rear, skirting which runs a public highway, the grounds have been fashioned into most beautiful gardens, with winding walks, drives, lakes, flowers, shrubs and long avenues of trees. The building is old and quaint, but extremely attractive. It was built by Amelia van Solms, widow of Prince Frederick Henry, in memory of her husband, who was called "the blameless prince." The entrance hall is adorned with fine paintings, among which is one of Mr. Motley, the historian of Holland. The Japanese and Chinese rooms are the most beautiful in the "House." The Orange Hall, in which the Conference was held, is gorgeous from floor to dome with paintings representing scenes in the life of the Prince. The Queen does not reside there now, even in summer, but at Amsterdam. She sometimes visits the "House" for a day. "When she gets married she will doubtless come here to live," said the lady attendant with a smile, with a look of hope in her eye that that interesting event might not be too long delayed.

**The Meetings.** The full sittings of the Conference were held in the Orange Hall. The sections and sub-committees met in other rooms of the "House." The committees frequently met for convenience in some hall in the city or in the hotels. The delegates usually drove to the "House-in-the-Woods" in carriages, though when they met elsewhere the formality of carriages was often dispensed with. Guards stood at the gateways of both entrances to the "House," and even the delegates had to show cards and give a password before they could enter. A dining room and restaurants were fitted up in the building for the members. The General Secretary had his Bureau installed in one suite of the rooms. Special telegraph wires had been put up for the occasion, connecting the "House" with the outside world. Visitors were admitted only at

times when no sittings were in progress. The Dutch government was very generous in providing all "respectable" people with cards of admission, and one visitor at least had two opportunities of inspecting the "beautiful historical monument."

**The Queen's Receptions.** Queen Wilhelmina, who does not reside at The Hague in the summer, came with her mother to the Palace on the 24th of May and gave a reception to the delegates. She received the President of the Conference at a quarter to five o'clock, when Mr. de Staal presented to her, as a present from the Czar, the order of Saint Catherine, set in brilliants. The reception to the delegates and others began at five o'clock and lasted about three-quarters of an hour. The delegates were presented in alphabetical order to both the Queen and the Queen Mother, who received separately. The Queen was dressed in white and wore a triple row of pearls as a necklace. She had a gracious word for each in his own language. In receiving the Baroness von Suttner, who was invited, she showed that she had studied the subject of peace and was warmly interested in it. Many of the dignitaries of the government and members of the States-General were present. The reception was considered the most brilliant which this generation has seen in Holland. The Queen gave a second reception to the delegates at her palace at Amsterdam on the evening of July 5.

**Peace Memorials.** Numerous peace memorials from all quarters of the world were sent in by letter, by wire and by personal deputations. The president and leading members of the deputations were almost overwhelmed with these in the early days of the Conference. They were much impressed by them and replied to very many of them. One of the most significant was that from multitudes of women's meetings in all parts of the world. Madame Selenka, of Munich, one of the most remarkable of the personages whom the Peace Crusade movement brought out, presented in person to Mr. de Staal an album containing the original text of the resolutions passed in these meetings, representing in the aggregate several millions of women. Queen Wilhelmina conveyed to Madame Selenka her deep sympathy with the work of women for peace. The album was accompanied with the following address:

"We, the women of eighteen nations, assembled in one single impulse of hope and sympathy, come to offer our respectful salutations to the Conference, and to assure it of our faith and confidence in the happy results of its labors, that the hope of the peoples in the direction in which you are called upon to deliberate upon their highest interests may not be deceived, and that the

crushing evils of which the recognized excess is the *raison d'être* of your meeting may not be declared by you to be incurable. Do not let the overburdened peoples lose the propitious chance of the historic moment which by your zeal may spare them long years of painful progression, and cruel halts, towards an aim which in the natural development of their civilization they must reach. In view of the united efforts of the governments determined to apply to the solution of this problem of how to guarantee to the nations security and peace, as much energy and intellectual force as they expend at present in arming one against the other, this solution, already ripened by history, will not be slow to present itself. That is our conviction and our hope. Already the nations no longer hate each other, since we women, who are half of the human race, hold out our hands across the spaces encircling the globe with a powerful current of love and unity. We who feel that we are sisters appeal to you to realize the ideal of the fraternity of nations in the hope that our voice, the voice of mothers and sisters, daughters and wives, which pleads in the name of home and child, may make itself heeded in your deliberations, and that henceforward conflicts between nations may no longer be decided on battlefields watered with the blood of our sons and brothers; cause the tyrannical sovereignty of force to vanish into the past with the dying century, and hail the coming century with the crowning of the principle of right."

**Other Memorials.** Dr. W. Evans Darby, Secretary of the Peace Society, London, also presented in person to Mr. de Staal an address adopted at the annual meeting of the Society on the 23d of May. It was received with great favor. Mr. de Staal also did Dr. Darby the honor to distribute among the delegates one hundred copies of his book on "International Tribunals," a book containing all important arbitration schemes hitherto drawn and a list of all the important arbitrations during this century. The book proved eminently useful and drew out many warm expressions of appreciation. The London Committee of the Peace Crusade also handed to the delegates, through Mr. Francis William Fox, a draft of a scheme for arbitration and mediation. An address was presented to Mr. de Staal by Madame Waszkiewicz of The Hague, organizer of the Dutch Peace Crusade, signed by more than two hundred thousand of her fellow countrymen. A similar address was presented by Senator H. La Fontaine, of Brussels, signed by more than one hundred thousand Belgians. Besides these addresses presented in person, many came by letter from different peace associations and other organizations in all parts of Europe and America. How much influence these memorials had it is impossible to tell, but there is no doubt that they did much to make the delegates feel that they had in hand the most momentous interests of our time, interests felt deeply by millions of the best and truest men and women

of all countries. There is little doubt that the hopeful and earnest spirit which early took possession of all the leading delegates was due in considerable degree to these appeals.

#### English Friends' Deputation.

A deputation of the English Friends, sent by the Yearly Meeting then in session, went to The Hague on May 27, and presented an address to the president of the Conference. A printed copy was also sent to each delegate. The deputation, which consisted of John Bellows, chairman, Joseph G. Alexander, Josephine Alexander, Edmund Wright Brooks, Francis William Fox and Ellen Robinson, was received with great courtesy by Mr. de Staal, who expressed particular satisfaction in seeing them because "he knew they were sincere." The address was as follows:

"We desire to express our profound sympathy with the work of the Conference initiated by the Emperor of Russia, having for its object the extension among the nations of the blessings of durable peace. For more than two centuries the Society of Friends has felt bound to oppose the whole system and practice of war, and to plead against the spirit that leads to war as utterly contrary to the Spirit of Christ, and to the rule, at once simple and practical, that we should do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. We therefore greatly desire that your deliberations may be guided by that wisdom which is the gift of God, so that practical and lasting results may attend your labors. That these labors may not be in vain, but be abundantly crowned with success, and be followed by the blessing pronounced upon the peacemakers, is our earnest prayer."

#### The Peace Workers.

The peace workers at The Hague during the Conference were not numerous, but they were among the leading and most influential ones. The French Arbitration Society was represented by Dr. Charles Richet, of the University of Paris; the International League of Peace and Liberty by its President, Emile Arnaud; the English Peace Society by Dr. Darby; the International Arbitration and Peace Association by Felix Moscheles, chairman of its committee; the International Peace Bureau by Frederik Bajer of Copenhagen; the Belgian Societies by Senator La Fontaine; the German societies by Mr. A. H. Fried, of Berlin; the Russian friends of peace by Mr. Novicow, the distinguished sociologist of Odessa; the Austrian society by the Baron and Baroness Von Suttner and Count Gourowsky; the women workers by Ellen Robinson, of Liverpool, Madame Selenka and Madame Waszkiewicz; the American societies by B. F. Trueblood. They were all received with great kindness and consideration, not only by the delegates, but by the officials of the Dutch government with whom they came in

contact. They were invited to many of the receptions and fêtes, and given opportunity to visit the "House-in-the-Woods," in which the Conference sittings were held. The Baroness Von Suttner, the most widely known of the European peace propagandists, received marked attention and exercised much influence. She was admitted to the opening sitting of the Conference, had interviews with many of the leading delegates, gave lunches at her hotel to small companies of delegates and friends, and in general was almost recognized as a part of the Conference. Some of the leading delegates expressed frankly to these peace workers the debt due to them for the great peace progress which has been made.

Mr.  
Bloch.

Outside of the delegates, the man who attracted most attention and had most influence was Mr. John de Bloch. He brought with him great trunks full of sets of his monumental work in six volumes on "The Future War." These he took about with him in his carriage when making calls and gave them to leading delegates and others. He gave a course of four lectures on the evolution of war and of peace, illustrated with lantern projections, in one of the halls of The Hague. These were attended by the peace workers present and by a considerable number of the delegates. He served free suppers in the middle and at the end of the lectures to all comers. He is a man of great wealth, of high social position, has "seen war," and is consecrating himself wholly to delivering his message of warning to the nations of Europe. His point of view is that armaments have become so large and costly and a war between the powers would be so disastrous in loss of life and so ruinous financially that nothing could justify the nations in entering into a conflict of arms. War has actually in his view become a utopia. From this point of view he proceeds to argue for the establishment of a permanent tribunal of arbitration which will make disarmament possible. He is wholly possessed of his subject and can talk of nothing else. It is an interesting and significant fact that Russia should have produced at the same time three such peace advocates as the Czar, Tolstoy and Mr. Bloch.

Mr.  
Stead.

Mr. Stead, like Mr. Bloch, is not a member of any peace society. Mr. Bloch would be if he lived in any country but Russia, where as yet there have been no such organizations. Mr. Stead studiously shuns the regular organizations. He is his own society, president, secretary, treasurer and membership. But he has done an immense amount of work in his own way to make the Hague Conference a success. His previous labors in the Crusade in Europe and in Rus-

sia are well known. He was at The Hague and the busiest man there. No delegate could escape him. Even the reserved and averse Germans had to listen to his curtain lectures. He found out more of what was going on than probably any other journalist there. He published it in the *Manchester Guardian* in England and in the *Dagblad*, the leading daily of The Hague, of which latter he contrived to make himself the Conference editor. He gave a lecture in the city on the Conference to a numerous audience, and at the end conducted a lively "question drawer." Mr. Stead is a man of great enthusiasm about whatever he has in hand, and of great brilliancy as well. His power of endurance of hard and continuous work is incomprehensible. The villa in which he lived during the Conference was near the seaside resort, Scheveningen, and bore the appropriate title, "Pax Intransigentibus." His family were with him.

The English  
Church.

A very interesting series of sermons were preached in the English Church in The Hague during the Conference. They were specially arranged by the rector to bear upon the work of the Conference. Distinguished preachers came over from England each Sabbath day, and the sermons were all excellent, some of them of a very high order. The opening sermon by the Dean of Ely, May 21, Whitsunday, on "The prophecy of Joel," was peculiarly appropriate to the occasion. The other preachers were Dean Freemantle, Rev. Mr. Grundy, the Bishop of Hereford, the Dean of Bristol, and one or two others. A number of the delegates from England and America attended these services.

Turkey and  
Armenia.

It was impossible to keep the question of Turkish injustice out of the Conference. There were representatives of the Armenians and of the Young Turkey party present with memorials. Mr. Ahmed Riza, editor at Paris of a journal devoted to the interests of the Young Turkey party, put into the hands of every delegate an address making representations as to the actual condition of things throughout the Ottoman empire. The purpose for which the Conference met made it impossible for anything direct to be done about these matters. But the presence of these persons discredited very much the Turkish delegation. Mr. Ahmed Riza and one of the Armenians delivered one evening addresses in The Hague. The next day one of the Turkish delegation sent Mr. Riza a challenge to fight a duel. This was of course declined. Among the delegates there was much sympathy for Mr. Riza and the Armenians; and the presence of such a country as Turkey in a peace conference was felt to be a great



anomaly. It is not unfair to say that Turkey had little real influence in the Conference.

**Honor to Grotius.** The Americans at the Hague Conference spent their Fourth of July in honoring the memory of Hugo Grotius. A large meeting, attended by many delegates, diplomats, high officials and ladies, was held in the New Church at Delft. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Van Karnebeek, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and chief of the Dutch delegation to the Peace Conference. A scholarly address was made by Hon. Andrew D. White, in which he paid a high tribute to Grotius, the father of international law. "He seemed to hear a voice from that tomb encouraging them to go on with the strengthening of peace; and especially to give to the world at least the beginning of an effective, practical scheme of arbitration." At the end of his address Dr. White, on behalf of his commission, laid upon the tomb a wreath of silver oak and laurel leaves, bearing the inscription: "To the memory of Hugo Grotius, on the occasion of the Peace Conference at The Hague, in reverence and gratitude, from the United States." The wreath, three feet in diameter, was in a large beech case, ornamented with silver, and bearing the inscription: "To the Government of The Netherlands from the United States, on the occasion of the Conference, 1899." Following the inscription were the names of the American delegates. The address of acceptance was made by W. H. de Beaufort, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, and honorary president of the Conference. He emphasized the close connection of Holland with the history and traditions of the United States, and hoped that the wreath would be an everlasting emblem of the friendship of Holland and America. The closing address was made by Mr. Low, who declared that "We owe to Holland many of the things which we hold as most precious in our heritage."

**The Papal Nuncio.** The departure of the Papal Nuncio from The Hague on the eve of the opening of the Conference created at first some talk, but afterwards nothing was heard of it. The Pope seems to have withdrawn him to prevent unpleasantness, after it was decided that the Papacy, out of regard principally to the wishes of the Italian government, should not be represented in the Conference. The decision that the Pope should not participate by a delegate was made purely on political and not on religious grounds. There was no discrimination against delegates on account of religion. A few of the prominent men in the Conference were Catholic statesmen, but this was no bar to their serving in any capacity. Some of them occupied foremost places on committees.

## General Notes.

**Philippine Events.** Peace in the Philippines is not near. The reduction of the American forces through fighting, disease and heat has been so great that they have been threatened in places with disaster, and are unable to make further headway without the aid of fresh troops. Some of the regiments have less than three hundred effective men. The rainy season has exposed the troops to great hardships from the floods of water. The volunteers are mostly coming home, some of them having already arrived. General Otis has re-enlisted something like a thousand of them, and formed of them two skeleton regiments. The president has made a call for ten new regiments of volunteers, and these are being enlisted as fast as possible. General Otis has cabled for two thousand five hundred horses, in order to organize cavalry squads. Meanwhile the Filipinos seem no nearer subdued than they were five months ago. They are active and aggressive, fresh thousands coming up to take the place of those slain. The government at Washington is at last convinced, in spite of delusive Commission reports, that it has serious business on hand. Aguinaldo, on the anniversary of the declaration of Philippine independence, has denounced in the strongest terms the course pursued by this country as wholly unjust and contrary to what was to have been expected from America. He has declared that the Filipinos will fight until their independence is recognized. If recent reports are true, our government has decided to enter upon what in anybody else we should despise as low and dishonorable bribery. The Sultan of Sulu is to be brought into friendliness by a gift of ten thousand dollars, and an annual allowance thereafter of some twelve thousand dollars, to support himself and his harem! One wonders what the next step in the nation's shame will be! But one must keep his mouth shut and his pen still about all this, as well as about the fundamental injustice at the bottom of the whole sad Philippine business, or be outlawed as a traitor to his country by supporters of the policy of crushing and conquest! Under the circumstances, the time for silent acquiescence has not come; the time for vigorous and persistent opposition has only just begun.

**Moore's History of Arbitration.** We are indebted to Hon. Chas. F. Sprague, member of Congress from Massachusetts, for a copy of the recent work on International Arbitration, by Professor John Bassett Moore, of Columbia University. The work is in six large volumes, the sixth volume consisting of sixty-one maps illustrating the cases of arbitration in which territorial and geographical considerations have been involved. The work was

undertaken by Professor Moore under authority of a joint resolution of Congress passed on April 2, 1894. Professor Moore's studies in international law, of which he is professor at Columbia University, and his former connection with the State Department as assistant secretary, have peculiarly fitted him for the great and important service which he has accomplished in giving this work to the world. It will easily be the standard work on the subject for many years to come, being the first of its kind ever prepared, and being so conscientiously, thoroughly and exhaustively done. It is not only a history of the arbitrations of the United States, with appendices containing the treaties relating to such arbitrations, but it contains historical and legal notes on other international arbitrations ancient and modern. It contains also an appendix on the domestic commissions of the United States for the adjustment of international claims. The work is published by the government, and can only be had from a member of Congress or from the State Department.

**The Sources of Militarism.** Mr. Frederic Harrison, whose words we find in the *Conservator*, writes thus of the sources of militarism:

"The government of a nation is not likely to be morally superior to the people who have evolved that government as their organ of collective action. The attitude and policy of nations towards each other are thus sure to be on the same moral level as the common attitude and policy of the citizens one towards another within each nation; no higher. A nation that is not fit for entirely peaceful and harmonious relations within itself, as regards the tilling of its fields, the working of its mines and mills and factories, the manning of its ships, and the distribution of its multifarious produce in its own borders—a nation whose citizens cannot live and work together for mutual support as brethren, or members of one body, but are struggling, scrambling, snatching, each rushing after some separate and private end—is not yet fit for peaceful and harmonious relations with other nations of the earth. Militarism is the international relationship that accurately corresponds to competitive industrialism and commercialism. 'The devils of national vainglory, of imperial expansion, and of the passion of robbing and crowing over neighbors,' are simply the devil of individual vainglory, the devil of business and domestic ambition and rivalry, the devil of the passion of exploiting the public, and especially the poorer and less resisting classes of them, the devil of delight in one's superior ability and riches and dignity—these very devils, these very lusts, these very defects of character, these very ignoble traits, acting on a large scale, through the nations. Peace among the nations means also at the same time peace within the nations. It means the reorganization of all society and of all the common activities of everyday life on the basis of brotherhood and common interest. International relations cannot be permanently of a higher character than the relations prevail-

ing simultaneously between each man and his neighbor. The problem is: how can the devil of separate interests, the power that drives man apart from man, be banished from the human heart? Hope lies in the progressive realization that, despite all transient, contrary seemings, we have all really one life, that we are members one of another; that the truer order of the universe is such that the interests of all men and of all nations are identical; that in universal, mutual service alone are to be found true progress and true prosperity for all. In love alone for men and nations are true wisdom, incorruptible and uncorrupting wealth, and the highest, gladdest life."

**Imperial Democracy.** "Imperial Democracy" is the title of a pamphlet by John J. Valentine, president of Wells, Fargo & Co., of San Francisco, Cal.

It consists of two papers, one entitled "Dutch Colonizers in Malaysia," the other "Annexation of the Philippines," and furnishes an important contribution to the discussion of the momentous question now before the country. In the second of these Mr. Valentine says:

"What shall it profit Americans if they gain the whole world and lose their reverence for and loyalty to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and all the most cherished principles of our fair fabric of liberty, broadbased on the immutable principles of the truth as it is in Jesus? Confronted by the war-spirit madness which has prevailed in the United States for a year past, I would ask every professing Christian of whatsoever church, sect, or denomination, if he believes that, were the Galilean himself present, looking on at the slaughter of helpless people, He would approve it. Nay, more, I ask those ministers of the gospel who have been so swift to proclaim the benefits and blessings of Christian civilization to follow the triumphs of our arms, whether, in the face of the wild outburst of savagery which has characterized our latest victories, they believe that the evangelizing process which has been adopted is in keeping with the spirit of Christ. . . . If the spirit of Christ prevail not in our civilization, it is of no more worth than the imperial despotism built up and maintained by Roman legions, and, like it, liable to be overthrown and trampled in the dust by Goths and Vandals in another form."

Mr. Valentine believes that "our coming national campaign will be a strenuous one, and that the issue will be between American Democracy—broadbased, as it is, on the immutable principles of the truth as it is in Jesus—and Plutocratic Imperialism, to the exclusion of all minor questions—standards of value, currency reform, tariff revision, and everything else apart from a contest for and against the lust of ambition, power, and pelf." He does not "believe that the Democratic heart of America will tolerate the sordid, vulgar, and ignoble spirit of avarice and vainglory which underlie the present situation." We hope so. It ought to be so. And every man in the nation ought at once to have a solemn sitting

with his conscience, if he has not already done so, to determine in the light of "the truth as it is in Jesus" how he will act.

### Brevities.

. . . A Portuguese League of Peace has just been founded at Lisbon. Most cordial and fraternal salutations to the new organization.

. . . We greatly regret to learn of the death of Aaron M. Powell of the Purity Alliance, New York, editor of the *Philanthropist*. He was an experienced and loyal friend of peace.

. . . The August number of the *New England Magazine*, 5 Park Square, Boston, will contain an illustrated article on the Hague Conference, by Benjamin F. Trueblood.

. . . The Venezuela arbitration tribunal has commenced its work at Paris. The time so far has been taken up by Sir Richard Webster in presenting the British side of the case in a long historical review.

. . . One of the most interesting meetings at the great Woman's Congress in London was that on arbitration, arranged for by a committee of which Lady Aberdeen was chairman. A number of the leading peace women from different countries gave ten minute addresses.

. . . The national Christian Endeavor Convention recently held at Detroit was one of the most successful which the United Society has ever held. One great meeting was devoted to arbitration and peace, the society now having made this a fixed and prominent part of its program.

. . . The Universal Peace Union, in addition to its regular annual convention at Mystic, Ct., on the 23d to the 26th of August, is conducting a summer school in the Peace Grove and Temple. It is expecting a large number of peace workers to give instruction and lectures. For information address Rev. Amanda Deyo, Mystic, Ct.

. . . The sixth season of summer lectures at Greenacre, Eliot, Me., was opened on July 1. As is her rule, Miss Farmer devoted the opening days to the subject of peace. Among the speakers on peace were Dr. Lewis G. Janes, of Cambridge, Rev. Samuel Richard Fuller, of Boston, and Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills.

### Proceedings of the International Peace Conference.

The International Conference on Peace and Disarmament called by the Czar of Russia opened at The Hague on Thursday, May 18, at 2.15 o'clock p.m., in the Orange Hall in the Queen's "House in the Woods." When the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. de Beaufort, to whose lot it fell on behalf of the Dutch government to open the Conference, rapped on the table for order, "a great silence" fell upon the little group of diplomats gathered in the hall. There were less than one hundred of them, and there were present besides them only a small group of representatives of the press, the Baroness

von Suttner, whose name is the best known of the peace propagandists of Europe, and an English Friend, Francis William Fox, a member of the British Peace Crusade Committee. All these "outsiders" sat in the gallery of the dome forty feet above the heads of the delegates, and their presence was scarcely known to the latter.

The hall, which is an octagonal one, and covered, sides and dome, with paintings by famous Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, was just large enough to accommodate the gathering. It had been specially fitted up for the occasion. The hard floor had been carpeted, and the seats for the delegates put upon a raised temporary floor, sloping in to the center from two directions. The president's chair was on the south side, windows looking out from behind it on the beautiful gardens in the rear of the palace. The seats of the delegations had been chosen alphabetically. The delegates sat facing one another from the two sides, except that seats for the Russian delegation had been prepared to the right and left of the president's chair, at a horseshoe-shaped table. The table for the secretaries was in front of the chair. On the desk in front of each delegate was a portfolio on which was inscribed in French "Conférence de la Haye, 1899." The delegates were all in plain morning dress, with the exception of three or four military and naval men, one of these being Captain Mahan, who was in naval uniform. There was a conspicuous absence throughout the Conference of anything of a military character, except that now and then a military delegate might be seen striding away somewhere in uniform. It was a little curious to see at a Peace Conference a soldier, not a policeman, standing guard at the gateway, and permitting no one to enter without his delegate's or visitor's card. But these soldiers belonged to the ordinary royal guard, and might have been seen at any other time just the same. When the delegates were in their places Mr. de Beaufort opened the Conference with the following brief address of welcome:

"In the name of my August Sovereign, I have the honor to bid you welcome, and to express the feelings of profound respect and lively gratitude which I entertain towards the Emperor of All the Russias, who, in appointing The Hague as the meeting place of the Peace Conference, paid a high honor to our country. The Emperor of Russia, in taking that noble initiative, which has evoked the plaudits of the whole civilized world, desired to realize the wish expressed by one of his most illustrious predecessors, the Emperor Alexander I., to see all the sovereigns and all the nations of Europe come to an agreement among themselves to live together like brothers, aiding one another in their mutual necessities. Inspired by these noble traditions of his august ancestor, his Majesty proposed to all the governments whose representatives are here to-day the assembling of a Conference whose task should be to seek means for putting an end to incessant armaments and preventing the calamities which threaten the entire world.

"The day of the meeting of this Conference will be, without doubt, a day of mark in the history of the century which is about to close. It coincides with the fête which all the subjects of the Czar celebrate as a national holiday, and in associating myself from the bottom of

my heart with all possible wishes for the happiness of the magnanimous Sovereign, I will venture to constitute myself the mouthpiece of the whole civilized world in expressing the hope that his Majesty, seeing the realization of his generous schemes through the efforts of this Conference, may be able in the future to look back on this day as the most glorious day in his life.

"Her Majesty, my August Sovereign, imbued by the same sentiments which inspired the Emperor of Russia, desired to place at the disposal of the Conference the most beautiful historical monument in her possession. The hall in which you are now assembled is decorated by the best artists of the seventeenth century. It was built by the widow of Prince Frederick Henry in memory of her noble husband. Among the groups of allegorical figures which you will admire here, one — connected with the Peace of Westphalia — merits very special attention. It is the one which is at the doorway of this hall, where you see Peace entering this hall to close the Temple of Janus. I trust that this beautiful allegory will be of good augury for your labors, and that after you have completed them you will be able to say that Peace, whom Art has introduced into this hall, has gone forth to spread her blessings among the whole of humanity."

At the end of the speech, which was listened to in profound silence and received with marks of unanimous approval, Mr. de Beaufort proposed that the following telegram be sent to the Czar:

"The Peace Conference lays at the feet of your Majesty its respectful congratulations on the occasion of your birthday anniversary, and expresses its sincere desire to coöperate in the accomplishment of the great and noble work in which your Majesty has taken the generous initiative, and for which it begs you to accept its humble and profound gratitude."

Mr. de Beaufort then proposed that Mr. de Staal, the chief of the Russian Commission, be made the president of the Conference. This was unanimously and heartily agreed to. Mr. de Staal, on taking the president's chair, Mr. de Beaufort seating himself at his right, delivered the following short address:

"My first duty is to express to the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs my sincere gratitude for the noble terms in which he has just referred to my August Master. His Majesty will be deeply touched by the exalted sentiments with which Mr. de Beaufort is inspired, as well as by the spontaneity with which this high assembly has associated itself with them. Though it is to the Emperor of Russia that the initiative for the meeting of the Conference is due, we owe it to her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands to have called us together in her capital. It is a happy augury for the success of our labors that we are met together under the auspices of a young sovereign whose charm makes itself felt in a wide circle, and whose heart, open to everything great and generous, has displayed so much sympathy for the cause which brings us here. Amid the calm surroundings of The Hague, in the bosom of a nation which forms so striking a factor of universal civilization, we have before our eyes a brilliant example of what solid worth, patriotism, and sustained energy can achieve.

"It is on the historic soil of the Netherlands that the greatest problems of the political life of states have been discussed, and here one may say was the cradle of the science of international law. For centuries the principal negotiations between the European powers have been conducted here. Here, lastly, was signed the remarkable pact which established a truce in the bloody struggles between states. We are thus on historic soil.

"I have now to thank the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands for the terms so eloquent, so flattering — too flattering, indeed — which he has used in regard to myself. I feel sure that I am expressing the sentiments of all the members of this high assembly when I assure his Excellency, Mr. de Beaufort, how happy we should have been to see him preside at our meetings. His place in the presidential chair was indicated not only by the precedents followed on such occasions, but also by the qualities of the eminent statesman now directing the foreign policy of the Netherlands. His presidency would, moreover, have been an additional sign of respect that we should have liked to render to the august Sovereign who has deigned to offer us gracious hospitality.

"As for myself, I cannot consider my appointment as being inspired by anything else than by my position as plenipotentiary of the Emperor, my August Master, the initiator of the idea of this Conference. It is on this ground that I accept with deep gratitude the distinguished honor which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has conferred upon me in proposing me for the presidency, and I thank the members of the Conference for having ratified his choice. I shall use every endeavor in order to justify their confidence, but I am perfectly aware that the advanced age which I have reached is, alas! a sad privilege and a weak auxiliary. I hope at least that it will constitute a claim upon your indulgence."

Mr. de Staal then proposed the sending of the following telegram, in the name of the Conference, to the Queen of the Netherlands:

"The members of this Conference, assembled for the first time in this beautiful palace, hasten to lay at the feet of your Majesty their best wishes, praying you to accept their homage and gratitude for the hospitality which you have so graciously deigned to offer them."

The reading of this message was warmly applauded. Mr. de Staal then moved that Mr. de Beaufort be appointed honorary president of the Conference, and that A. P. C. van Karnebeek, Bart., the first Dutch delegate, be made vice-president. The motion was unanimously agreed to. The president then named ten secretaries to serve the Conference, the general secretary being J. C. N. Van Eys, Bart., of the Netherlands. The persons named were chosen, and took their seats at the table in front of the chair. It was then decided, on motion of the president, that the deliberations of the Conference should be held in secret. The Conference then adjourned for two days in order to give time for the division into sections for the study of the various questions indicated in the Czar's circular. The opening meeting lasted only about twenty-five minutes.

#### SECOND SESSION.

The second session was held on Saturday, May 20, at 11 o'clock, with closed doors. The president com-

municated to the Conference the text of the two following telegrams received respectively from Queen Wilhelmina, and from the Emperor of Russia through Count Muravieff:

"While thanking your Excellency as well as the members of the Peace Conference for the sentiments expressed in your telegram, I seize with pleasure this opportunity to express to you again a cordial welcome to my country. I desire most sincerely that, with the help of God, the work of the Conference may realize the generous thought of your August Sovereign.

(Signed) WILHELMINA."

"The Emperor prays you to be kind enough to convey to the Conference his sincere thanks and his most ardent wishes. My August Master commands me to make known to your Excellency how deeply he has been affected by the telegram which you have sent him.

(Signed) COUNT MURAVIEFF."

Mr. de Staal then delivered the following address as to the purposes and work of the Conference:

#### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

"*Gentlemen*,—The principal object of our deliberations is to seek more efficacious means for assuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and lasting peace, to use the terms of the circular of August 12 (24). The name Peace Conference, which the instinct of nations, outstripping the decisions adopted in this respect by the governments, has given to our meeting, well indicates the essential subject of our labors. The Peace Conference cannot fail in the task which devolves upon it. It must cause to come out of these deliberations a tangible result which the whole of mankind awaits with confidence. The alacrity which all the powers displayed in accepting the proposal contained in the Russian circular is a most eloquent testimony to the unanimity which obtains with regard to pacific ideas. It is therefore for me an agreeable duty to request the delegates of all the states represented here to transmit to their respective governments the reiterated expression of thanks of the Russian government. The very composition of this meeting is a sure guarantee of the spirit in which we shall approach the task which is confided to us.

"The governments are represented here by statesmen who have played a part in the destinies of their countries, by eminent diplomatists who have been concerned in the greatest transactions and who all know that the first requirement of the nations is the maintenance of peace. With them are savants who in the domain of international law enjoy a justly merited renown. The general and superior officers of the land and sea forces who will assist us in our labors will also afford us the aid of their high competence. Diplomacy, as we all know, has for its object the prevention and smoothing away of conflicts among states, the moderation of rivalries, the conciliation of interests, and the avoidance of misunderstandings, and to substitute understanding for disagreements. I may be permitted to say that, in obedience to a general law, diplomacy is no longer only an art in which personal ability plays an exclusive part; it tends to become a science which ought to have fixed rules for the solution of international conflicts. That is the ideal object which diplomacy ought to have to-day before its

eyes, and great progress will incontestably have been accomplished if diplomacy succeeds in establishing here some of the rules of which I have just spoken; also, we shall seek more particularly to generalize, to codify the practice of arbitration and mediation or the employment of good offices.

"These ideas form, so to speak, the very essence of our task, the most general aim suggested for our efforts to prevent conflicts by pacific means. There is no question of entering the domain of Utopia. In the work we are about to undertake we shall have to reckon with the possible, and not seek to pursue abstractions—this, however, without sacrificing anything of our ulterior hopes. We must remain on the territory of reality and penetrate to its lowest depth, so as to build a solid foundation, to lay a concrete base. Now, what does reality show us? We see among nations a community of material and moral interests which do not cease to grow. The ties which unite all the portions of the great human family are ever becoming closer. A nation could not remain isolated if it wished to; it forms part of one single organism. Rivalries undoubtedly exist, but at present do they not seem to be rather on the economic ground—on the ground of the great commercial expansions which spring from the same need of spreading abroad the surplus activity which does not find sufficient employment in the mother country? Rivalry thus understood may even be advantageous, provided that there exists above it the idea of justice and of the lofty sentiment of the great human fraternity. If, then, nations are united by so many ties, is there not ground for inquiring into the consequences which result therefrom? When a disagreement arises between two or several nations, others, without being directly involved in it, are deeply affected. The effects of an international conflict at any point whatsoever of the globe re-echo on all sides. It is for this reason that the third parties cannot remain indifferent to the conflict. Their conciliatory offices must be employed for its appeasement.

"These truths are not new ones. At all times there have been thinkers to suggest them, statesmen to apply them; but in our day they are more pressing than ever, and the fact of their being proclaimed by an assembly such as ours will fix an important date in the history of humanity. The nations have an ardent desire for peace, and we owe it to mankind, we owe it to the governments which have confided their duty to us and have entrusted to us the welfare of their peoples, and we owe it to ourselves, to do a useful work by specifying a method for putting into practice some of the means intended to ensure peace. Among these means must be placed arbitration and mediation. Diplomacy has for a long time admitted them in practice, but has not specified the method of their employment. It has not defined cases in which they would be applicable. To this exalted work we are about to devote our efforts, sustained by the conviction that we are working for the good of the whole of mankind in the path which previous generations have traced for us. But, inasmuch as we are firmly resolved to hold aloof from chimeras, inasmuch as we all recognize that our present task, pure and great as it may be, has its limits, we must also consider another side of the situation. When all chance of armed conflicts among nations

cannot be removed in an absolute manner, to mitigate the horrors of such conflicts would still be to work for the sake of humanity.

"The governments of civilized states have already concluded international agreements which have marked important stages in this direction. It is necessary for us to establish fresh ones, and for this category of questions the coöperation of so many competent persons present at this meeting cannot fail to be very valuable. But there are besides matters of a very great and difficult nature which are also connected with the idea of the maintenance of peace, and the examination of which seems to the Russian Imperial Government to come within the scope of the labors of the Conference. There is reason to ask whether, indeed, the peoples will not demand a limitation of progressive armaments. It devolves upon the governments in their wisdom to weigh in this connection the interests entrusted to them. Such, gentlemen, are the essential ideas which ought seemingly to govern our deliberations. We are about to examine them in a lofty and sincerely conciliatory spirit, so that we may tread a path which may lead to conciliation and peace. We shall thus be doing a useful work, for which future generations should be grateful to the sovereigns and chiefs of states represented within these precincts."

It was decided that the Conference should be divided into three general sections, the first on armaments, the second on the laws of war, and the other on arbitration and mediation. The president announced that each of the countries represented in the Conference was entitled to have a member on each of the three sections, and asked the different delegations to hand in to the bureau the names of the persons whom they wished to serve on each. This was subsequently done and the committees constituted as follows:

#### FIRST COMMITTEE.

GERMANY (three members): Baron von Stengel, Colonel Schwarzhoff, Naval Captain Siegel.  
 UNITED STATES (three members): Mr. White, Captains Mahan and Crozier.  
 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (two members): Colonel Khuepach, Captain Soltyk.  
 BELGIUM (two members): Mr. Beernaert, Count de Grelle Rogier.  
 CHINA (no members).  
 DENMARK (one member): Colonel Schnack.  
 SPAIN (one member): Colonel Count del Serrallo.  
 FRANCE (three members): Mr. Bihourd, General Mounier, Admiral Pephau.  
 GREAT BRITAIN (two members): Vice-Admiral Sir John Fisher, Major-General Sir John Ardagh.  
 GREECE (no member).  
 ITALY (two members): General Zuccari, Naval Captain Bianco.  
 JAPAN (two members): Colonel U'yehara, Naval Captain Sakomoto.  
 LUXEMBURG and MEXICO (no members).  
 NETHERLANDS (two members): General Den Beer Poortugael, Naval Captain Tadema.  
 PERSIA (no member).  
 PORTUGAL (one member): Senor D'Ornellas.  
 ROUMANIA (two members): Mr. Beldiman, Colonel Coanda.

RUSSIA (five members): Mr. de Basily, Colonels Jilinsky and Barantzew, Naval Captain Schéine, Naval Lieutenant Ovtchinnikow.

SERVIA (one member): Colonel Maschine.

SIAM (one member): Mr. Rolin.

SWEDEN and NORWAY (two members): Colonel Brändström, Naval Commander Hjulhammar.

SWITZERLAND (one member): Colonel Kunzli.

TURKEY (two members): General Abdullah Pacha, Admiral Mehemed Pacha.

BULGARIA (one member): Major Hessaptchiew.

#### SECOND COMMITTEE.

GERMANY (four members): Dr. von Stengel, Dr. Zorn, Colonel Gross von Schwarzhoff, Captain Siegel.

UNITED STATES (four members): Mr. White, Mr. Stanford Newel, Captain Mahan, Captain Crozier.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (four members): Mr. Mérey de Kapon-Mére, Mr. Lammasch, Colonel de Khuepach, Captain Soltyk.

BELGIUM (two members): Mr. de Beernaert, Chevalier Deschamps-David.

CHINA (three members): Yang Yu, Hoo-Wei-Teh, Loo-Tseng-Tsiang.

DENMARK (one member): Colonel Schnack.

SPAIN (two members): Senor de Villa Urrutia, Senor de Baguer.

FRANCE (three members): General Mounier, Vice-Admiral Pephau, Professor Renault.

GREAT BRITAIN (two members): Vice-Admiral Sir John Fisher, Major General Sir John Ardagh.

ITALY (four members): Count Zannini, Signor Pompili, General Zuccari, Captain Bianco.

JAPAN (one member): Mr. Motono.

LUXEMBURG (two members): Mr. Eyschen, Count de Villers.

NETHERLANDS (one member): Mr. Asser.

PORTUGAL (one member): Count de Selir.

ROUMANIA (two members): Mr. Beldiman, Mr. Papiniu.

RUSSIA (five members): Professor de Martens, Staff-Colonel Jilinsky, Colonel Count Barentzew, Naval Captain Schéine, Naval Lieutenant Ovtchinnikow.

SERVIA (two members): Mr. Miyatovitch, Mr. Veylovitch.

SIAM (one member): Mr. Corragioni d'Orelli.

SWEDEN and NORWAY (two members): Major-General Thaulow, Colonel Brändström.

SWITZERLAND (two members): Dr. Roth, Mr. Odier.

TURKEY (three members): Nouri Bey, Abdulla Pacha, Mehemed Pacha.

BULGARIA (one member): Dr. Stancioff.

#### THIRD COMMITTEE.

GERMANY (three members): Dr. Zorn, Colonel Gross von Schwarzhoff, Naval Captain Siegel.

UNITED STATES (three members): Mr. White, Mr. Seth Low, Mr. Holls.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (three members): Count von Welsersheimb, Mr. Okolicsanyi, Mr. Sammasch.

BELGIUM (two members): Count de Grelle Rogier, Chevalier Descamps.

CHINA (three members): Yang Yu, Hoo-Wei-Teh, Loo-Tseng-Tsiang.



DENMARK (one member): Count de Bille.  
 SPAIN (two members): Duke of Tetuan, Señor de Villa Urrutia.  
 FRANCE (three members): Mr. Bourgeois, Baron d'Estournelles, Professor Renault.  
 GREAT BRITAIN (two members): Sir Julian Pauncefote, Sir Henry Howard.  
 ITALY (three members): Count Nigra, Count Zannini, Signor Pompili.  
 JAPAN (one member): Mr. Motono.  
 LUXEMBURG (two members): Mr. Eyschen, Count de Villers.  
 NETHERLANDS (two members): Jonkheer van Karnebeek, Mr. Asser.  
 PORTUGAL (one member): Senor D'Ornellas.  
 ROUMANIA (one member): Mr. Papiniu.  
 RUSSIA (three members): Mr. de Staal, Professor de Martens, Mr. de Basily.  
 SERBIA (two members): Mr. Miyatovitch, Mr. Veylkovitch.  
 SIAM (two members): Mr. Corragioni d'Orelli, Mr. Rolin.  
 SWEDEN and NORWAY (two members): Baron Bildt, Mr. Konow.  
 SWITZERLAND (three members): Dr. Roth, Colonel Kunzli, Mr. Odier.  
 TURKEY (three members): Turkhan Pacha, Nouri Bey, Mehemed Pacha.  
 BULGARIA (one member): Dr. Stancioff.

A meeting of the full Conference was held at noon on Tuesday, May 23, at which the presidents, vice-presidents, and honorary presidents of the three committees previously selected by the chairmen of the delegations were officially appointed. They were as follows:

#### FIRST COMMITTEE.

Honorary presidents: Count Münster and Mr. White; president: Mr. de Beernaert; vice-president: Mr. de Karnebeek.

This Committee is divided into two sections, war and marine.

Vice-presidents of war section: Abdullah Pacha, General Sir John Ardagh, and General Mounier. Vice-presidents of marine section: Admiral Sir John Fisher, Admiral Pephau, and Captain Siegel.

#### SECOND COMMITTEE.

Honorary presidents: the Duke of Tetuan, Turkhan Pacha, and Count von Welsersheimb; president: Professor Martens.

This Committee is also divided into two sections, the Red Cross section and the Brussels Conference section.

Vice-presidents of the Red Cross section: General Thaulow and Dr. Roth. Vice-presidents of the Brussels Conference section: Professor von Stengel and General Zuccari.

#### THIRD COMMITTEE.

Honorary presidents: Count Nigra and Sir Julian Pauncefote; president: Mr. Bourgeois; vice-presidents: Mr. de Bille, Baron d'Estournelles, Count Macedo, Herr Mérey von Kapos-Mérey, Signor Pompili, and Dr. Zorn.

There was after this no full sitting of the Conference until Wednesday, June 21. The three Committees met

for the first time on Tuesday afternoon, May 23, the three presidents, Mr. Beernaert, Professor Martens, and Mr. Bourgeois presiding. The large number of honorary presidents and vice-presidents were appointed in order that each of the Committees might keep as much as possible in touch with the whole body of the delegates, and have the benefit of the counsel of the most competent and experienced men. The third committee, that on arbitration and mediation, was from the first recognized as the most important of the Conference. When it got to work it appointed a sub-committee called the *Comité de Rédaction*, or Drafting Committee, which became the very center of the entire proceedings. The chairman of this Committee was Senator Descamps, of Belgium, whose knowledge of the whole subject of arbitration was not surpassed by that of any other man in the Conference.

It is impossible to follow the work of the sections and sub-committees during the four weeks that followed. They sat with closed doors, and only meager reports were given out by the secretaries, or leaked out through the conversation of the members. The second and third Committees did serious and faithful work, from the beginning expecting to accomplish something important. The first Committee did not take up the subject of disarmament proper until late in the Conference; actually on June 23, when Colonel Gilinsky submitted the Russian proposals. They seemed afraid, as did the Conference as a whole, to tackle the subject, and hopeless of anything being done. The Russian proposals for a truce of armaments and budgets for five years, to apply only to the home countries and not to the colonies, received respectful attention, but nothing important came of it. The very nature of it foredoomed it to failure. It was evident, however, that the subject was pressing heavily on all minds, and that all thought that the matter could not be put off many years. The Committee spent much time in discussing the subjects contained in Articles 2, 3, and 4 of Count Muravieff's circular; namely, the subjects of new firearms, explosives, and powder, the limitation of the explosives in use, and the prohibition of the hurling of projectiles and explosives from balloons, and the prohibition of the use in naval warfare of submarine torpedo boats, or rams, etc. The English dum-dum bullet seems to have been the center of these discussions. A number of the delegations were in favor of restrictions along all these lines, but many were opposed; and the opinion finally prevailed that so long as war lasted it would be useless to try to prevent the application to it of new inventions or of deadly and powerful explosives.

One section of the second Committee dealt with the subject of the "Extension of the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1864 to Maritime Warfare." This Committee was the first to give its report. The discussions were earnest and many-sided, but conducted in a most friendly and humane spirit. A good deal of difficulty was experienced in drawing up a Red Cross scheme for the sea because of the nature of marine warfare; but a scheme drawn principally by Professor Renault, of Paris, was finally declared to be very satisfactory and adopted by the Committee, and afterwards by the Conference. This scheme, along with the arbitration scheme and other measures adopted by the Conference, will be

given in full in a subsequent number of the *ADVOCATE*. We give below the original Geneva Convention of 1864, which, with the additional articles of 1868, constituted the basis of the discussions.

The second section of the second Committee had to deal with the Brussels Convention of 1874 concerning the laws and customs of war which it was sought to improve. The Brussels Convention is a long one, containing fifty-six articles. It would not greatly interest our general readers if we should give it. We shall hope to give in future the full text of the Hague Convention on this subject, which is considerably shorter than that of Brussels. This sub-committee went patiently over all these fifty-six articles; suppressing some, modifying others, and adding a few new ones. It is not expected that the governments will bind themselves absolutely to these new rules, but that they will agree to insert them in the instructions to their armies in the field to be observed as far as practicable. It was argued in the Committee that war is war, and that you must not "civilize" it so far as to take the life (or rather death) out of it.

The basis of the discussions of the Arbitration Committee was the scheme for a permanent tribunal submitted by Sir Julian Pauncefote. Plans were also submitted by the United States, by Russia, and by Italy. The scheme finally adopted by the Conference, which we shall give in full in a subsequent number, though based upon the British proposals, contained also additional modifications introduced from the other projects. In addition to the arbitration project a scheme for mediation was also drawn up by the third Committee, and adopted by the Conference. In shaping this scheme, which came from Russia, the secretary of the American Commission, Mr. Holls, had much to do.

#### THIRD SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE.

The first legislative act of the Conference took place at the plenary sitting on Tuesday, June 20. The ten additional articles to the Geneva Convention formed by the second Committee, extending the Convention to maritime warfare, were reported to the Conference and adopted. The American delegates called attention to certain additions which they thought ought to be made to the text. These were referred to the Committee to consider. The Conference appointed Count Nigra, Professor Martens, Mr. Renault, Senator Descamps, and Mr. Asser a committee to draft the general document containing the decisions of the Conference. There was a long, desultory conversation on the question of the advisability of recommending a special international Conference to revise the Geneva Convention of 1864.

#### THE ORIGINAL GENEVA RED CROSS CONVENTION OF 1864.

His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of Denmark, Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves, His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Swiss Confederation,

His Majesty the King of Württemberg, inspired alike with the desire of alleviating as much as they may be able the evils inseparable from war, of suppressing useless hardships, and of ameliorating the lot of soldiers wounded on the field of battle, have resolved to conclude a convention to this effect, and have named as their plenipotentiaries, to wit:

[Here follow the names.]

who, after having exchanged their powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. Ambulances and military hospitals shall be acknowledged to be neutral; and, as such, shall be protected and respected by belligerents so long as any sick or wounded may be therein. Such neutrality shall cease if the ambulances or hospitals should be held by a military force.

ARTICLE 2. Persons employed in hospitals and ambulances, comprising the staff for superintendence, medical service, administration, transport of wounded, as well as chaplains, shall participate in the benefit of neutrality while so employed, and so long as there remain any wounded to bring in or to succor.

ARTICLE 3. The persons designated in the preceding article may, even after occupation by the enemy, continue to fulfill their duties in the hospital or ambulance which they serve; or may withdraw in order to rejoin the corps to which they belong. Under such circumstances, when these persons shall cease their functions, they shall be delivered by the occupying army to the outposts of the enemy.

ARTICLE 4. As the equipment of military hospitals remains subject to the laws of war, persons attached to such hospitals cannot, on withdrawing, carry away any articles except such as are their private property. Under the same circumstances an ambulance, on the contrary, shall retain its equipment.

ARTICLE 5. Inhabitants of the country who may bring help to the wounded shall be respected and shall remain free. The generals of the belligerent powers shall make it their care to inform the inhabitants of the appeal addressed to their humanity, and of the neutrality which will be the consequence of it. Any wounded man entertained and taken care of in a house shall be considered as a protection thereto. Any inhabitant who shall have entertained wounded men in his house shall be exempted from the quartering of troops, as well as of a part of the war contributions which may be imposed.

ARTICLE 6. Wounded or sick soldiers shall be entertained and taken care of to whatever nation they may belong. Commanders-in-chief shall have the power to deliver immediately to the outposts of the enemy soldiers who have been wounded in an engagement, when circumstances permit this to be done, and with the consent of both parties. Those who are recognized, after their wounds are healed, as incapable of serving, shall be sent back to their country. The others may also be sent back on condition of not again bearing arms during the continuance of the war. Evacuations, together with the persons under whose direction they take place, shall be protected by an absolute neutrality.

ARTICLE 7. A distinctive and uniform flag shall be adopted for hospitals, ambulances and evacuations. It

must, on every occasion, be accompanied by the national flag. An arm badge shall also be allowed for individuals neutralized, but the delivery thereof shall be left to military authority. The flag and the arm badge shall bear a red cross on a white ground.

ARTICLE 8. The details of execution of the present Convention shall be regulated by the commanders-in-chief of belligerent armies, according to the instructions of their respective governments, and in conformity with the general principles laid down in this Convention.

ARTICLE 9. The high contracting powers have agreed to communicate the present Convention to those governments which have not found it convenient to send plenipotentiaries to the International Conference at Geneva, with an invitation to accede thereto; the protocol is for that purpose left open.

ARTICLE 10. The present Convention shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Berne in four months or sooner if possible. In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it and have affixed their seals thereto. Done at Geneva, the twenty-second day of the month of August, of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

[The names follow.]

This Convention was afterward acceded to, in addition to the states mentioned in the preamble, by Sweden and Norway, Greece, Great Britain, Mecklenburg, Schwerin, Turkey, Bavaria, Austria, Russia, Roumania, Persia, Salvador, Montenegro, Servia, Bolivia, Chili, Argentine Republic, Peru, Japan and the United States, the accession of the latter not taking place until March 1, 1882.

An additional Convention, in fifteen articles, was drawn up by a Conference held at Geneva in October, 1868. Nine of these articles referred to maritime warfare. But this Convention was never ratified.

#### THE BRITISH ARBITRATION PROPOSALS.

ARTICLE 1. With the view of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration on the part of those States who may not succeed in settling their differences by diplomatic means, the signatory Powers have undertaken to organize in the following manner a permanent tribunal of arbitration, accessible at all times, and governed by the code of arbitration prescribed in this Convention, so far as it may be applicable, and in conformity with stipulations made in arrangements decided upon between the parties in litigation.

ARTICLE 2. To this effect a central office will be established permanently at X, where the archives of the tribunal will be preserved, and which will be entrusted with the conduct of its official business. A permanent secretary, an archivist, and sufficient staff will be appointed who will reside on the spot. The office will be the intermediary for communications relative to the meeting of the tribunal at the instance of the parties in litigation.

ARTICLE 3. Each signatory power will transmit to the others the names of two persons of its nationality, recognized in their country as jurists or publicists of merit, enjoying the highest reputation for integrity, disposed to accept the functions of arbitrators, and possessing all the necessary qualities. Persons thus designated will be members of the tribunal, and will be inscribed as such in the central office. In case of the death or retire-

ment of a member of the tribunal, provision will be made for his being replaced in the same manner as for his nomination.

ARTICLE 4. The signatory Powers, desiring to apply to the tribunal for the pacific settlement of differences which may arise amongst them, will notify this desire to the secretary of the central office, which will then furnish them immediately with a list of the members of the tribunal. The Powers in question will thereupon select from this list the number of arbitrators agreed upon in the arrangements. They will have, moreover, the power of adding arbitrators other than those whose names are inscribed in the list. The arbitrators thus chosen will form the tribunal for the arbitration, and will meet on the date fixed by the parties in litigation. The tribunal will sit generally at X., but will have the power of sitting elsewhere, and of changing its place from time to time, according to circumstances, as may suit its convenience, or that of the parties in litigation.

ARTICLE 5. Any State, although not a signatory Power, will be able to have recourse to the tribunal under the conditions prescribed by the regulations.

ARTICLE 6. The Government X... is directed to install at X... in the name of the signatory Powers, as soon as possible after the ratification of this Convention, a permanent Council of Administration, composed of five members and one secretary. It will be the duty of the Council to establish and organize a central office, which will be under its direction and control. It will issue from time to time the necessary regulations for the proper working of the central office, and will also settle all questions which may arise concerning the working of the tribunal, or which may be submitted to it by the Central Bureau. The Council will have absolute power as regards the nomination, the suspension, or the dismissal of all functionaries or employees. It will fix salaries and control general expenses. The Council will elect its president, who will have a preponderating voice. The presence of three members will suffice to constitute a quorum, and decisions will be taken by a majority of votes. The fees of the members of the Council will be fixed by agreement between the signatory Powers.

ARTICLE 7. The signatory Powers agree to contribute in equal shares the expenses of the Administrative Council and the central office. The expenses of each arbitration will be chargeable in equal parts to the States in litigation.

#### ARBITRATION PLAN PROPOSED BY THE AMERICAN COMMISSION.

Resolved, That in order to aid in the prevention of armed conflicts by pacific means, the representatives of the sovereign powers assembled together in this Conference be and they hereby are requested to propose to their respective governments a series of negotiations for the adoption of a general treaty, having for its object the following plan, with such modifications as may be essential to secure the adhesion of at least nine sovereign powers, four of whom at least shall have been signatories of the declaration of Paris, the German Empire being, for this purpose, the successor of Prussia, and the Kingdom of Italy the successor of Sardinia.

ARTICLE 1. The tribunal shall be composed of

persons nominated on account of their personal integrity and learning in international law by a majority of the members of the highest Court at the time existing in each of the adhering States, one from each sovereign State participating in the treaty, and who shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

ARTICLE 5. The bench of judges for each particular case shall consist of as many as may be agreed upon by the litigating nations, either of the entire bench or of any smaller number not less than three, to be chosen from the whole Court. In the event of a bench of three judges only, no one of those shall be a native subject or citizen of a State whose interests are in litigation in the case.

ARTICLE 6. The general expenses of the tribunal are to be equally divided or upon some equitable basis between the adherent powers; but those arising from each particular case shall be provided for as may be directed by the tribunal. The presentation of a case wherein one or both of the parties may be a non-adherent State shall be admitted only upon condition of a mutual agreement that the States so litigating shall pay respectively a sum to be fixed by the tribunal for the expenses of adjudication. The salaries of the judges may be so adjusted as to be paid only when they are actually engaged in the duties of the Court.

ARTICLE 7. Every litigant before the international tribunal shall have the right to a hearing of the case before the same judges within three months of the notification of the decision, on alleging newly discovered evidence, or submitting questions of law not heard and decided at the former hearing.

ARTICLE 8. This treaty shall become operative when nine sovereign States, such as are indicated in the resolution, shall have ratified its provisions.

**MEMORANDUM FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES, SUBMITTED WITH THEIR PROJECT FOR A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.**

"The proposal herewith submitted takes its form as a resolution looking to action outside of the Conference from our instructions. The proposal shows the earnest desire of the President of the United States for a permanent international tribunal for the conduct of arbitration between nations and the willingness of the President to assist in the establishment of such a tribunal upon the general lines indicated.

"The Commissioners from the United States are ready, without insisting upon the form of their own recommendations, to try to develop the proposals heretofore submitted to the Conference, so that they shall embody what is essential in this plan. It seems to the United States Commissioners that it ought not to be difficult to associate with the several proposals, as they may eventually be developed for mediation in various forms of international inquiry and arbitration by special arrangement, a plan for a permanent tribunal of arbitration, which will embody what is essential in the American resolution."

**THE RUSSIAN ARBITRATION PLAN.**

Elements for the elaboration of a convention to be concluded by the Powers participating in the Hague Conference.

**PART I. GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION.**

ARTICLE 1. In order to prevent, as far as possible, recourse to force in international relations, the signatory Powers are agreed to employ every effort to bring about by pacific means the solution of conflicts which may arise among them.

ARTICLE 2. In consequence the signatory Powers are decided, in the event of serious disagreement or conflict, before appealing to arms to have recourse, so far as circumstances will permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

ARTICLE 3. In the event of mediation being spontaneously accepted by the States in conflict, the aim of the mediatory Government consists in endeavoring to bring about a conciliation between the States.

ARTICLE 4. The role of the mediatory Government ceases from the moment when the compromise proposed by it, or the basis of a friendly agreement which it may have suggested, shall not have been accepted by the States in conflict.

ARTICLE 5. Should the Powers consider it advisable, in the event of a serious disagreement or conflict between civilized States regarding questions of political interest, the Powers not implicated in the conflict shall offer, of their own initiative, so far as circumstances are favorable, their good offices or their mediation to the disputing States in order to remove the difference that has arisen by proposing an amicable solution which, without affecting the interests of other States, shall be of a conciliatory nature in the best interests of the parties in dispute.

ARTICLE 6. It remains well understood that mediation and the employment of good offices, either at the instance of the parties in dispute or of neutral Powers, shall bear strictly the character of friendly counsel and in no way of compulsory force.

**PART II. INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.**

ARTICLE 7. In so far as regards a dispute relating to questions of right, and primarily to those affecting the interpretation or application of treaties in force, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as being the most efficacious and most equitable means of settling these disputes in a friendly manner.

ARTICLE 8. The contracting Powers therefore undertake to have recourse to arbitration in cases relating to questions of the above mentioned order, so far as these affect neither the vital interests nor the national honor of the parties in dispute.

ARTICLE 9. Each State remains the sole judge of the question whether this or that case shall be submitted to arbitration, excepting the cases enumerated in the following article, where the signatory Powers consider arbitration as compulsory.

ARTICLE 10. After the ratification of the present act by all the signatory Powers, arbitration is obligatory in the following cases, so far as it affects neither the vital interest nor the national honor of the contracting parties: in the event of differences or disputes relating to pecuniary damages sustained by a State; in the event of disagreements relating to the interpretation or application of treaties and conventions hereafter mentioned — postal, telegraph, and railway treaties and conventions, and

those relating to the protection of submarine cables; agreements as to the means for preventing the collision of ships at sea; conventions relating to the navigation of international rivers and interoceanic canals; conventions regarding the protection of literary and artistic property, industrial property, patents, and trade marks; monetary and metrical conventions; sanitary conventions, etc.

ARTICLE 11. The above list may be completed by subsequent arrangements among the signatory Powers. Moreover each Power shall be able to enter into a special arrangement with another Power for the purpose of rendering arbitration obligatory in the above-mentioned cases before the general ratification, and also to extend the scope of arbitration to all cases which it is considered possible to submit to it.

ARTICLE 12. In all other cases of international conflicts not mentioned in the above articles, arbitration, while certainly being very desirable and recommended by the present act, is nevertheless purely facultative, — that is to say, it can only be applied on the spontaneous initiative of one of the parties in dispute, and with the express consent of the other parties.

ARTICLE 13. With the view of facilitating recourse to arbitration and its application, the signatory Powers are agreed to formulate a common arrangement for the employment of international arbitration, and for the fundamental principles to be observed in the drawing up of the rules of procedure to be followed pending the inquiry into the dispute, and the pronouncement of the decision of the arbitrators. The application of these fundamental principles, as also of the arbitration procedure indicated in the appendix to the present article, may be modified in virtue of a special arrangement between States which may have recourse to arbitration.

#### PART III. — INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY.

ARTICLE 14. In cases in which divergencies of views occur between the signatory States, in connection with local circumstances giving rise to litigation of an international character, which cannot be settled by the ordinary diplomatic means, but in which neither the honor nor the vital interests of these States are engaged, the Governments interested agree to institute an international commission of inquiry in order to arrive at the causes of the disagreement, and to clear up on the spot, by an impartial and conscientious examination, all questions of fact.

ARTICLE 15. These international commissions shall be constituted as follows: Each Government interested shall appoint two members, and the four members united shall choose a fifth member, who shall at the same time be president of the commission. If the votes shall be divided for the choice of a president, the two Governments interested shall appeal either to another Government or to a third party, who shall appoint the president of the committee.

ARTICLE 16. Governments between which a grave disagreement or conflict shall arise in the circumstances indicated above shall engage to furnish the commission of inquiry with all means and facilities necessary for a thorough and conscientious study of the facts.

ARTICLE 17. The International Commission of Inquiry, after having acquainted itself with the circumstances in which the disagreement or conflict arose, shall

submit to the Governments interested a report signed by all the members of the Commission.

ARTICLE 18. The report of the Commission of Inquiry shall in no wise have the character of an arbitration judgment. It leaves the Governments in conflict at full liberty either to conclude a friendly arrangement on the basis of the said report, or to have recourse to arbitration by concluding an agreement *ad hoc*, or else by resorting to the active measures allowable in the mutual relations between nations.

The Russian proposal is followed by a draft code of arbitration.

## The Hopefulness of International Arbitration.

*Address at the Mohonk Conference.*

BY REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM.

"Say not, the struggle nought availeth,  
The labor and the wounds are vain,  
The enemy fainteth not nor faileth,  
And as things have been they remain.

"If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;  
It may be in yon smoke concealed  
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,  
And, but for you, possess the field.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

"And not by eastern windows only  
When morning comes, comes in the light;  
In front the sun climbs slow, — how slowly, —  
But westward, — look, the land is bright!"

So I phrase in the words of Clough, the English poet, my confession of faith as to the coming of the day when nations shall not learn war any more. I believe that the prospects are good, that they are brighter to-day than they ever have been. I believe that this is a day for the optimist, a day in which the lugubrious voice of the pessimist should no more be heard in the land.

Take first of all the present Conference at The Hague. Much has been said of it in this meeting, but I do not think that it fills the place in our imagination and our hopes which it ought to fill. While yesterday we had the concert of Europe, and the Cretan investment by the Allied Impotencies, to-day we are witnessing a concert of civilization. There has been no time in the past when all the powers of the earth have come together for such a purpose and in such a spirit and with such a representation as that which we witness in the Conference at The Hague. And there never has been a time, in the history of our country, when the United States sat so near the head of the table, and with so much potency for the determination of a hopeful issue of the Conference, as to-day. What may have been the causes which have led up to it does not lie within my province to discuss. But I challenge contradiction when I say that the moral force of the United States, in its effect upon the peoples and the sovereigns of the Old World, is greater at this moment than it has ever been in any moment of its history. And the whole of that force is pledged, by our

principles, by our hopes, by our instincts, on the side of reasonableness and arbitration and peace.

I say that, notwithstanding the fact that two years ago we were here lamenting the defeat of the treaty before the Senate of the United States. The atmosphere of the world is changed. Great changes come slowly, but the manifestation of the change is sudden. Such a change is manifest now in the temper of the peoples who by their representatives are assembled to-day at The Hague.

Take again the sentiment of the people at large in the nations to-day. Take the drift of public opinion. I quite agree with my friend Dr. Thomas in what he so thoughtfully said as to the fact that those who are in the right are always in the minority, at least for a time. It is true that the world is saved by its remnant. It is true that reforms are led by the minority. But we must remember that being in a minority is no guarantee of being right! There are mistaken and evil minorities as well as beneficent and constructive minorities. He is a bold man who would say to-day that the majority of the people who vote in this country or in England would deliberately vote against arbitration and in favor of war. For my own part, I am sure that in England and in this country, and even in Germany, the sentiment of the majority of the people, expressed in a plebiscite to-day, would be in favor of the principle that is represented in the councils at The Hague. That sentiment exists in the army and the navy; our noblest soldiers and sailors are themselves representatives of it. I say that without the slightest hesitation, in view of innumerable facts that have come to my own observation. There is bloodthirstiness among the people; there are always individual bloodthirsty men, and for a good many years yet there will be need of police in our cities, police in all countries, police on the highways of the great world. But the great masses of Christendom to-day believe in the conservative and constructive methods of peace, and not in the destructive methods of war, and look upon war only as the dread inevitable resort at the last.

The promise for peace between the nations of the earth was never so bright as it is at this moment. Many influences have worked to that end. The defeat of the treaty two years ago discouraged many people, who considered it indicative of a sentiment opposed to our hopes and anticipations; but it is my firm conviction that the defeat of that treaty in the Senate, though I deplored and I am afraid denounced it, has worked for good, has concentrated attention upon the question, has stimulated inquiry, has caused the diffusion of information, has brought intelligence, and has attracted the attention not only of the people of America and of England, but of other peoples, to the great end for which the treaty was constructed. I believe that in the place of that defeated treaty we are on the eve of having a treaty that shall incorporate all that was good in that treaty and much more. And we shall find the world pushed on a considerable way toward the portal of the long pathway to the millenium.

One other consideration I venture by way of prophecy. If the Conference at The Hague should end in failure to attain the specific end that is now shaping itself before that body (I do not believe it will), it will not be a cause

for discouragement, or least of all for despair. The fact that the world could come together, voluntarily, in its representatives, to consider such a subject as that which is being considered day by day at The Hague, in the "House in the Woods" (a house, in my judgment, destined to be immortalized), this mere fact will work as a quickening and molding influence upon the minds, the intelligence, and the conscience of the peoples, and will hasten the day when a conference will convene which will reach further than the most sanguine friend of the present Conference dares to hope.

Let me say one word with reference to a psychological fact of our time. It is only within our memory that we have had such a thing as an international consciousness. The multiplied applications of science which have facilitated intercommunication have created for us such an international consciousness, and out of that consciousness is evolving hour by hour an international conscience. It is a new thing in the world, that contains in itself a promise of more than all the publicists and reformers have dared to announce or to hope for in the past.

Let me say also one word with reference to the plane upon which we should push our argument. I believe we have made mistakes in the past; we have put the emphasis in the wrong place, and have failed to make true discriminations. We have made a mistake in drawing so sharp a line between what we call a civilian and a soldier. Let us never forget that to-day, in all democratic countries, and in all countries where constitutional government prevails, it is becoming more and more true that the soldier is also a citizen, and that the citizen is the possible soldier, and that no soldier abrogates or abandons his rights and convictions and principles and duties as a citizen because for a time he becomes a soldier. We have failed to make distinctions, and sometimes have pressed to the fore considerations that are not of the greatest. If we conduct this campaign on the plane of the essential moral reasonableness and righteousness of peace and arbitration, as compared with war, as a means for the settlement of international difficulties, if we appeal to the highest motives and the highest sensibilities of people, we shall help forward the cause more than in any other way. It is right to consider questions of commerce, it is right to consider the question of life, it is right to consider the question of philosophy. But all these, after all, take their place below the high plane on which we should work and press our chief arguments and express our strongest hopes,—that is the plane of the divine rationality and eternal righteousness or the rule of reason and conscience over the actions of men, whether they be gathered in nations or whether they be separated as individuals.

### I Would Sing of the Future.

BY J. A. EDGERTON.

On the topmost twig of a tree  
A little bird sits and sings,  
While the light of the morn glints merrily  
On the burnished hue of his wings;  
A song of love and gladness sings he  
That over the woodland rings.



He sings a song of love,  
Of peace, of joy, of rest.  
He sings of the happy sky above  
And his happy mate in her nest.  
He sings of the summer days that move  
To the golden light of the West.

O bird, had I half thy joy,  
Had I half thy madness of mirth,  
I would sing a song of a brighter sky  
Bending over a happier earth,  
When wrong and greed from the world shall die  
And the better day has birth.

I would sing of a greater Greece  
Rising out of a fairer sea;  
When the earth shall give her best increase  
And her bounty to all is free;  
When the world at last may rest in peace  
And all men brothers be.

## The Importance of Public Opinion.

*Address at the Mohonk Conference.*

BY HON. SAMUEL B. CAPEN.

One of the glories of Mohonk is this, that while it keeps its eye on the highest ideal, it always keeps its feet on the ground, and tries to do what is possible and practical. Some of us, I hope all of us, are asking by this time what we can do as individuals to help toward a permanent tribunal which shall mean universal peace for the nations. There is nothing for us to do on the legal side. Thanks to the jurists of this country, especially to the New York Bar Association, a plan has been formulated which, if we may believe report, has been substantially approved by our government, and is before the Conference at The Hague to be worked out into a definite plan. We have no duty there. What is our duty then?

It is what Dr. Bradford pointed out to us yesterday,—to try and make public opinion in this country, so that when the treaty is made and sent back to America for ratification, it shall not be rejected again, but shall be accepted by the people. What we need to contend against is apathy and indifference. Dr. Hale gave me yesterday an illustration, when he said he had met at a dinner party six or eight prominent men, and that he found they had no more interest in this subject than they would have had in a conference to discuss aniline dyes. We must make public opinion in this country, for public opinion is master here.

There is one thing which we ought to press most earnestly: we ought to try to check the delusion which is rife among us that it is necessary every few years to have a war in a country in order to create heroism; that our young men will lose their virility unless there is some contest. Is it not time to press the fact that it is just as great to sacrifice to save as to destroy, and that the noblest heroism is not necessarily displayed upon the field of battle in the sight of others, but may be shown in a more quiet way? Such heroes are being made every day. We have had, on the New England coast this last winter, fearful storms, one after another: have you read the glo-

rious work that those life saving men have done? They needed no war to teach them heroism. Did you read the tragedy of the fire in the Windsor Hotel? Those firemen going up ladders, walking along cornices, reaching into windows to take out helpless women, and working themselves back, no one knows how, to the ladder,—do those men need war to teach them heroism? I venture to say that Herbert Welsh, fighting political corruption, is just as much a hero as a man on the battlefield. That is where we can create public opinion, all of us; we can teach that there are glorious deeds to be done along the line of peace, and that, if we can secure universal peace through universal arbitration and a permanent court of the nations, then our young men can be turned from warlike spirit to take hold of the great questions that are waiting to be solved. The words of Whittier are true:

"Peace hath higher tests for manhood than ever battle saw."

And I would appeal to the Christian men and women of this Conference on another line. The man who reads history without finding out what God means by it has left out the key. Allusion has been made to the circumstances under which we met two years ago, under the cloud of the failure of the ratification of the treaty. But no allusion has been made to the effect of that event in England. The *London Times* took occasion then to tell us that in striking a blow at arbitration as we did, the American people had lost the confidence of the world. That was two years ago: where are we now? In the providence of God England and America are side by side, shoulder to shoulder, as never before, and our commissioners are working together for a court of arbitration such as we discussed here three years ago. And not only this, but Russia,—Russia whom we feared so much,—has through her Czar been the nation to propose the Conference, and England and America and Russia together are trying to formulate a plan for universal peace. Can any one say that this is not the finger of God? Is there any other explanation of this wonderful result? Now if we feel this, should not every Christian heart be filled with enthusiasm and impulse, believing that we are working along the line that God has marked out for us, and that that which God has put his hand to will certainly be completed?

Two years ago Dr. Moxom in this room offered a resolution just along the line in which I am speaking to-night. It suggested that our duty is to make public opinion, and urged that something should be done to interest the young people of this country in this subject. It was not possible to put that resolution into the platform in the form in which it had been drawn; but I promised, as chairman of the committee, to see Dr. Clark, the president of the Christian Endeavor Society, and present to him the wish of this Conference that he might become interested in this movement. I met with the most gracious reception. I do not know that any word I said had anything to do with the shaping of the society's policy; but this we do know, that on the 15th of March Dr. Clark and those associated with him wrote a letter to the Christian Endeavorers of the world, asking these young people, international, interdenominational, inter-racial, representing two and a half millions in this country and a million in other countries, that they should take hold and

work in this movement. He definitely asked young people in this country to sign petitions that shall go to Congress. That is one of the hopeful signs of the times. That is the way public opinion is being made and can be made. I submit that it is time for all of us to be at work. We are not to let Dr. Hale and a few Boston people, and a few more in Philadelphia and Baltimore, do this work. Let us all take hold and not stand around the edges criticizing the work of others. Each of us can have influence and power over his own circle if he will, and can help push this movement to a triumphant close. It was said here two years ago, "The old treaty, as amended, was not worth saving; but its spirit, like John Brown's soul, goes marching on." It is for every one of us, the rank and file of this Conference, to help quicken the pace.

### How Long?

GEORGE SHEPARD BUBLEIGH.

When shall the noise of battle cease,  
With red Bellona's crimson flood?  
When shall the crystal fount of Peace  
Wash out the hideous stain of blood?

Almost two thousand years of Christ  
Above the bleeding earth have rolled,  
Still man by man is sacrificed  
As on the Moloch shrines of old!

Unnumbered temples rise to claim  
The Prince of Peace for sovereign Lord;  
Yet millions in His holy name  
Baptize the murder-seeking sword.

O, shameless mockery of hell!  
To prate of peace while rending homes  
Of wives and babes with shot and shell,  
That wrap in fire their temple domes!

How long, O Lord of love, how long  
Shalt Thou be served with double tongue,  
And pæans of victorious wrong  
Before thy altar-fires be sung?

Ye nations, taught in Holy books  
To serve with love the Lord of lords,  
Your vines demand their pruning-hooks,  
The blameless plowshares need your swords!

### Abstract of Annual Report of the London Peace Society

The Annual Report of the Peace Society, 47 New Broad Street, London, E. C., notices the coincidence of the opening of the Peace Conference at The Hague, and congratulates its members on the success of the principles which have been so long proclaimed by the Society. It refers to the recent peace agitation in this country, with the origin, conduct and progress of which the Society had much to do, and states that at the London office resolutions adopted at over 1,200 meetings had been received.

The Peace Sunday movement had reached its highest point of development, 40,000 invitations to ministers having been issued by the Society, and 5,000 replies, with

promises of about 8,000 sermons and addresses, having been received. Reference is made to a dozen instances of arbitration in progress or initiated during the year, and especially to the general treaty of arbitration concluded between Italy and the Argentine Republic, which, it is claimed, has done for the peace movement what the Anglo-American Treaty would have accomplished had it been ratified.

The regular work of the Society has been carried on with the usual vigor throughout the year, and the recent agitation has afforded the members and agents of the Society opportunities of which they have availed themselves to the full.

The autumnal meetings of the Society were held in Exeter, and proved a great success. The lantern lectures have been in greater demand than ever, and several sets have been in nearly constant use in various parts of the country. The circulation of the *Herald of Peace* steadily increases. Constant expressions of interest and approval reach the editor.

The Secretary has been unusually occupied, and has taken a very active part in the promotion and carrying on of the Peace Crusade; and, in addition to his duties at the office, and increased labors as the result of the Czar's Rescript, has addressed over sixty meetings during the year, besides attending the Peace Congress at Turin.

A telegram was sent in the name of the Society to the Emperor of Russia, and memorials forwarded to him and the British Government, with copies of a new edition of *International Tribunals* by the Secretary, of which one hundred copies have been distributed by Mr. de Staal among the delegates to the Conference at The Hague, and bound copies of the papers which have been distributed very widely by the Society in connection with the question raised in the Czar's Rescript.

More than 300,000 copies of pamphlets and papers have been issued since the last report, and a quarter of a million distributed in connection with Peace Sunday.

### Song of Peace.

BY JOHN RUSKIN.

[Mrs. V. L. Owen, of Springfield, Mass., calls our attention to some errors in Ruskin's "Song of Peace" as it appeared in our columns some time ago. We reprint it here with errors corrected.]

Put off, put off your mail, ye kings, and beat your brands to dust;

A surer grasp your hands must know, your hearts a better trust;  
Nay, bend aback the lance's point, and break the helmet bar,—  
A noise is on the morning winds, but not the noise of war!

Among the grassy mountain-paths the glittering troops increase;

They come! they come! how fair their feet—they come that publish peace;

Yea, Victory! fair Victory! our enemies' and ours,  
And all the clouds are clasped in light, and all the earth with flowers.

Ah! still depressed and dim with dew, but yet a little while  
And radiant with the deathless Rose the wilderness shall smile,  
And every tender living thing shall feed by streams of rest,  
Nor lamb shall from the fold be lost, nor nursing from the nest.

### "Put Up Thy Sword."

From the view-point of a moral reformer I emphasize two objections to war:

First, that "war is hell" in its promotion of five evils. It increases intemperance, impurity, and Sabbath breaking, and lessens the sacredness of life and property.

Second, it turns aside to unnecessary military conflicts the courage and enthusiasm needed for the more serious moral conflicts of our time. If we could organize a quarter of a million men for united, systematic battles with municipal corruption and saloon domination, who would fight as bravely against foreign and social evils as our soldiers have fought in the easier war with Spain, what really important victories we might have had, not at Manila and Santiago only, but in Chicago and New York! I protest against the shallow sentiment that sees no heroes except on battlefields. Roosevelt will be remembered in history not so much for his few hours' fighting at San Juan hill with a feeble foe, as for his rough-riding in New York as police commissioner and governor. We need more monuments like that at Troy, which tells how Robert Ross died defending the ballot box. No recent battle has been more glorious, and none has had less glory, than that which Anthony Comstock fought the other day in Wall Street, holding a peddler of obscene literature with one hand and with the other keeping at bay the brokers and office boys that sought to rescue this "cancer planter."

But my work as a moral reformer also illustrates the peace doctrine

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even in conflicts with the wicked, in that I find many of the law-breakers need only "the arrest of thought." A word to the unwise is often sufficient. The cowardice of the wrong-doer can be counted on. The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but, as Dr. Parkhurst has said, "makes better time when some one is after him."

I have found good fighting on this day of peace in this city of peace in corrupt news rooms, at the very doors of your institutions of religion and reform. Let us seek peace in order that we may fight with greater energy in the moral crusades of home protection. — *Rev. W. F. Crafts, at the Philadelphia Bourse, May 18.*

### The Cost of It.

The imperialists of Great Britain and the United States have not studied the conditions of their problem nor calculated its cost. They would have their nations face a world in arms with their own small volunteer armies, and they ignore the state of affairs which actually exists in the British army, six or seven times larger than their own, but still small as modern armies are counted. The fact is that the power to increase the English army by volunteer enlistments does not exist. On the contrary, the power to maintain the present force by this means is nearly exhausted. There is hardly an accomplished British officer who is not convinced that if Great Britain is to put her land force on an equality in numbers with the land force of the great military powers, she must abandon her old policy of voluntary enlistments, and resort to the Continental policy of conscription. It is unnecessary to consider a question which has been raised as to the comparative character of volunteers and conscripts. It is perfectly well known that there is no more courageous, long-enduring and intelligent soldiers than the enlisted men of the British and American regular armies. But the number of men who prefer the soldiers life is limited in both countries, and in England the limit seems to have been reached. The question is, "Shall we be ready to back with arms all the demands which may be made by our commercial adventurers for a predominant share in the trade of Asiatic

countries?" And to be ready to back that policy there is a need of an army of hundreds of thousands, which cannot possibly be obtained unless the industrial life of the country is drained of its young men by conscription. If any one believes that this statement is an exaggeration, and that European militarism is not a drain on the industrial life of a country, let him visit the agricultural fairs of rural France and note, as he can with his own eyes, how the work of the country is being carried on by the middle-aged and the old men and by the women.

— *Harper's Weekly.*

On the 80th anniversary of the birth of Queen Victoria, the members of the American Commission at the Conference at The Hague called in a body and left their cards at the house of Sir Henry Howard, the British minister to Holland. This was done by no other delegation.

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## CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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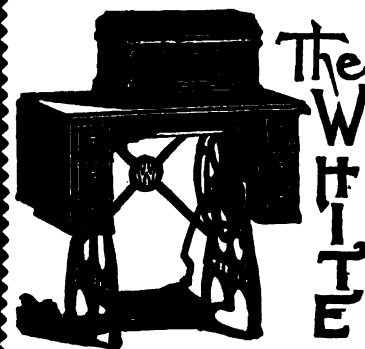
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If, according to the law of the Hebrews, he who killed a man, though involuntarily, was obliged to fly for it; if God would not suffer David to build him a temple because he had been the occasion of so much bloodshed, though his wars were said to be just; if among the ancient Greeks it was a custom that they who had defiled their hands with human blood, though without any fault of theirs, had need of expiation,—what person living, and particularly if he be a Christian, does not see how unfortunate and ominous a thing war is, and with what endeavors we should strive to keep ourselves from it, though it were not unjust in its objects! And it is certain that among the Christian Greeks a canon was for a long while observed, by virtue of which whosoever killed his enemy, in what war soever, was excommunicated for the term of three years.

HUGO GROTIUS.



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# THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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## The Outcome of the Hague Conference.

The Hague International Peace Conference closed on the 29th of July, having been in session two months and eleven days. At the closing session three conventions were adopted: First, a convention for the peaceful adjustment of international disputes; second, a convention concerning the laws and customs of warfare on land; third, a convention for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864. The first and third of these conventions are given in full on subsequent pages of this number of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE. The convention for the peaceful adjustment of international disputes by means of mediation, commissions of inquiry and an international court, was signed at the final sitting by the representatives of sixteen nations; the convention concerning the

laws and customs of war, by those of fifteen; and that extending the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare, also by those of fifteen. In the most of these cases signature under instructions from the governments at home is equivalent to ratification. In the case of our own country the Senate must give its adherence by a two-thirds vote before the conventions can go into effect. Formal ratifications of the conventions are to be made at The Hague before the 1st of January next. It is expected that practically all the other powers represented in the Conference will sign the Conventions, after having carefully examined them.

Besides these Conventions the Conference adopted three declarations, which will have to undergo ratification in like manner. By the first of these "the contracting powers forbid to themselves the employment of bullets which easily expand or flatten in the human body, such as bullets with a hard casing which does not entirely cover the inside, or those with incisions." By the second "the contracting powers consent, for a period of five years, to prohibit the throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons or in other new analogous ways." By the third, they "prohibit the employment of projectiles whose only aim is to emit asphyxiating or deleterious gases." These three declarations are subject to the provisions contained in Articles 11-14 of the Convention extending the Red Cross Convention to maritime warfare, given on page 194. The second and third of these declarations were voted against by the representatives of England and the United States.

No provision was made by which the powers not represented in the Conference may become parties to these conventions and declarations. The subject was thoroughly discussed, but it was finally decided to leave the matter to the governments to arrange, by diplomatic negotiation, or otherwise, the conditions on which such adherence may take place.

The Conference adopted unanimously the following resolution after the discussion of the subject of disarmament in committee: "The Conference considers that limitation of the military burdens which now weigh upon the world is greatly to be desired in the interests of the advancement of the material and moral well-being of humanity."



The following six expressions of wish were also voted, the first unanimously, the others nearly so :

1. The Conference, taking into consideration the preliminary steps already taken by the Swiss Federal Government for the revision of the Geneva Convention, expresses the wish that a special conference be called, to meet at an early date, whose object shall be the revision of this Convention.

2. The Conference expresses the wish that the question of the rights and duties of neutrals may be put upon the program of a conference in the near future.

3. The Conference expresses the wish that the questions such as it has examined relative to naval rifles and cannon, may be made the subject of investigation by the governments with the view of arriving at an agreement concerning the use of new types and calibres.

4. The Conference expresses the wish that the governments, taking account of the propositions made in the Conference, may have investigated the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of the war-budgets.

5. The Conference expresses the wish that the proposition that private property at sea in time of war be declared inviolable be referred for examination to a subsequent conference.

6. The Conference expresses the wish that the proposition for the regulation of the matter of the bombardment of ports, cities and villages by naval forces be referred for examination to a subsequent conference.

### The Immediate and the Future Results of the Conference.

To the remarks in our last issue, written before the close of the Conference, it may not be inappropriate to add a few reflections. There was a good deal of enthusiasm among the delegates about their work when it was completed. Slow of heart to believe, at the beginning, what the prophets had written, they found when the final moment came that they had more than fulfilled the highest expectations of even the advanced friends of peace. In the three conventions which they had drawn they had practically done the work of three conferences. The finest spirit of concord had prevailed throughout, and there was a general feeling among them that they had not only accomplished much, but also laid the foundation for much larger results in the time to come. The opinions of Mr. de Staal and of Andrew D. White, given elsewhere in this issue, fairly represent the general sentiment of all the more conspicuous delegates and of the peace advocates who were at The Hague. Mr. W. H. de Beaufort, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, said in his speech at the close of the Conference: "We live in a time when we must take even more

account of the moral effect of a great measure than of its immediate material results. For us the memory of your sojourn here will remain forever a luminous spot in the annals of the country, because we have the firm conviction that your sojourn here has opened a new era in the history of international relations between the civilized peoples."

Mr. Low's statement, made to Mr. Stead, that the Conference was more like the Parliament of Man than any that had ever before assembled, was a very modest statement. It is true that a considerable number of nations, probably entirely of their own choice, were not represented in it, but those which sent delegates stand, with their dependencies, for over twelve hundred millions of people, or more than four-fifths of the entire population of the globe. They represent, notwithstanding their remaining animalism, barbarism and greed, all that is highest and best in civilization. So that we may without exaggeration go beyond President Low and claim that the Conference was in principle and largely in scope the veritable beginning of the Parliament of Man.

The immediate results of the Conference are not exhausted by the three conventions, the three declarations and the six expressions of wish made. These are important,—supremely important is the constitution of an international court, "instituting a permanent arbitral jurisdiction accessible to all in the heart of the independent powers, consecrating with international accord the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of states and the well-being of peoples," as the preamble to the convention says. This great convention "recognizes the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations," and "the desirability of extending the empire of right and strengthening the sentiment of international justice," as the preamble further declares. But the immediate moral result is greater than even this convention, which is only an imperfect expression of it.

The Conference has proved that it is possible for the nations, in spite of their historic animosities, their sharply differing traditions, customs and languages, to meet together, on a basis of peace and confidence, and successfully consider their great common interests without ulterior motives. Multitudes of men said it could not be done; that the effort would prove a farce. But it has been done, and the skeptics have been silenced. This is the great achievement—the widening, deepening and strengthening, the consecrating, to use the Czar's term, of the new international spirit which has been forming itself so rapidly in recent years. The public official demonstration of this spirit and the enlarged international sympathy and trust growing at once out of this demonstration are to be set at the head of the list of immediate accomplishments at The Hague. But for this the conventions and declarations would be cast aside

almost as waste paper. This will assure their ratification and their efficiency. The nations can never again, after the experiences of this Conference, think of each other or stand in the attitude toward each other, except possibly temporarily, that they have stood in the past. The memory of the Conference cannot perish. War cannot reverse the new spirit of fellowship which it has demonstrated. The enlarged consciousness of humanity developed by it will imperiously impose its moral obligations upon all civilized peoples, and out of it will come new coöperation, new conferences, new and still finer conventions.

While the new era of which Mr. de Beaufort speaks as opened by the Conference finds its fundamental significance in this enlarged, clarified spirit of fellowship, we must not forget another phase of it on the practical side. The Conference, when its acts are ratified, will have completed the organization of the peace movement and placed peace at the front in international relations as the supreme guiding idea in the future. The plan adopted for the organization of the international court of arbitration has in it a new feature of immense significance in this regard. The Bureau of the Court is to be under the direction of the foreign ministers accredited to The Hague. Besides the justices, therefore, who are to constitute the membership of the Court, we are to have in these ministers a Permanent Inter-governmental Peace Council, or what may some day amount to a Permanent Peace Congress. Just what this Peace Directorship, which will consist of from thirty to fifty statesmen, will develop into under government direction, it is too early to surmise. But that it will prove a powerful factor in the relations of the nations is perfectly clear. It lifts the ministry to The Hague to the first rank. Henceforth the foremost diplomats will be sent to this capital, "the capital of the world." There, as the guardians and directors of the Bureau of the Court, their relations to one another and to their governments at home will center in the idea of peace. Every government in the world and the whole field of diplomacy will feel the influence.

The organization of peace has passed through three previous stages. The first was that of the peace societies, whose work was to enlighten and develop public sentiment. The second stage was that of the organization of the International Peace Congresses, eventuating in the establishment of the Peace Bureau at Berne. The third was the organization of the Inter-parliamentary Peace Union, a quasi-official body devoting its whole thought to practical peace and arbitration measures. We have now, through the action of the Hague Conference in constituting the court of arbitration and its accessories, entered upon the last, the official inter-governmental stage of the organization of peace.

This fact, connected with that of the enlarged in-

ternational fellowship indicated above, constitutes the real essence of what the Conference has done. Both on the material and the moral side it is difficult to see how it could have been greater or more promising. Time will interpret the great transaction as no one, not even the farthest-sighted of the delegates to the Conference, is capable of interpreting or comprehending it to-day. The impulse, the inspiration of it will be felt in many directions. We may, therefore, well leave to the future, without any attempt at detailed prophecy, the further practical results to which our minds so naturally and anxiously turn. We shall be able to insist upon disarmament and to work for it with all the more earnestness and faith now that the nations have strengthened their desire and proved their ability to coöperate so triumphantly in the constructive ways of peace.

### Andrew D. White's Opinion of the Work of the Hague Conference.

Hon. Andrew D. White, Chairman of the American Commission at the Peace Conference, has given to the press the following statement in regard to the results attained at The Hague. He was in a position to understand thoroughly the spirit which animated the Conference and the difficulties to be overcome, and his conservative judgment may be taken as a fair interpretation of the work done and the good after results practically sure to follow from it. His estimate seems to us below rather than above the real results, for what was done is not to be judged simply in itself, but in its relations to the many causes which led to the holding of the Conference,—causes which will continue to work, and much more powerfully than heretofore:

"In my opinion great good was accomplished, far more, in fact, than any of us dared expect or even hope when we came together.

As to disarmament, everybody really thinking upon the subject must see that a good system of arbitration must come first, and that then, when arbitration has diminished the likelihood of war, the argument for cutting down forces and armaments is greatly strengthened. The logical order then is, first arbitration, and next disarmament.

As to the plan of arbitration, any compulsory system is at present utterly out of the question. There are so many international differences involving questions of race, religion, security, and even national existence, and the difficulty of drawing a line between these and questions which may properly be arbitrated is so insurmountable that there is not a nation on the face of the earth willing to risk an obligatory system. Far better than any compulsory arbitration, which probably, even if it had been adopted by the Conference, not one of the Powers would have finally ratified, is a thoroughly good system of voluntary arbitration, recourse to which public opinion will enforce more and more, and this I earnestly believe the Conference has presented to the world.

Some of the features in the plan adopted were due to the United States, some to Great Britain, some to Russia, some to various other Powers, and, in my judgment, the plan thus adopted is far more valuable than any scheme presented by any one of the Powers at the beginning. The present plan is the result of most careful thought by the foremost international lawyers, statesmen and diplomatists of Europe, to say nothing of other parts of the world; they gave their whole souls to it, their pride was involved in it, and it will, I believe, be found to work satisfactorily.

The great point gained is that, whereas formerly an arbitration court could only be provided after long correspondence between Cabinets, and negotiations between Ministers, and debates in parliamentary bodies, and hunting for proper judges, and discussions as to procedure, and a thousand other delays, just when time was most precious, the Conference has given to the world an arbitration tribunal as an actual and permanent institution, with judges, procedure, officers of the court, place of meeting, and accessories all provided.

It has added, as subsidiary to its main feature, carefully systematized plans of mediation, both general and special, which are likely in many cases to prove exceedingly valuable in preventing nations from drifting into war.

It has also provided a system of commissions of inquiry, by which the real questions and grievances at issue can be ascertained and brought out to be coolly considered, instead of the wild charges, countercharges, calumnies, sensational reports and rumors, which have hitherto done so much to hurry people into war.

We may fairly hope that, as time goes on, a resort to the tribunal now created will become more and more usual and natural, and that the pressure of public opinion in all cases where questions at issue can possibly be settled will be far more effective than any attempt at compulsory resort to a high international court.

This is certainly a great gain, and, as has been very justly observed in a very remarkable and thoughtful recent article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the Conference deserves credit for not attempting to go further. To have done so would have provoked resistance and reaction, which would have left the possibilities of war more serious even than they have been hitherto.

But even without an arbitration plan, the result would have fully justified our two months' work. The extension of the Geneva rules to maritime warfare, and the improvement and establishment of the best system possible at present of the laws and customs of war would of itself be a sufficient result.

With arbitration added to this, I feel that the world will be satisfied in time that we have made a good beginning, valuable indeed at the outset, but likely to grow more and more valuable as time goes on.

As to gradual disarmament, that will come later. Of course the people who insist on having fruit on the day the tree is planted will sneer at our work, but history will, I believe, judge it differently."

Japan has now become a full member of the family of independent nations, the old treaties providing that offending foreigners within her domain should be tried in consular courts having expired. Such trials now take place as in other countries.

## Editorial Notes.

Zealous and  
Well-Meaning.

Dr. Paul Carus, in a recent number of *The Open Court*, of which he is the editor, says that "the advocates of peace on earth are, as a rule, zealous men who mean well, but lack in proper comprehension. They are men of sentiment, unfamiliar with real life, attempting the impossible. They imagine that the great national governments would voluntarily surrender their power—an act which would be neither wise nor right. If the average peace advocates could have their way for a time, they would soon find out that their system would not work." This criticism is about as vague and in the air as can well be imagined. We have a pretty wide acquaintance with "the average peace advocates," and so far as we know they are all men thoroughly familiar with real life. It is because of this familiarity, because they know real life, its struggles, its hardships, and its possible moral and material elevation, that they are such "sentimental" advocates of peace. The "impossible" thing which they are attempting is nothing more than Dr. Carus proceeds to argue for, the substitution of the struggle of truth and justice, by love and moral methods, for the brutal struggle of physical force, proceeding by selfishness and hate. They are engaged themselves in a stupendous struggle of this sort, which has been going on ever since the first peace advocate opened his mouth. These advocates do not imagine that the great powers will surrender their power—he means, of course, the power of their armies and navies—so long as they are ruled by their present ideas. But if we can persuade them, by the "struggle" of argument, that these ideas are wrong and immensely harmful, does Dr. Carus imagine that they will not then voluntarily surrender their present power, for one that is in every way superior? The Doctor does not give any evidence of knowing what the system of the peace advocates is. Does he suppose that "if they could have their way for a time," that is, if they could persuade the great governments, and the masses of the peoples, to sincerely adopt their ideas and their methods, and sincerely entrust to them the formation of the international policies which should govern the world, their system would break down in practice? The "average peace advocate" has "proper comprehension" enough to know that a system which is rooted in the convictions and devotion of peoples and their governments, will work thoroughly well without the sword to make it go. Private individuals, Dr. Carus among the rest, have surrendered something of their power to the community, and more of it still to the higher law of love; and great nations are already beginning to do the same. Some day they will do more of this, until at last they will find armies and navies use-



less. It is the purpose of the peace advocates to make social evolution evolve a little faster than Dr. Carus would have it do.

The *New York World* has the following pointed comment on Ambassador White's remark about "humanizing war," in his Fourth of July address at Delft:

"In his address at the grave of Grotius, Tuesday, Ambassador White declared it to be the duty of civilization to 'go on with the work of humanizing war.' But how shall that be humanized which is inhuman in its very conception and in every detail of its waging? 'War's a brain-spattering, windpipe-splitting art,' wrote Byron. 'War is hell,' said Gen. Sherman. War consists in killing, maiming, destroying. It tears the husband and the son from the family hearthstone and sends them to slaughter and be slaughtered. It makes widows and orphans. It sows the seed of pestilence. It breeds famine and gaunt disease. No, no, no! We cannot humanize this hideously inhuman thing. Our task is to abolish it as we have abolished its twin sister, piracy. It is ours to find a better way and to follow it."

What is meant by humanizing, civilizing, Christianizing war, is the cutting off from it of a lot of attendant cruelties, such as the killing of prisoners, doing of violence to envoys, leaving the wounded to die uncared for, piracy, plundering in land warfare, etc. This work as far as it goes is essentially humane and Christian. But it is a monstrous contradiction in terms to call it humanizing war. Some appropriate term ought to be used. After all these attendant evils have been cut off, war in itself remains, and the nature of this can never be changed, so long as it continues to be real war with deadly instruments. When war itself is abolished, all the attendant evils will go with it. The spirit which is cutting off the attendant evils will some day grow strong enough to lay the axe at the root of the tree.

Mr. de Staal, president of the Peace Conference, said after its close that "taken as a whole he was well satisfied with the results." In his address at the close of the Conference he said, in reference to mediation and arbitration, the realization of which had been "the very essence of their task":

"I did not deceive myself in anticipating that our labors in this matter would assume exceptional importance. The work is now accomplished. It bears testimony to the great solicitude of the Governments for what affects the pacific development of international relations and the well-being of peoples. This work is certainly by no means perfect, but it is sincere, practical and wise. It seeks to conciliate by safeguarding the two principles which form the basis of the law of nations, the principle of the sovereignty of states, and the principle of a just international solidarity. It gives the preference

to what unites over what divides. It sets forth that in the new period upon which we are entering, what shall prevail are the works springing from a desire for concord and fertilized by the collaboration of the states seeking the realization of their legitimate interests in a durable peace founded upon justice. The task accomplished by the Hague Conference in this direction is truly meritorious and beautiful. It responds to the magnanimous feelings of its august initiator. It will have the support of public opinion everywhere, and will, I hope, meet with the approval of history.

It is, perhaps, too early to judge in its entirety of a work scarcely finished. We are, perhaps, still too near the cradle. We lack the aerial perspective. What is certain is that this work undertaken on the initiative of the Emperor, my august master, and under the auspices of her majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands, will develop in the future. As was said on a memorable occasion by the President of our Third Commission, the greater the progress made in the road of time, the more clearly will its importance come out. Now, the first step has been taken. Let us unite our efforts and profit by experience. The good seed is sown. Let the harvest come. As regards myself, I, who have reached the term of my career and the downward slope of life, consider it as a supreme consolation to have seen the opening of new perspectives for the good of humanity, and to have been able to cast my eyes into the brightness of the future."

At the moment of this writing, war between Great Britain and the Transvaal seems inevitable. President Krüger and the Volksraad refuse to make any further concessions and Mr. Chamberlain declines to accept those offered. Both nations are making hurried preparations for hostilities, and many people are leaving Johannesburg for Natal. It is greatly to be hoped that a basis for peace may still be found. A war, whatever the outcome of it, will be very disastrous and iniquitous. Both countries have done wrong. The Boers under Krüger, in the attempt to prevent the swallowing up of their country by the greedy, high-handed British gold-seekers, have been exclusive and severe toward the foreigners, to a degree impossible of justification in these days. But they have yielded almost to the point asked by Great Britain. But Mr. Chamberlain, who is the most dangerous man in England, has "put his hand to the plow," and seems determined to carry his point at no matter what sacrifice of money, life or morals. The evidence accumulates that his real purpose is not so much to right grievances of British subjects as to overthrow the Boer government and make the Transvaal an integral part of the Empire which he is relentlessly trying to build. He knows this cannot be done without war. That was why the Jameson raid, of which he was so "innocent," took place. That experiment cannot be repeated. So the plan appears to be to push the Boers

to the wall. Demands are made upon them which he is sure they will not grant. He will then, if possible, crush them by British arms and take possession of their country, which is in the way of his "Cairo to Cape" scheme of expansion. It will be another added to the long list of their colonial crimes, if the British people allow this high-handed purpose to be carried out. Many of the best men in England are opposed to it, but British mercenariness and love of gold seems to be too strong for them. The war, which now seems inevitable, will be extremely disastrous, because the Boers are well armed and the best marksmen in the world. Besides, it will entail intense race hatred in the whole of South Africa for generations to come. The protest against it from all over the civilized world ought to be so loud and long as to compel even Mr. Chamberlain's feelingless heart to yield.

**Porto Rico Disaster.** The destruction caused by the recent storm in Porto Rico has brought into striking contrast the limp and languid interest taken by the people in a work of real Christian benevolence, made necessary by a great natural disaster, and the passionate, uncontrollable prodigality of the government and the people's representatives, and even the people themselves, in the destructive ways of war. The great storm which visited Porto Rico destroyed many lives and swept away the property of nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants. Not a government representative lifts his voice in favor of direct government aid in this hour of overwhelming distress. The whole task is left to private benevolence, though it is well known that while this is being organized many must suffer and die. If it were a question of war, in the name of "humanity" or of the national "sovereignty," there would be no hesitation in spending fifty, or a hundred, or five hundred million dollars, and in entering upon a course which would involve a perpetual drain of millions every month in the future. One's heart grows sick when he thinks how little the expenditure of the nation's funds is governed by the principles of real humanity. In the matter of private benevolence, how much better is it? The private response to Porto Rico's cry of distress is said to have been generous. It has been with many individuals. But the sum raised has reached barely twenty-five thousand dollars in any one of our great cities. In contrast to this, San Francisco has raised sixty thousand dollars for a great demonstration over the soldiers returned from the Philippines; partly, we are informed, to induce the soldiers to re-enlist. New York City is raising several hundred thousand dollars for a great Dewey demonstration when the Admiral comes home. Every dollar of the money spent in these ways in these and other cities is worse than wasted. It

all tends to infatuate people with the glory of war, to teach a false patriotism, to lead the nation away into warlike ambitions, and to pile up the war expenditures of the government in the future. When the nation, in its corporate capacity, comes to possess a tithe of the humanity which it has boasted to the world of having, all this will be reversed, and government and people will deem it the chief glory to keep out of war, and to spend these vast sums in works of saving and constructive benevolence.

**Venezuela Arbitration.** The arguments in the Venezuela boundary case, before the tribunal at Paris, have continued during the past month, and are likely to be finished sometime before Christmas. The length of the speeches made, some of them continuing day after day for weeks, has led certain journals to speak as if this were a proof of the impracticability of arbitration. One does wonder what the distinguished pleaders find to say at so great length, and it is not surprising that the president of the tribunal, Mr. de Martens, should have grown somewhat impatient and asked the speakers to see if they could not condense a little. It must be remembered, however, in justification of the lengthy speeches, that in no other of the great arbitration contests have the facts requiring discussion covered so long a period of history — these going back more than three hundred years. No other case has ever been in abler hands than this, and when the arguments are ended nothing more will be left to be said. Extended debate in no sense proves the impracticability of arbitration. If the discussion should go on for the next ten years, this would be infinitely better and cheaper than for the United States and Great Britain to have fought over the matter for a single day.

**Alaskan Boundary.** No progress can be reported towards the settlement of the Alaska boundary question. Since Sir Wilfred Laurier's rather vigorous speech in the Canadian parliament, it is understood that the Canadian government has been counseled by the British Foreign Office to preserve moderation. War is not to be thought of; but neither the British nor our own government, so far as can be learned, shows any signs of yielding from its previously assumed position. The meeting of the Commission which was set for August has been passed over, and no meeting is proposed until November. It is said, though we hesitate to believe it, that the Canadian government will do nothing more until after the fall elections. Things have come to a pretty pass if two great states like Britain and the United States must subordinate an important question of boundary to the demands of party politics! The difficulty put by each nation in the way of arbitration of the dispute seems to

us an evidence of extreme weakness and selfishness. Both are willing to arbitrate, but Great Britain insists on a European umpire and the United States on an American. If Great Britain persists in this contention, the United States ought without hesitation to accept a European umpire. We should be just as likely to get perfect impartiality from an umpire appointed by Russia, or France, or Italy, or Switzerland, or Belgium, or by several other European countries, as from one appointed by any Central or South American republic, and more likely possibly to get a thoroughly intelligent decision. If our case is as clear as we ourselves think it is, there is all the less reason why we should hold back an instant from arbitration. Even if the case should go against us, we had better a thousand times give up the whole sinuous coast of southern Alaska than go to war, or even to keep up the irritating contention, with Great Britain. If we were in reality a Christian nation, we should put a little Golden Rule into the question and freely offer Great Britain a strip of the territory, giving her a continuous route of her own to the sea. That is what we would have done to us, if we were in her place.

Andrew Carnegie has sent the Boston Anti-Imperialist League another thousand dollars with which to prosecute its work. On the 16th of August the League issued another manifesto, signed by its president, Hon. George S. Boutwell, giving an account of the progress of its principles throughout the country. Leagues of the same kind have been formed in Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Detroit, St. Louis, Portland, Or., New York, Washington, and other cities and towns in many parts of the country. These organizations contain an array of eminent names "such as has not been brought together in support of a common cause since the signing of the Declaration of Independence." "A vigorous and powerful portion of the press, religious, secular, independent and industrial, is giving full support to the anti-imperialist policy. It is not known to us that the President's policy has one supporter in the press devoted to the interests of agriculture." The League still believes that the United States, and the President especially, is responsible for the war in the Philippines, and that the war ought to be brought to an end at once. The Anti-Imperialists will "reject any and every scheme of compromise." Their aim is "not so much to secure a verdict against the administration, as to obtain a denominating judgment, which shall stand as a controlling precedent for the guidance of the republic in all future time." The war goes on, the public debt is constantly increasing, the tax-gatherer lays contributions on every household for the support of the war, and collects a percentage on every

business transaction. The "plain people" are entering upon the task of saving the republic. If the war continues, conscription will have to be resorted to, in order to fill up the ranks in the Philippines, which are wasting away by death and the ravages of disease, and this conscription will have to be continued for many years. The League does not believe that the country will endure this, but will, for the time being, subordinate all domestic questions to "the single purpose of comprehensive public policy—the purpose to bring the army of the United States out of the Philippine islands with the least possible delay, and without delay to recognize in the inhabitants of the Philippines, of Cuba and of Porto Rico, the right of self-government, agreeably to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and as a pledge of the permanent policy of the United States."

It seems to us self-evident that every lover of truth, justice, liberty and peace, must coöperate heartily with the great purpose here announced.

The Ninth Conference of the Inter-parliamentary Peace Union met at Christiania on the 2d of August. It was opened by Mr. Steen, Minister of State. More than 300 members were present from the different European parliaments. The deliberations, which continued three days, were presided over by Mr. Lund, president of the Lagthing, and Mr. Horst, president of the Odelsting. Reports were heard from the different parliamentary groups represented. The Conference then discussed and passed resolutions of which the following is a summary: (a) The Conference hopes that other similar conferences may follow that at The Hague, in order that there may be the widest possible application of the principle of permanent international arbitration, and the gradual development of public international law; (b) the Inter-parliamentary Council is invited to prepare for future conferences of the Union a project of a code of international law fixing the rights and duties of states; (c) the Conference expresses its felicitation to the Emperor of Russia, and to the other sovereigns and governments for the important success attained at The Hague in the way of a permanent tribunal of arbitration, and offers its coöperation for the further development of the work so auspiciously begun; (d) the Conference asks of its groups in different countries to do all they can to enlighten their fellow citizens as to the work of the Hague Conference; to induce their governments to ratify what was done at The Hague; to encourage them to make treaties of arbitration with as many states as possible; to bring as many as possible of the governments not represented at The Hague to accept the conventions there concluded; (e) and lastly, the Conference instructs its

Council, with the coöperation of its different groups, to prepare for the next meeting of the Union a statement of what should be done to complete the work of the Hague Conference.

The Conference was received with great respect by the authorities at Christiania. At a banquet given in its honor, Mr. Björnson, the author, pronounced a most eloquent and enthusiastic discourse on truth and morality in politics.

#### International Law Association.

At the invitation of the American Bar Association, the International Law Association held its Eighteenth Conference in the council chamber of the city hall, Buffalo, August 31st to September 2d. This number of the *ADVOCATE* goes to press too early to get details of the meeting. The program announces as president of the Conference, Sir William R. Kennedy, judge of the British High Court of Justice. The principal papers are: "Foreign Judgments," by J. Alderson Foote, Q. C.; "Immunity of Private Property at Sea from Capture during War," by Mr. Thomas Barclay, of Paris, and Mr. Charles H. Butler of New York; "International Rules of Marine Insurance," by T. G. Carver, Q. C., of London; "The Rhodian Law," by Hon. Robert D. Benedict, of New York; "The Protection of Industrial Property," by Mr. Francis Forbes, of New York; "Bills of Lading Legislation," by Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, of New York, and Dr. Paul Govare, of Dunkirk; "Liens or Privileged Claims on Property," by Judge Raikes, Q. C., of London; "Law Suited to Subject Peoples," by Dr. F. J. Tompkins, of London; "Canadian Law Subject," by W. W. Vickers, of Toronto. The International Law Association, which was at first called the "Association for the Reform and Codification of International Law," was founded at Brussels in October, 1873. It owes its origin largely to the influence of Dr. James B. Miles, at that time Secretary of the American Peace Society, who, after having advocated the matter for a year or more, in that year went abroad, visiting both England and the Continent in the interests of an organization for the promotion of international justice. The same year a Code Committee, for the Codification of international law, was formed in New York in the office of David Dudley Field, who went to Brussels and was elected honorary President of the Conference. The International Law Association has met in recent years in various cities of Europe, and has now in its membership a number of the foremost European jurists. Its work is technical, and therefore does not appeal strongly to the general public, but it has been of great service in promoting the improvement of international law. We shall hope to give further particulars of the Buffalo meeting.

#### Work in California.

Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, of San Francisco, president of the California W. C. T. U., writes us that she is doing what she can to interest the California women in the cause of arbitration and peace. She is thoroughly committed to the cause, and considers it "one of the foundation stones of just government." Of the men returning from the Philippines she says: "Just now many soldiers are coming to our city from Manila, and my heart is saddened as I look upon these young men and think how many of them have been injured morally and physically in this unjust and cruel war upon a people striving for their liberty. Surely every right-minded man and woman ought to stand boldly and determinedly against this barbarous undertaking." The sad aspect of the moral and physical wrecks produced by war, of which Mrs. Gray speaks, and so forcibly brought out on another page of this number in an article by Rebecca Harding Davis, is, strangely enough, one that appeals next to none at all to most people. It is taken as a matter of fact, and people do not allow themselves even to think of it. But this fact, if rightly understood and appreciated, is enough in itself to arouse every man and woman of goodness and purity, to a holy and unquenchable zeal against this inhuman and depraved system of war.

#### Vice in the Navy.

A writer in a recent number of the *Humanitarian* (London) says: "Since the establishment of our 'Training Ships,' vice and immorality have increased in our Navy with frightful rapidity. And no wonder, when 800 to 1,000 boys, of all classes and temperaments, are herded together for just long enough (a year and a half) to ensure the contagion of the worst form of corruption. Of moral supervision they have absolutely nothing, their supervision being mainly entrusted to coarse and uneducated seamen and marines, of the same habits and training as themselves, equally vicious with the boys, and, in many cases, actually initiating them in vice. Far better was it in old days, when a boy was drafted straight to a sea-going ship, and preserved from this wholesale contamination by being placed at once among men older than himself before he had learned his lesson in vice for life. The evil increases daily. Naval officers have told me repeatedly that the supervision of the training-ships — poor and irresponsible as it always was — is being more and more starved by the Admiralty, who give them no additional means of dealing with the ever-increasing number of boys. The matter is no secret. Any of the boys will tell you how vice is connived at and encouraged. And soon the nation will pay a heavy reckoning."

**Cuban Orphans.** The National Red Cross Society, Washington, D. C., makes a strong appeal for help for the reconcentrado Cuban orphans. About fifty thousand of these are scattered through the cities and towns. They are not children of low origin, but of the best farmer families, their parents having died or been killed. Many of the mothers starved themselves to death in order to save their children. These children, from thirty to a hundred in each of the towns, are utterly homeless. They live principally by begging of the passengers of every passing train, sometimes crowding upon the trains in such numbers that passengers can scarcely get out. They are in rags and filthy beyond description. Their limbs are emaciated, their feet swollen and often broken open. The plan of the Red Cross is to make small, plain and simple asylums for them where they are, and in these to care for them, teach them to work, read, and to forget the lives of want and woe through which they have passed. Every asylum has from one to ten acres of ground adjoining it. The children are gentle and obedient, and respond readily in all ways to the efforts made to help them. It is only the reconcentrado orphans that the Red Cross is trying to help. With proper funds, which ought to be given quickly and generously, it will not be many months before the whole fifty thousand can be saved and started on the way of self help.

**Loss of Peaceworkers.** The recent sudden death of William Jones at Sunderland, England, takes away one of the most valuable peaceworkers of the past generation. He first came into prominence in this regard as one of the commissioners who distributed the War Victims' Fund raised by the English Friends at the time of the Franco-German War. He was afterwards for a number of years Secretary of the London Peace Society, and traveled and lectured extensively in the interests of the Society's work. Subsequently he made a trip round the world, with a view of promoting peace. He saw and had interviews with many leading men in Europe, Asia, Australia and the United States. His vivid portrayal of the horrors of war, as seen by himself in 1870-71, can never be forgotten by one who had heard him. Just before his death he published, through Headley Bros., 14 Bishopsgate Street Without, London, a most interesting book entitled: "Quaker Campaigns in Peace and War," which throws much light on the Franco-German War and other events of the past generation.

An ex-Secretary of the American Peace Society has also recently passed away, Rev. Charles Howard Malcolm, who died at Newport, R. I., August 19th. Dr. Malcolm was born in Boston in 1832. He was educated at Brown University and the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and in theology at Princeton, where he gradu-

ated with the highest honors. He was pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Newport, R. I., from 1855 to 1875, where he greatly endeared himself to his flock by his ability and unceasing efforts in their behalf. He then for a short time served as General Secretary of the American Peace Society, but owing to the financial difficulties which at that time beset the Society, he did not remain long in the position. In 1879 Dr. Malcolm joined the Episcopal Church, and was for fourteen years secretary of the church building fund commission, during which time the fund accumulated nearly half a million dollars. From 1894 to 1897 he was a professor in St. Stephen's College, New York State. For the past year he had been residing at his old home in Newport. Dr. Malcolm, though not actively engaged in peace work in late years, kept up his interest in the cause to the last, and only a short time since we had some most helpful and encouraging letters from him.

President McKinley has sent to General Self-Government Brooke at Havana the following proclamation, providing for a census of the population. The proclamation has given rise to some dissatisfaction among the Cubans, because it seems to them obscure in regard to the matter of independence. There is suspicion in many quarters that the Administration, in line with its expansion policy, means, by indirect if not direct methods, ultimately to annex Cuba. Here is the proclamation:

*To the People of Cuba:*

The disorganized condition of your island resulting from the war and the absence of any generally recognized authority aside from the temporary military control of the United States have made it necessary that the United States should follow the restoration of order and peaceful industry by giving its assistance and supervision to the successive steps by which you will proceed to the establishment of an effective system of self-government.

As a preliminary step in the performance of this duty, I have directed that a census of the people of Cuba be taken, and have appointed competent and disinterested citizens of Cuba as enumerators and supervisors.

It is important for the proper arrangement of your new government that the information sought shall be fully and accurately given, and I request that by every means in your power you aid the officers appointed in the performance of their duties.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

**The Master Idea.** The Pilgrim Press of Boston is about to publish a volume of Raymond L. Bridgman, of Auburndale, a well-known correspondent, entitled "The Master Idea." Mr. Bridgman says:

"The organism which is to include mankind has had thus far only a feeble beginning. Treaties mark the degree of union between nations. Arbitration is a new

substitute for war. "The parliament of man" has not yet been summoned. The work of the present age is to elevate the masses of the people, rather than to stimulate the development of those classes which are already at the head. The divine purpose of peace, justice and prosperity, ever working forward through an increasingly complex civilization, is revealed in the past by perversion of the power of the strong for the oppression of the weak. Human history before comparatively recent years reveals nations largely as the prey of their rulers, the supporters of their prodigality, the soldiers of their armies, the fuel to be consumed in the fires of their ambition and passion, the slaves of their imperious will. Mere broken fragments for history are these events, centered in selfishness, with no thought for the place of the person or of the nation in the divine plan. National unity and race unity for the good of the whole are almost unknown. Kings and czars, oligarchies and aristocracies, plutocrats and spendthrifts have thus far, to a large degree, been the great figures of earth in contemporary esteem.

But the times are changing. The genuine great ones of the past are being recognized now far more than those who appeared great at the passing moment. Men of science who have discovered and revealed God's truth to their fellow men, martyrs of the cross for religion and for political freedom, poets and seers of heavenly visions, patient toilers who have kept the spark of virtue in the masses when courts were corrupt; these makers of real history, these workers with the divine purpose, the divine method and the divine presence, are now receiving more nearly their worthy recognition, and history-writing for future historians is becoming possible because they have studied and sung and suffered and died for truth and for mankind."

#### Philippine Situation.

There has been little to record in the way of military operations in the Philippines. The renewed fighting about San Fernando lasted but a short time. Secretary Alger has resigned from the War Department and Mr. Root of New York has succeeded him. The new Secretary has ordered the recruiting of ten more regiments of volunteers in addition to the ten already filled. These are all to be rushed to the Philippines at the earliest possible date. The government expects with these additions to the army already there to be able to crush what it calls the "insurrection" in a short time after the rainy season ends in November. The evidence increases that with small exception the Filipinos in all the islands are increasingly hostile to the United States and are strongly attached to Aguinaldo and the Philippine cause. Our government is constantly imagining proposals of peace from Aguinaldo, but none come. There is strong talk that General Otis will be replaced by some other commander. The volunteers have nearly all arrived in this country. Meantime the government is spending on the war fifteen millions per month of the people's money, and "pacification" seems no nearer than at the beginning. President McKinley has at last come out openly and declared that the blood-

shed and desolation shall go on until the Filipinos yield to United States sovereignty. It is proposed, on the reopening of the campaign, to blockade all the ports of the islands, cut off the supplies and starve the people into submission if they will not otherwise yield. The Filipinos seem as determined as ever to endure to the last and secure their independence. The feeling in this country that they ought to have it, and that our government is waging against them an unjust and wicked war of conquest, is unmistakably growing. New organizations of anti-imperialists are constantly being formed. This sentiment is sure to grow with great rapidity, we feel certain, and will at last drive from the seats of authority the President and his supporters, who have brought upon us this iniquitous, un-American and costly situation. There is now but one living question before the people—the question whether our country can be rescued from the perilous, un-American, unchristian, humiliating course on which it has entered with such blind disregard of its true interests and glory.

Mr. Frederick W. Holls, Secretary to the United States Commission at the Hague Conference, has just returned to New York. In an interview he expresses himself thus as to the work of the Conference:

"Those best qualified to judge regard the work accomplished by the Conference as being, while not a very long step, at least a step in the right direction, and it is always the first step that tells. The institution of a great court of arbitration is undoubtedly a great step forward in international law and in the history of civilization. It now depends on public opinion in the different countries to make that court a success, and, indeed, to make all the ideas expounded by the Conference a success. There was a most admirable spirit manifested by the different delegates toward the representatives of other countries. Between the American, English and German delegates the most cordial feeling and the closest coöperation existed. The Germans had some preliminary objections to the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration, but they were finally convinced that these objections were not necessarily fatal to the project, and thereafter they coöperated with us to perfect the scheme for an international court. The regulations that were adopted regarding rules of warfare and the extension of the Geneva Red Cross were also a great and humane advance on methods of warfare. We feel that the Conference will mark an epoch in the history of international relationship; we certainly accomplished infinitely more than any one expected or had any reason to expect."

#### Brevities.

. . . The great 16-inch, 126-ton gun now building for the United States at the Watervliet arsenal, will have a range power of 21 miles. The weight of the projectile will be 2,870 pounds.



. . . The national deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30 was \$88,875,989, in spite of the extra taxation, which is said to have covered all the expenses of the Spanish war. The deficit is still piling up every month by the million.

. . . *Die Friedens-Warte* is the title of a new peace publication begun by Alfred H. Fried, at 37 Goltzstrasse, Berlin, on the first of July. It is published weekly, at one and one-half marks quarterly.

. . . The war in the Philippines has already cost more lives of Americans in killed and died of wounds than all the fighting in Cuba and Porto Rico during the war with Spain.

. . . Through Steiger & Co., of Berne, Mr. Edmond Potonié-Pierre, of Fontenay-sous-Bois, France, has published, in a pamphlet of 117 pages, a history of the peace movement. The pamphlet treats more especially of the first series of peace congresses held from 1843 to 1850, and of the work of the French and Swiss societies of the past generation. The great movement of the last ten years is only touched incidentally. The pamphlet will be of great service to the future historian of the movement.

. . . *Nippon*, the leading conservative journal of Japan, which before the meeting at The Hague spoke in very sarcastic terms of the Czar's proposals, has since expressed this opinion: "The establishment of a permanent tribunal of arbitration is in harmony with our time. The epoch in which we live ought to be the opening of an era of peace and concord between peoples, and nothing should be left undone which will assure us peace."

. . . At the meeting of the Executive Council of the International Law Association, on the eighteenth of July, in London, Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society, was elected a member of the Association.

. . . "The schoolmaster is abroad, and I can trust him with his primer against the soldier in full panoply of battle."—*Lord Brougham*.

. . . Mr. Edmond Potonié-Pierre, Secretary of the *Ligue du Bien Public*, Fontenay-sous-Bois, France, continues to serve the peace cause very usefully by circulating his "flying leaves" against war.

. . . We have received a copy of the Twentieth Report of the Local Peace Association of Wisbech, England, one of the most persevering and efficient of the many local peace organizations in Great Britain.

. . . There is but one battlefield in the whole continent of Australia. This is marked with a monument, showing that a fight between miners once took place there. Australia is the bloodless continent.

. . . Mr. Emile Arnaud, of France, President of the International League of Liberty and Peace, has published in a pamphlet of sixty pages, under the title of "*L'Organisation de la Paix*," an address presented by him to the delegates at The Hague.

. . . William Lloyd Garrison, who has been one of the strongest, truest and most consistent opponents of the imperialistic policy of the government, has published in

a pamphlet entitled "The Nation's Shame" nine sonnets on "William McKinley," "Aguinaldo," "The Church Recreant," etc.

. . . Earnest Howard Crosby has in the *Social Forum* (Chicago) for July 1st, an extremely interesting article entitled "Some British Soldiers on Expansion." The two soldiers spoken of in the article as essentially opposed to British imperialism are Gordon and General Sir William Butler. The latter, it will be remembered, is just about to be removed from command in South Africa because he condemns the present Chamberlain policy towards the Transvaal.

. . . The treaty transferring the Caroline, Pelew and Marianne Islands from Spain to Germany was signed on the last day of June by Premier Silvela and Count von Radowitz, German Ambassador at Madrid.

. . . The reciprocity treaty between the United States and France, which has been long under negotiation, was signed on the 24th of July by Mr. Kasson and Ambassador Cambon. This is the most important treaty negotiated under the reciprocity provisions of the Dingley tariff.

. . . Ulises Heureaux, President of the Republic of San Domingo, was assassinated on July 26th, by Ramon Caceres. A revolution headed by Señor Jimenez has made considerable progress in the island, and now seems certain of success.

. . . Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador to the United States, and head of the British delegation to the Hague Conference, has been raised to the peerage, and is now Lord Pauncefote of Preston.

. . . Mr. Léon Bourgeois, head of the French Commission at the Hague Conference, because of his eminent services there, has been decorated by the Emperor of Russia with the Order of St. Alexander Newsky.

. . . The American delegates to the Peace Conference at The Hague have offered, on behalf of the United States, to erect near the English Church in The Hague a Peace Chapel, with a stone to commemorate the Conference. The offer has been gratefully accepted. The place is about ten minutes' walk from the "House in the Woods."

. . . Mr. William Cunningham, of England, in discussing the subject of peace, in the *August Atlantic Monthly*, lays stress upon national vanity as one of the causes now most likely to produce war, especially in the case of republics. This takes the place of the personal ambition of crowned heads, formerly so fruitful of war.

. . . The Queen's speech on the prorogation of Parliament, the 9th of August, declares that though the Hague Conference did not fully accomplish "the lofty aims which it was summoned to accomplish, it has met with a considerable measure of success. The institution of a permanent tribunal of arbitration cannot fail to diminish the frequency of war, while the extension of the Geneva Convention will mitigate its horrors."

. . . The annual meeting of the Society of the International Peace Bureau will take place at Berne, Switzerland, on the 23d and 24th of this September.

. . . W. T. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, who was at The Hague during the entire Peace Conference, has contributed to the current number of the *Forum* an able, lucid and extremely interesting article on the significance and work of the Conference.

. . . Rev. George J. Webster, who is located at Athens, has begun peace work in Greece by distributing literature and otherwise seeking to promote interest in the subject.

. . . The Samoan Commission have decided that the Kingship of the islands shall be abolished, and recommend that the government be turned over to one of the three powers which have hitherto been in joint control. Which will it be? Great dogs do not give up easily even small bones.

. . . The Women's Disarmament League of Holland, which has more than twelve hundred members, has sent an urgent appeal to Queen Victoria to prevent war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, declaring that such a war would bring disgrace upon the close of her long and glorious reign. Queen Wilhelmina has also sent an appeal.

## Debt Due to Hugo Grotius.

BY HON. ANDREW D. WHITE.

Address delivered on the Fourth of July at Delft, Holland, at the celebration given by the American Commission in honor of Grotius.

*Gentlemen:* The Commission of the United States comes here this day to discharge a special duty. We are instructed to acknowledge, in behalf of our country, one of its many great debts to the Netherlands.

This debt is that which, in common with the whole world, we owe to one of whom all civilized lands are justly proud;—the poet, the scholar, the historian, the statesman, the diplomatist, the jurist, the author of the treatise, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*.

Of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book, by a man proscribed and hated both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery and sorrow; more than any other it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war.

On this tomb, then, before which we now stand, the Delegates of the United States are instructed to lay a simple tribute to him whose mortal remains rest beneath it—Hugo de Groot; revered and regarded with gratitude by thinking men throughout the world as Grotius.

Naturally we have asked you to join us in this simple ceremony. For his name has become too great to be celebrated by his native country alone; it can only be fitly celebrated in the presence of representatives from the whole world.

For the first time in human history there are now assembled delegates with a common purpose, from all the nations; and they are fully represented here. I feel empowered to speak words of gratitude, not only from my own country, but from each of these. I feel that my own country, though one of the youngest in the great sisterhood of nations, utters at this shrine to-day, not only her own gratitude, but that of every part of Europe, of all the great powers of Asia, of the sister republics of

North and South America. From nations now civilized, but which Grotius knew only as barbarous; from nations which in his time were yet unborn; from every land where there are men who admire genius, who reverence virtue, who respect patriotism, who are grateful to those who have given their lives to toil, hardship, disappointment, and sacrifice for humanity—from all these come thanks and greetings heartily mingled with our own.

The time and place are well suited to the acknowledgment of such a debt. As to time, so far as the world at large is concerned, I remind you not only that this is the first conference of the entire world, but that it has, as its sole purpose, a further evolution of the principles which Grotius, first of all men, developed thoroughly and stated effectively. So far as the United States is concerned, it is the time of our most sacred national festival—the Anniversary of our National Independence. What more fitting period, then, in the history of the world and of our own country, for a tribute to one who has done so much, not only for our sister nations but for ourselves.

### THE PLACE FOR AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

And as to the place. This is the ancient and honored city of Delft. From its Haven, not distant, sailed the "Mayflower,"—bearing the Pilgrim Fathers who, in a time of obstinate and bitter persecution, brought to the American Continent the germs of that toleration which had been especially developed among them during their stay in the Netherlands, and of which Grotius was an apostle. In this town Grotius was born; in this temple he worshipped; these pavements he trod when a child; often was this place revisited by him in his boyhood; at his death his mortal body was placed in this hallowed ground. Time and place, then, would both seem to make this tribute fitting.

In the vast debt which all nations owe to Grotius, the United States acknowledges its part gladly. Perhaps in no other country has this thought penetrated more deeply and influenced more strongly the great mass of the people. It was the remark of Alexis De Tocqueville, the most philosophic among all students of American institutions, that one of the most striking and salutary things in the American life is the widespread study of law. De Tocqueville was undoubtedly right. In all parts of our country the Law of Nations is especially studied by large bodies of young men in colleges and universities; studied not professionally merely, but from the point of view of men eager to understand the fundamental principles of international rights and duties.

The work of our compatriots, Wheaton, Kent, Field, Woolsey, Dana, Lawrence and others, in developing more and more the ideas to which Grotius first gave life and strength, show that our country has not cultivated in vain this great field which Grotius opened.

### THREE AMERICAN EXAMPLES.

As to the bloom and fruitage evolved by these writers out of the germ ideas of Grotius, I might give many examples, but I will mention merely three:

The first example shall be the act of Abraham Lincoln. Amid all the fury of civil war, he recognized the necessity of a more humane code for the conduct of our armies in the field; and he entrusted its preparation to Francis Lieber, honorably known to jurists throughout the

world, and at that time Grotius' leading American disciple.

My second example shall be the act of General Ulysses Grant. When called to receive the surrender of his great opponent, General Lee, after a long and bitter contest, he declined to take from the vanquished General the sword which he had so long and so bravely worn; imposed no terms upon the conquered armies, save that they should return to their homes; allowed no reprisals; but simply said, "Let us have peace."

My third example shall be the act of the whole people of the United States. At the close of that most bitter contest, which desolated thousands of homes, and which cost nearly a million of lives, no revenge was taken by the triumphant Union on any of the separatist statesmen who had brought on the great struggle, or on any of the soldiers who had conducted it; and, from that day to this, North and South, once every year, on Decoration Day, the graves of those who fell wearing the blue of the North and the grey of the South are alike strewn with flowers. Surely I may claim for my countrymen that, whatever other shortcomings and faults may be imputed to them, they have shown themselves influenced by those feelings of mercy and humanity which Grotius, more than any other, brought into the modern world.

#### THE PRINCIPLES AND WORK OF GROTIUS.

In the presence of this great body of eminent jurists from the courts, the cabinets and the universities of all nations, I will not presume to attempt any full development of the principles of Grotius, or to estimate his work; but I will briefly present a few considerations regarding his life and work, which occur to one who has contemplated them from another and distant country.

There are, of course, vast advantages in studying so great a man from the nearest point of view; from his own land; and by those who from their actual experience must best know his environment. But a more distant point of view is not without its uses. Those who cultivate the slopes of some vast mountain know it best; yet those who view it from a distance may sometimes see it brought into new relations and invested with new glories.

Separated thus from the native land of Grotius by the Atlantic, and perhaps by a yet broader ocean of customary thinking; unbiassed by any of that patriotism so excusable, and indeed so laudable, in the land where he was born; an American jurist naturally sees, first, the relations of Grotius to the writers who preceded him. He sees other and lesser mountain peaks of thought emerging from the clouds of earlier history, and he acknowledges a debt to such men as Isidore of Seville, Suarez, Ayala, and Gentiles. But when all this is acknowledged he clearly sees Grotius, while rising from among these men, grandly towering above them. He sees in Grotius the first man who brought the main principles of those earlier thinkers to bear upon modern times, — increasing them from his own creative mind, strengthening them from the vast stores of his knowledge, enriching them from his imagination, glorifying them with his genius.

His great mind brooded over that earlier chaos of opinion, and from his heart and brain, more than from those of any other, came a revelation to the modern world of new and better paths toward mercy and peace.

But his agency was more than that. His coming was like the rising of the sun out of the primeval abyss: his work was both creative and illuminative. We may reverently insist that in the domain of International Law, Grotius said: "Let there be light," and there was light.

#### THE BOOK UNHEEDED AT FIRST.

The light he thus gave has blessed the earth for these three centuries past, and it will go on through many more centuries to come illuminating them ever more and more.

I need hardly remind you that it was mainly unheeded at first. Catholics and Protestants alike failed to recognize it. "The light shone in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." By Calvinists in Holland and France, and by Lutherans in Germany, his great work was disregarded if not opposed; and at Rome it was placed on the index of books forbidden to be read by Christians.

The book, as you know, was published amid the horrors of the Thirty Years' War; and although the great Gustavus is said to have carried it with him always, and though he at all times bore its principles in his heart, he alone among all the great commanders of his time stood for mercy. All the cogent arguments of Grotius could not prevent the fearful destruction of Magdeburg, nor diminish, so far as we can now see, any of the atrocities of that fearful period.

Grotius himself may well have been discouraged; he may well have repeated the words attributed to the great Swedish Chancellor, whose Ambassador he afterwards became: "Go forth, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed." He may well have despaired as he reflected that throughout his whole life he had never known his native land save in perpetual, heartrending war; nay, he may well have been excused for thinking that all his work for humanity had been in vain, when there came to his deathbed no signs of any ending of the terrible war of thirty years.

For not until three years after he was laid in his tomb did the Plenipotentiaries sign the Treaty of Munster. All this disappointment and sorrow and life-long martyrdom invests him, in the minds of Americans, as doubtless in your minds, with an atmosphere of sympathy, veneration and love.

Yet we see that the great light streaming from his heart and mind continued to shine; that it developed and fructified human thought; that it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and we recognize the fact that, from his day to ours, the progress of reason in theory, and of mercy in practice, has been constant on both sides of the Atlantic.

It may be objected that this good growth, so far as theory was concerned, was sometimes anarchic, and that many of its developments were very different from any that Grotius intended or would have welcomed. For if Puffendorff swerved much from the teachings of his great master in one direction, others swerved even more in other directions; — and all created systems more or less antagonistic. Yet we can now see that all these contributed to a most beneficent result; — to the growth of a practice ever improving, ever deepening, ever widening, ever diminishing bad faith in time of peace and cruelty in time of war.

## THE SYSTEM LEFT BY GROTIUS.

It has also been urged that the system which Grotius gave to the world has been utterly left behind as the world has gone on; that the great writers on International Law in the present day do not accept it; that Grotius developed everything out of an idea of natural law which was merely the creation of his own mind, and based everything on an origin of jural rights and duties which never had any real being; that he deduced his principles from a divinely planted instinct which many thinkers are now persuaded never existed, acting in a way contrary to everything revealed by modern discoveries in the realm of history.

It is at the same time insisted against Grotius that he did not give sufficient recognition to the main basis of the work of modern international jurists; to positive law slowly built on the principles and practice of various nations in accordance with their definite agreements and adjustments.

In these charges there is certainly truth; but I trust that you will allow one from a distant country to venture an opinion that, so far from being to the discredit of Grotius, this fact is to his eternal honor.

For there was not, and there could not be at that period, anything like a body of positive International Law adequate to the new time. The spirit which most thoroughly permeated the whole world, whether in war or peace, when Grotius wrote, was the spirit of Machiavelli—unmoral, immoral. It had been dominant for more than a hundred years. To measure the service rendered by the theory of Grotius, we have only to compare Machiavelli's "Prince" with Grotius' "*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*." Grant that Grotius' basis of International Law was, in the main, a theory of natural law which is no longer held; grant that he made no sufficient recognition of positive law; we must nevertheless acknowledge that his system, at the time he presented it, was the only one which could ennoble men's theories or reform their practices.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF MACHIAVELLI SUPPLANTED.

From his own conception of the attitude of the divine mind toward all the falsities of his time, grew a theory of international morals which supplanted the principles of Machiavelli: from his conception of the attitude of the divine mind toward all the cruelties which he had himself known in the Eighty Years' War of the Netherlands, and toward all those of which tidings were constantly coming from the German Thirty Years' War, came inspiration to promote a better practice in war.

To one, then, looking at Grotius from afar, as doubtless to many among yourselves, the theory which Grotius adopted seems the only one which, in his time, could bring any results for good to mankind.

I am also aware that one of the most deservedly eminent historians and publicists of the Netherlands, during our own time, has censured Grotius as the main source of the doctrine which founds human rights upon an early social compact, and therefore as one who proposed the doctrines which have borne fruit in the writings of Rousseau, and in various modern revolutions.

I might take issue with this statement; or I might fall back upon the claim that Grotius' theory has proved, at least, a serviceable provisional hypothesis; but this is

neither the time nor the place to go fully into so great a question. Yet I may at least say that it would ill become me, as a representative of the United States, to impute to Grotius, as a fault, a theory out of which sprang the nationality of my country; a doctrine embodied in that Declaration of Independence which is this day read to thousands on thousands of assemblies in all parts of the United States; from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

But however the Old World may differ from the New on this subject, may we not all agree that, whatever Grotius' responsibility for this doctrine may be, its evils would have been infinitely reduced could the men who developed it have caught his spirit; . . . his spirit of broad toleration, of wide sympathy, of wise moderation, of contempt for "the folly of extremes," of search for the great principles which unite men rather than for the petty differences which separate them.

## HAPPY MISTAKES.

It has also been urged against Grotius that his interpretation of the words *jus gentium* was a mistake, and that other mistakes have flowed from this. Grant it; yet we, at a distance, believe that we see in it one of the happiest mistakes ever made; a mistake comparable in its fortunate results to that made by Columbus when he interpreted a statement in our sacred books, regarding the extent of the sea as compared with the land, to indicate that the western continent could not be far from Spain,—a mistake which probably more than anything else, encouraged him to sail to the New World.

It is also not unfrequently urged by eminent European writers that Grotius dwelt too little on what International Law really was, and too much on what, in his opinion, it ought to be. This is but another form of an argument against him already stated. But is it certain after all that Grotius was so far wrong in this as some excellent jurists have thought him? May it not be that, in the not distant future, International Law, while mainly basing its doctrines upon what nations have slowly developed in practice, may also draw inspiration, more and more, from "that Power in the universe not ourselves which works for Righteousness?"

## THE GENEVA ARBITRATION.

An American recalling that greatest of all arbitrations ever known, the Geneva Arbitration of 1872, naturally attributes force to the reasoning of Grotius. The heavy damages which the United States asked at that time and which Great Britain honorably paid, were justified mainly, if not wholly, not on the practice of nations, then existing, but upon what it was claimed *ought to be* the practice; not upon positive law but upon natural justice; and that decision forms one of the happiest landmarks in modern times: it ended all quarrel between the two nations concerned and bound them together more firmly than ever.

But while there may be things in the life and work of Grotius which reveal themselves differently to those who study him from a near point of view, and to those who behold him from afar, there are thoughts on which we may all unite, lessons which we may learn alike, and encouragements which may strengthen us all for the duties of this present hour.

For as we now stand before these monuments, there come to us not only glimpses of the irony of history but a full view of the rewards of history. Resounding under these arches and echoing among these columns, prayer and praise have been heard for five hundred years. Hither came, in hours of defeat and hours of victory, that mighty hero whose remains rest in yonder shrine and whose fame is part of the world's fairest heritage. But when, just after William the Silent had been laid in the vaults beneath our feet, Hugo de Groot as a child gazed with wonder on this grave of the father of his country, and when, in his boyhood, he here joined in prayer and praise, and caught inspiration from the mighty dead, no man knew that in this beautiful boy — opening his eyes upon these scenes which we now behold — not only the Netherlands but the whole human race had cause for the greatest of thanksgivings.

#### WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND GROTIUS.

And when, in perhaps the darkest hours of modern Europe, in 1625, his great book was born, yonder organ might well have pealed forth a most triumphant Te Deum; — but no man recognized the blessings which in that hour had been vouchsafed to mankind: no voice of thanksgiving was heard.

But if the dead, as we fondly hope, live beyond the grave; if, undisturbed by earthly distractions, they are all the more observant of human affairs; if freed from earthly trammels their view of life in our lower world is illumined by that infinite light which streams from the source of all that is true and beautiful and good, may we not piously believe that mighty and beneficent shade of William of Orange recognized with joy the birth-hour of Grotius as that of a compatriot who was to give the Netherlands a lasting glory?

May not that great and glorious spirit have also looked lovingly upon Grotius, as a boy lingering on this spot where we now stand, and recognized him as one whose work was to go on, adding in every age new glory to the nation which the mighty Prince of the House of Orange had, by the blessing of God, founded and saved. May not, indeed, that great mind have foreseen, in that divine light, another glory not then known to mortal ken? Who shall say that in the effluence of divine knowledge he may not have beheld Grotius, in his full manhood, penning the pregnant words of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, and that he may not have foreseen — as largely resulting from it — what we behold to-day, as an honor to the August Monarch who convoked it, to the Netherlands who have given it splendid hospitality, and to all modern states here represented, the first Conference of the entire world ever held; and that Conference assembled to increase the securities for peace and to diminish the horrors of war.

#### THE GERM OF ARBITRATION.

For, my Honored Colleagues of the Peace Conference, the germ of this work in which we are all so earnestly engaged, lies in a single sentence of Grotius' great book. Others indeed had proposed plans for the peaceful settlement of differences between nations, and the world remembers them with honor; to all of them, from Henry IV and Kant and St. Pierre and Penn and Bentham, down to the humblest writer in favor of peace, we may well feel grateful; but the germ of arbitration was plant-

ed in modern thought when Grotius, urging arbitration and mediation as preventing war, wrote these solemn words in the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*: "*Maxime autem christiani reges et civitates tenentur hanc inire viam ad arma vitanda.*" (1)

My Honored Colleagues and friends, more than once I have come as a pilgrim to this sacred shrine. In my young manhood, more than thirty years ago, and at various times since I have sat here and reflected upon what these mighty men, here entombed, have done for the world, and what, though dead, they yet speak to mankind. I seem to hear them still.

#### A MESSAGE FOR THE CONFERENCE.

From this tomb of William the Silent comes, in this hour, a voice bidding the Peace Conference be brave, and true and trustful in that Power in the Universe which works for Righteousness.

From this tomb of Grotius I seem to hear a voice which says to us as the delegates of the Nations: "Go on with your mighty work; avoid, as you would avoid the germs of pestilence, those exhalations of international hatred which take shape in monstrous fallacies and morbid fictions regarding alleged antagonistic interests. Guard well the treasures of civilization with which each of you is entrusted; but bear in mind that you hold a mandate from humanity. Go on with your work. Pseudo-philosophers will prophesy malignantly against you; pessimists will laugh you to scorn; cynics will sneer at you; zealots will abuse you for what you have *not* done; sublimely unpractical thinkers will revile you for what you *have* done; ephemeral critics will ridicule you as dupes; enthusiasts, blind to the difficulties in your path and to everything outside their little circumscribed fields, will denounce you as traitors to humanity.

Heed them not; go on with your work. Heed not the clamor of zealots, or cynics, or pessimists, or pseudo-philosophers, or enthusiasts, or fault finders. Go on with the work of strengthening peace and humanizing war; give greater scope and strength to provisions which will make war less cruel; perfect those laws of war which diminish the unmerited sufferings of populations, and above all give to the world at least a beginning of an effective practicable scheme of arbitration."

#### A PROPHECY FROM THE TOMB.

These are the words which an American seems to hear issuing from this shrine to-day; and I seem also to hear from it a prophecy. I seem to hear Grotius saying to us: "Fear neither opposition nor detraction. As my own book, which grew out of the Eighty Years' War and the Thirty Years' War, contained the germ from which your great Conference has grown, so your work, which is demanded by a world bent almost to breaking under the weight of ever increasing armaments, shall be a germ from which future Conferences shall evolve plans ever fuller, better and nobler."

And I also seem to hear a message from him to the jurists of the great universities who honor us with their presence to-day, including especially that renowned University of Leyden which gave to Grotius his first knowledge of the law, and that eminent University of Königsberg which gave him his most philosophical dis-

1) Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, II Cap. 23, II 3.

ciple,—to all of these I seem to hear him say: "Go on in your labor to search out the facts and to develop the principles which shall enable future conferences to build more and more broadly, more and more loftily for peace."

#### THE WREATH.

And now, Your Excellencies, Mr. Burgomaster and Honored Deans of the various Universities of the Netherlands, a simple duty remains to me. In accordance with instructions from the President, and in behalf of the People of the United States of America, the American Commission at the Peace Conference by my hand lays on the Tomb of Grotius this simple tribute. It combines the oak—representative of civic virtue—and the laurel—representative of victory. It bears the following inscription:

"To the Memory of Hugo Grotius / In Reverence and Gratitude / From the United States of America / On the Occasion of the International Peace Conference at The Hague / July 4th, 1899."

And it encloses two shields, one bearing the arms of the House of Orange and of the Netherlands, the other bearing the arms of the United States of America; and both these shields are bound firmly together. They represent the gratitude of our country, one of the youngest among the nations of the earth, to this old and honored Commonwealth;—gratitude for great services in days gone by, gratitude for recent courtesies and kindnesses; and, above all, they represent, to all time, a union of hearts and minds in both lands, for peace between all nations.

### The Mean Face of War.

BY REBECCA HARDING DAVIS.

I lived through the Civil War on the border States, and two or three facts which I remember may help young Americans to see this great god Mars, whom we are about to make our tutelary deity, just as he is. They are not the kind of facts which the historians of a campaign usually set down.

A sleepy old Southern town, of which I knew, was made by the government, at an early date, the headquarters of a military department. Martial law was proclaimed; the two good-humored, leisurely constables were remanded into private life; sentinels patrolled the streets all day long; the body guard of the general in command galloped madly up and down; bugles sounded and flags waved from every house.

But the flag did not always indicate the real feeling of the owners of the house. Almost every family was divided against itself, the elders usually siding with the government, the young people with the South. The young men, one by one, made their way across the lines and entered the Confederate army.

Before the war the drowsy old town had boasted a hall, the upper floor of a tobacco warehouse, which was used as a theatre or concert room. The whole building was now converted by the provost-marshal into a military prison. He also, with difficulty, raised a royal guard, in whose care it was placed. As all fighting men of the town were already in one army or the other, this loyal

guard necessarily was made up of material which no doubt furnished a great deal of amusement to the corps of regulars stationed in the place. No man in it was under sixty; they were quiet, honest mechanics and tradesmen, church-going fathers and grandfathers, who had trodden the same secluded path since their birth, never once probably tempted to break a law of the land. Their ideas of military discipline were vague. For two or three weeks they guarded the empty warehouse by sitting in a row of chairs tilted back against the front wall, smoking their pipes and telling over their old stories, occasionally joining in a hymn sung with much fervor.

But at last one day after a skirmish in the hills some prisoners were brought in and led through the streets to the warehouse. Some of them were wounded. The sight of these limping, bloody men produced a strange effect upon the townspeople, who hitherto had really regarded war as a passing disaster, the work of politicians which might come to an end any day.

"To-morrow, perhaps," they would say, "we may waken and find the whole miserable business at an end, and comfort and peace come again."

But at the sight of these prisoners passing through the streets, a sudden passion of rage and malignancy seemed to poison the air. Some of the men were wounded, one, it was said, mortally; he was carried on a litter, and his hand, torn and red with dried blood, hung down limp, and swung to and fro. Other men, we were told, lay dead on the hill yonder, where we used to go to gather pink laurel and paw-paws in the spring.

This was—war.

Women cried out madly—gentle, delicate women—and ran from their houses shrieking into the street; the men crowded together following the wounded with sharp, wordless yells of pity or of hate. That one sight of blood tore off the life-long mask of education or manners from each of us, and the natural brute showed itself.

When the prisoners were taken into the warehouse these kindly neighbors looked at each other with sudden suspicion and dislike. They hurried to their homes in silence. Who knew which man was his enemy? He might be next door, in the same house with him. The old friendships and affections of a life-time ended that morning, and gave place to an unreasoning distrust. Brother quarreled with brother, husband with wife, father with son. Very often neither man nor woman understood the cause of the war. But the contagion of hate was in the air. Men caught it from each other, as they take the poison of a disease. The old men of the guard became suddenly possessed with a fury of zeal. They looked upon the prisoners as their personal enemies. The orderly, devout grandfathers raged like wild beasts outside of the prison, and fired at the prisoners whenever they approached the windows. So bent were they upon their slaughter that it was found necessary at last to remove the old men from the post.

As time passed the bitterness deepened; the gentlest women and most generous men in both factions often becoming the most unreasonable and malignant toward all who differed from them. Old lines of right and wrong were blurred in the sanest and most devout. There was no right and wrong to most people. Take a trifling example: late in the Summer one Sunday night, while the



churches were still open, the bugles were suddenly sounded and cannon fired. The alarm spread that General Lee's army was advancing on the town to burn it. There were no Federal troops in it at that time. So the staid citizens of the town mustered, and shouldering their muskets boarded a train to go forth, as they thought to meet the Confederate Army. I can see their stooped shoulders and gray heads now as they marched past, peering into the darkness through their spectacles. Oh, such sorry warriors! But it was as fine a blaze of courage as any that illumined the war. The courage blazed in vain. When the train reached the hills it was found that there was not a Confederate soldier within fifty miles. What happened then was told me by the officer commanding the expedition.

The men alighted, formed in column, and boldly advanced into the sleeping village near where the train had halted. When no one appeared they held a brief council, and then, to the dismay of their leader, made a rush upon the village, firing their muskets, breaking into the houses and seizing upon whatever came first to hand — churns, rocking-chairs, feather beds, sewing machines, etc. One man appeared with a huge copper kettle on his back. In vain their captain commanded them to give up their spoils, telling them that the people were harmless and poor, and most of them loyal to the Union.

They were crazed with excitement and rage, shouting: "Loot them! Loot them! Booty of war!"

He compelled some of them to leave their plunder behind them, but when the train arrived at home many of them marched away in triumph with their stolen goods, among them the conqueror of the copper kettle. Yet these men were class leaders, deacons and pious members of the Christian church.

I remember a company of young men, the sons of Scotch and Scotch-Irish families, honorable, devout, gentle folk, who enlisted in the Northern army to serve their country, and, as they thought, their God. They went through the war gallantly. Whatever was best and highest in its discipline they took and assimilated; it became part of their character and life. Yet almost every one of those men brought home spoons, watches and jewelry which he had taken from Southern homes.

It was the breath of war which had made them for the time heroes, murderers and thieves.

I remember another company recruited from the same class for the Confederate army. They fought bravely, remaining in the service during the full five years. Of those still alive at Lee's surrender, every man sooner or later filled a drunkard's grave.

Since the close of that war I have read and listened to countless pæans in the South and in the North to the dauntless courage of the heroes who gave their lives for the cause which they held just.

But I never yet have heard a word of the other side of the history of that great campaign, which is equally true, of the debilitating effect upon most men, in mind and morals, of years in camp, and the habits acquired of idleness, drunkenness and of immorality.

The American is not used to idleness, nor to military discipline. Put a gun in his hand, and give him noth-

ing to do but to wait for somebody to kill, and the monkey or beast in him will soon show itself.

After thirty years of peace, a sudden effort is now being made by interested politicians to induce the American people to make war its regular business. The army is to be largely increased. Many young men in all classes expect to find an opening in it to earn their livelihood, to make a career for life. The talk of glory and heroism for the service of the country is very tempting to these gallant immature boys.

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Our brave young fellow sees only the waving of the flag. Before he goes into army for the rest of his days, let him look more closely into the life of it, to see what in time it will do to him, to his mind, his manners, and the soul inside of them.— *The Independent*.

## The Arbitration Court.

The Project of a Convention for the Settlement of International Disputes, agreed to by all the Representatives at the Hague Conference:

### PART I. THE MAINTENANCE OF GENERAL PEACE.

ARTICLE 1. With the object of avoiding as far as possible recourse to force in international relations, the signatory Powers agree to employ all their efforts to bring about by pacific means the solution of differences which may arise between states.

### PART II. GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION.

ARTICLE 2. The signatory Powers decide that in case of grave difference of opinion or conflict they will, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances permit, to the good offices or to the mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

ARTICLE 3. Independently of this, the signatory Powers deem it useful that one or more disinterested Powers should offer of their own accord to the disputing states, as far as circumstances permit, their good offices or mediation, either before or during hostilities; the exercise of this right shall never be regarded by either of the parties in dispute as an unfriendly act.

ARTICLE 4. The rôle of mediator shall consist in the conciliation of conflicting claims and in the appeasing of resentments which may have arisen between the disputing states.

ARTICLE 5. The functions of the mediator shall cease the moment that it is stated either by one of the disputing parties or by the mediator himself that the basis of a friendly understanding proposed by him is not accepted.

ARTICLE 6. Good offices and mediation, either upon the application of the disputing parties or upon the initiative of the neutral Powers, shall have exclusively an advisory character, and shall be of no obligatory force.

ARTICLE 7. The acceptance of mediation shall not have the effect, in the absence of any agreement to the contrary, of interrupting, retarding or hindering mobilization and other warlike preparations. If mediation should take place after the outbreak of hostilities, it shall not, in the absence of any agreement to the contrary, interrupt the course of military operations.

ARTICLE 8. The signatory Powers agree to recommend the application, in circumstances which permit of it, of special mediation in the following form: In the case of grave disagreement endangering peace, the disputing states should each choose one Power to which to entrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the power chosen by the other side, for the purpose of preventing the rupture of pacific relations. During the continuance of their mandate, which, unless the contrary is stipulated, shall not last more than thirty days, the contending states shall cease all direct relations in regard to the question in dispute, which shall be considered as referred exclusively to the mediating Powers. They must apply all their efforts to arranging the difference. In case of the actual rupture of pacific relations, these Powers remain charged with the common mission of taking advantage of every opportunity to reestablish peace.

#### PART III. INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY.

ARTICLE 9. In international disputes, involving neither national honor nor essential interests, and arising from a divergence of opinion on matters of fact, the signatory Powers judge it advisable, in order to facilitate the solution of these disputes, that the parties who may not have been able to agree by diplomatic means, should institute, as far as circumstances permit, an International Commission of Inquiry, in order to clear up all questions of actual fact by an impartial and conscientious examination.

ARTICLE 10. The International Commissions of Inquiry shall be constituted by a special convention between the parties in litigation. This convention shall specify the facts to be examined, and the scope of the powers of the Commissioners. It shall also regulate the mode of procedure.

ARTICLE 11. The interested Powers undertake to furnish to the Commission, to the largest extent which they deem possible, all the means and all the necessary facilities for completely ascertaining and accurately appreciating the facts in question.

ARTICLE 12. The Commission shall present to the interested Powers its report, signed by all the members of the Commission.

ARTICLE 13. The report of the Commission shall have nothing of the character of an arbitral sentence; it leaves the Powers entire freedom as to what effect should be given to this declaration.

#### PART IV. ARBITRAL JUSTICE.

ARTICLE 14. International arbitration has for its object the settlement of international disputes between nations by judges of their own choice, and in accordance with their reciprocal rights.

ARTICLE 15. In questions of law, and especially in questions of the interpretation or application of international treaties, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as the most efficacious and at the same time the most equitable means of adjusting cases in dispute not settled by diplomatic methods.

ARTICLE 16. The agreement to arbitrate may be made either for disputes already in existence or for disputes which may subsequently arise. It may deal with every sort of dispute, or be limited solely to disputes of a specified category.

ARTICLE 17. The agreement to arbitrate involves an

engagement to submit in good faith to the arbitral sentence.

ARTICLE 18. Independently of general or particular treaties which bind the signatory Powers to have recourse to arbitration, these Powers reserve the right to conclude, either before the ratification of the present Act or afterwards, new agreements, general or particular, with a view to extending obligatory arbitration to all the cases to which they shall deem it applicable.

ARTICLE 19. The signatory Powers deem it useful to lay down certain rules of arbitral jurisdiction and procedure. These regulations are only applicable in so far as the parties themselves do not adopt other rules for this purpose.

#### PART V. THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION.

ARTICLE 20. With the object of facilitating immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences not settled by diplomatic methods, the signatory Powers engage to organize a Permanent Court of Arbitration accessible at all times and exercising its functions, in the absence of contrary stipulations by the parties in the dispute, in conformity with the rules of procedure inserted in the present Convention.

ARTICLE 21. This Court will be competent to deal with all cases of arbitration unless the disputing parties agree to establish a special arbitral jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 22. An International Bureau established at The Hague and placed under the direction of a permanent secretary-general shall serve as an office for the Court. It shall be the intermediary of all communications relating to the sittings of the Court. It shall have charge of the archives and manage all administrative business.

ARTICLE 23. Each signatory Power shall designate, in the three months following the ratification of the present Act, not more than four persons recognised as competent in dealing with questions of international law, and as of the highest personal integrity, and who are ready to accept the office of arbitrators. The persons thus nominated shall be entitled members of the Court and their names entered upon a list which it shall be the duty of the Bureau to communicate to all the signatory Powers. The Bureau shall also report to the signatory Powers every modification in the list of arbitrators. Two or more Powers may agree to designate in common one or more members. The same person may be nominated by different Powers. Members of the Court shall be appointed for a term of six years, and they shall be eligible for reappointment. In the case of the death or retirement of a member of the Court the vacancy shall be filled in the same way that the original appointment was made.

ARTICLE 24. The signatory Powers who shall desire to appeal to the Court for the settlement of a difference arising between them, shall choose from the general list the number of arbitrators mutually agreed upon by themselves. They will notify the Bureau of their intention to appeal to the Court and the names of the arbitrators whom they have chosen. In the absence of agreement to the contrary, the arbitral tribunal shall be constituted according to the rules laid down in the 31st article of the present Convention. The arbitrators thus named shall form a tribunal of arbitration for the case in ques-

tion. They shall meet on the date fixed by the disputing parties.

ARTICLE 25. The tribunal shall usually sit at The Hague, but it may under urgent circumstances sit elsewhere with the consent of the disputing parties.

ARTICLE 26. Any Power, even though not a party to this convention, may have recourse to the Court under the conditions laid down in the present Convention.

ARTICLE 27. The signatory Powers, as far as circumstances permit, shall consider it their duty, in a case where an acute conflict threatens to break out between two or more of their number, to remind them that the Permanent Court is open to them. This action can only be regarded as an act of good offices.

ARTICLE 28. A Permanent Council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory Powers accredited to The Hague and of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Holland, acting as president, shall be constituted in this city as soon as possible after the ratification of the present Convention. This Council shall be charged with the establishment and organization of the permanent Bureau, which shall be placed under its direction and control. It will notify the Powers of the constitution of the Court, and see to its being duly installed. It shall draw up its order of procedure and all other necessary regulations. It shall decide all questions relating to the working of the tribunal. It shall have absolute power as to the nomination, suspension, or dismissal of functionaries and employes of the Bureau. It shall fix the emoluments and salaries, and shall control all the general expenditure. The presence of five members shall constitute a quorum. The decisions shall be made by majority vote. The Council shall every year report to the signatory Powers upon the work of the Court and the way in which the administrative service has been performed.

ARTICLE 29. The cost of the Bureau shall be borne by the signatory Powers in the proportion established for the International Bureau of the Postal Union.

A. The members of the Court, in the exercise of their functions, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

B. The Bureau is authorized to place its premises and its organization at the disposal of the signatory Powers for the exercise of any special arbitral jurisdiction.

C. The signatory Powers pledge themselves to communicate to the Bureau a copy of every arbitral stipulation agreed upon between them, all judgments resulting from arbitral jurisdictions other than that of the Court, laws and regulations, and all documents setting forth the execution of the judgments pronounced by the Court.

#### ARBITRATION PROCEDURE.

ARTICLE 30. The Powers which accept arbitration shall sign a special Act, hereafter referred to as the "Convention," in which is clearly set out the case to be decided, as well as the extent of the powers of the arbitrators. In this Act also must be embodied the engagement of the parties to submit in good faith to the arbitral award.

ARTICLE 31. The arbitral functions can be conferred upon a single arbitrator, or upon several arbitrators named by the parties, as they please, or chosen by them from among the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration established by the present Act. In the ab-

sence of an agreement to the contrary, the formation of the arbitral tribunal shall be effected in the following manner: Each party shall name two arbitrators, and these together shall choose an umpire. If there is a tie, the choice of umpire shall be confided to a third Power, named by mutual agreement of the parties. If no agreement is arrived at on this subject, each party shall name a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made in concert by the Powers thus named.

ARTICLE 32. When the arbitrator is a sovereign or the head of a state, the arbitral procedure shall be exclusively subject to his direction.

ARTICLE 33. The umpire shall be president, *de jure*, of the tribunal. When the tribunal does not include an umpire it shall name its own president.

ARTICLE 34. In the absence of any stipulation to the contrary, in the case of the death, resignation, or enforced absence from any cause of one of the arbitrators, he shall be replaced in the same way that he was originally nominated.

ARTICLE 35. The seat of the tribunal shall be designated by the parties in dispute; in the absence of any designation on their part, the tribunal shall sit at The Hague. The place selected can only be changed in virtue of a fresh agreement between the interested states, or in case of urgent necessity, by the decision of the tribunal itself.

ARTICLE 36. The parties in dispute have the right to appoint delegates or special agents to the tribunal, commissioned to act as intermediaries between the tribunal and the litigants. They may entrust the defense of their rights and interests before the tribunal to counsel or advocates.

ARTICLE 37. The tribunal shall decide what language shall be used in its proceedings.

ARTICLE 38. The arbitral procedure consists as a general rule, of two phases, the first preliminary and the second definitive. The first consists of the communication, made by the agents of the parties in dispute, to the members of the tribunal and to the opposing parties, of all papers, printed or written, and of documents containing the case of the parties. The second is oral, and consists of the hearing before the tribunal.

ARTICLE 39. Every document produced by one party must be communicated to the other.

ARTICLE 40. The pleadings before the tribunal shall be directed by the President. They shall be recorded in reports drawn up by secretaries named by the President. These reports shall constitute the only authentic record of the proceedings.

ARTICLE 41. The preliminary proceedings being over and the pleadings having begun, the tribunal shall have a right to refuse to receive any new papers and documents which the representative of one of the parties wishes to submit without the consent of the other.

ARTICLE 42. The tribunal shall remain free to take into consideration new papers and documents upon which the agents or counsel of the parties in the dispute have relied in their pleadings. It shall have the right to require the production of these papers or documents, without being obliged to communicate them to the opposite side.

ARTICLE 43. The tribunal may, besides, require from the agents of the parties, the production of all papers and

all the explanations which it needs. In case of refusal the tribunal shall make note of the fact.

ARTICLE 44. The agents and the counsel of the litigants are authorized to present orally to the tribunal everything that they deem useful in support of their cause.

ARTICLE 45. They shall have a right to raise questions and take exceptions. The decisions of the tribunal upon these points shall terminate the controversy, and must not give rise to any further discussion.

ARTICLE 46. The members of the tribunal shall have the right to put questions to the agents and to the counsel of the parties in dispute, and to demand from them explanations upon doubtful points. Neither the questions asked nor the observations made by members of the tribunal during the course of the proceedings, shall be regarded as expressions of the opinion, either of the tribunal in general, or of its members in particular.

ARTICLE 47. The tribunal alone is authorized to decide questions as to its competence, by interpreting the Convention or other treaties which may be quoted in point, and by the application of the principles of international law.

ARTICLE 48. The tribunal shall have the right to make rules of procedure as to the course of the trial, to determine the forms and the delays to be accorded to each party for arriving at its conclusions; and to enforce all the formalities attendant upon the admission of evidence.

ARTICLE 49. The agents and the counsel of the disputing parties, having presented all the information and proofs in support of their case, the president of the tribunal shall pronounce the closure of the proceedings.

ARTICLE 50. The deliberations of the tribunal shall take place with closed doors. Every decision shall be made by a majority of the tribunal. The refusal of any member to vote must be stated in the reports.

ARTICLE 51. The award decided by a majority of votes shall be accompanied by a statement of the reasons upon which it is based. It must be drawn up in writing and signed by each of the members of the tribunal. Those members who are in the minority can state, in signing, their dissent.

ARTICLE 52. The award shall be read in a public sitting of the tribunal, the agents and counsel of the disputing parties present or duly summoned.

ARTICLE 53. The award duly pronounced and notified to the agents of the litigating parties, shall decide the dispute definitely, and close the arbitration instituted by the Convention.

ARTICLE 54. The parties may reserve to themselves by their agreement the right to demand a revision of the arbitral judgment. In this case, and in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary embodied in the Convention, the revision of the award may be demanded from the tribunal which has pronounced it, but only on account of the discovery of a new fact of such a character as to exercise a decisive influence upon the sentence, and which at the moment of the sentence was unknown to the tribunal itself, and to the party demanding the revision. The proceedings in revision can only be begun by decision of the tribunal, stating expressly the existence of the new fact, and recognizing that it possesses the character

defined in the preceding paragraph, and declaring that the request is admissible on that ground. No request for revision can be entertained, unless it be made within the period stipulated in the agreement between the parties.

ARTICLE 55. The award shall be obligatory only for the parties which have concluded the Convention. When it is a question of the interpretation of a Convention entered into by a greater number of Powers than those between which the difference has arisen, the parties to the dispute shall notify the other Powers which have signed the Convention, of the agreement which they have concluded. Each one of these Powers shall have a right to take part in the proceedings, but if one or more among them avail themselves of this permission, the interpretation embodied in the award becomes obligatory upon them.

ARTICLE 56. Each party shall bear its own costs and an equal part of the cost of the tribunal, without prejudice to the penalties which may be inflicted by the tribunal upon one or other of the parties.

(The remaining articles to 61 treat of the ratification of the convention, the provision for the adherence of the non-signatory powers, of those not represented at The Hague, and of notification of withdrawing from the convention. These we did not have in time for insertion.)

## The Hague Convention Extending the Principles of the Red Cross Convention.

ARTICLE 1. Military hospital ships, that is, ships constructed or controlled by states especially and only to bear aid to the wounded, sick and ship-wrecked and the names of which shall have been communicated to the belligerent powers before they are put into use, shall be respected and cannot be captured during the continuance of hostilities. These ships shall not be subject to the same rule as ships of war as regards their stay in a neutral port.

ARTICLE 2. Hospital ships equipped entirely or partly at the expense of private individuals or aid-societies which are officially recognized, shall likewise be respected and exempt from capture, if the belligerent power on which they are dependent has given them an official commission and communicated their names to the opposing power at the opening or during the course of hostilities, or in any event before they are put into use.

These ships must be bearers of a document from the proper authorities declaring that they have been under their direction during equipment and at their final departure.

ARTICLE 3. Hospital ships equipped entirely or in part at the expense of private individuals or societies officially recognized in neutral countries shall be respected and exempt from capture, if the neutral power under whose jurisdiction they belong has given them an official commission and communicated their names to the belligerent powers at the opening or during the course of hostilities, or in any event before they are put into use.

ARTICLE 4. The ships mentioned in Articles 1, 2 and 3 shall bear aid and assistance to the wounded, sick and shipwrecked of the belligerents without distinction of nationality.

The governments pledge themselves not to use these ships for any military purpose.

These ships shall not interfere in any way with the movements of the combatants.

During and after the combat, they shall act at their own risk and peril.

The belligerents shall have the right of visiting them and controlling them; they may refuse their aid, order them to withdraw, give them any specific direction, put on board of them a commissioner, and even detain them, if the gravity of circumstances should so require.

As far as possible the belligerents shall inscribe in the records of the hospital ships the orders which they give them.

ARTICLE 5. Military hospital ships shall be distinguished by being painted white on the outside, with a horizontal green band about a meter and a half wide.

The ships mentioned in Articles 2 and 3 shall be distinguished by being painted white on the outside, with a horizontal red band about a meter and a half wide.

The small boats carried by the ships which have been mentioned above, and other small craft which may be employed in the hospital service, shall be distinguished in the same way.

All hospital ships shall, as a means of recognition, fly with their national flag the white flag with a red cross, provided for by the Geneva Convention.

ARTICLE 6. Neutral ships of commerce, yachts, or small boats carrying or picking up wounded, sick or shipwrecked of the belligerents, can not be captured because of this action, but they shall remain exposed to capture for violations of neutrality which they may have committed.

ARTICLE 7. The persons engaged in the religious, medical and hospital service of every captured ship shall be inviolable, and can not be made prisoners of war. They may take with them, on leaving the ship, the objects and the instruments of surgery which are their private property.

They shall continue to fulfil their functions as long as necessary, and they may then retire when the commander-in-chief shall consider it possible.

The belligerents shall assure to persons of this class who fall into their hands the full enjoyment of their salary.

ARTICLE 8. The wounded or sick sailors and soldiers on board, to whichever nation they belong, shall be protected and cared for by the captors.

ARTICLE 9. The ship-wrecked, wounded or sick of one belligerent who fall into the power of the other, shall be prisoners of war. The latter shall decide, according to the circumstances, whether it is proper to retain them, to send them to a port of its own nation, to a neutral port, or even to a port of the enemy. In the latter case, prisoners thus restored to their own country can not serve again during the continuance of the war.

ARTICLE 10. The shipwrecked, wounded or sick who are disembarked at a neutral port, with the consent of the local authorities, unless the neutral state shall make an arrangement to the contrary with the belligerent states, shall be guarded by the neutral state so that they may not again take part in the operations of the war.

The expense of hospital care and of retention shall be

borne by the state to which the ship-wrecked, wounded or sick belong.

ARTICLE 11. The rules laid down in the foregoing articles are obligatory for the contracting powers only in case of war between two or more of them.

Said rules shall cease to be obligatory the moment that, in a war between some of the contracting powers, a power not contracting shall join one of the belligerents.

ARTICLE 12. The present Convention shall be ratified with the least possible delay. The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague.

A report of each ratification shall be drawn up, and a certified copy of it transmitted through the diplomatic channels to all contracting powers.

ARTICLE 13. The non-signatory powers who have adhered to the Geneva Convention of the 22d of August, 1864, may accept the present convention.

To effect this, they shall make their acceptance known to the contracting powers, by means of a written notification addressed to the government of the Netherlands, and communicated by it to all the other contracting powers.

ARTICLE 14. If one of the high contracting parties should give notice of its intention to withdraw from the present convention, this notification shall not produce its effect until a year after it has been given in writing to the government of the Netherlands, and communicated immediately by it to all the other contracting parties. This notification shall have no effect except for the power making it.

### The Eclipse of War.

BY E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

[During a battle between the Medes and Lydians and their respective allies, an eclipse, which it is calculated must have occurred May 28, 585 B. C., so awed the combatants that a treaty of peace was made, cemented by the marriage of Astyages, son of Cyaxares, King of Media, to the daughter of Alyattes, King of Lydia. Thus for a generation Babylon, Media and Lydia were at peace, their kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Astyages and Croesus, being brothers-in-law.]

#### I.

War! War! Wild war unceasing!  
A world of warring men,  
Clashing like ocean's billows,  
Parting to clash again!  
And every clan mourns slain ones;  
Wasted is every land:  
From age to age a deathless rage  
Drives man's death-dealing hand.

Assyria, the Spoiler,  
Whom yet no foe hath spoiled,  
Gathers the nations' treasures  
For which the weary toiled,—  
Gathers as one who plunders  
The helpless sparrow's nest;  
Insolent Wrong stalks bold and strong,  
Stalks north, south, east and west!

Ho! Asshur bold and bloody,  
A few more seasons wait,  
Till bursts in conflagration  
The world's long-smothered hate!  
The Scythians have crippled,  
The Medes now smite thee down,  
And lo! there come fresh hosts of doom  
From faithless Babylon.

"Hail! Babylon the faithful!"  
 Exults her new ally.  
 Down on the western peoples  
 Twin eagles fierce they fly.  
 At Carchemish rolls shattered  
 Proud Pharaoh's diadem:  
 The woes foretold by seers of old  
 O'erwhelm Jerusalem.

Rouse, Lydia! Face a danger  
 Greater than Scythian hordes!  
 Thy sons, from mint and market,  
 Call to gird on their swords;  
 And all the Asian cities  
 Bid to thine aid with speed,  
 Else every state shall share thy fate,—  
 Against thee comes the Mede!

## II.

War! War! Five years of warfare!  
 And still calm Fate decrees  
 Now rout to Alyattes,  
 Now to Cyaxares.  
 Cilicia's towns are ravished,  
 And Media's sons are slain,  
 Harvests of tears for five long years  
 Are reaped on Hermus' plain.

Now, for decisive battle!  
 The sun, that morn in May,  
 Looks down on two vast armies  
 Facing in grim array.  
 The war-horse paws the valley,  
 The hosts their pæans raise;—  
 When suddenly a thousand eyes  
 Turn with one impulse to the skies,  
 Hands nerveless drop, the shouting dies,  
 Struck down by dread amaze.

Creeps on a greenish darkness,  
 The atmosphere grows chill,  
 Birds seek again their perches,  
 Men's hearts in fear stand still.  
 "Attys, the Sun-god, dieth!"  
 The Lydian cohorts cry.  
 The Medes shriek: "Ormuzd, Lord of Light,  
 Is conquered by the Fiend of Night!"  
 The Babylonians: "From this fight  
 Fierce San averts his eye!"

"Recall ye how wise Thales  
 Foretold this awful thing?  
 The holy gods hate bloodshed!"  
 Thus spake Cilicia's king.  
 Then forth in truce to meet him  
 Nebuchadnezzar came:  
 "In league with Media's throne am I,  
 A brother by the marriage tie;  
 Thus let us bind thy great ally,  
 And quench war's cruel flame!"

The chieftains hail the counsel,  
 The Monarchs deem it good;  
 In pledge they pierce their own right arms  
 And drink each other's blood.  
 The three great Kings are brothers!  
 Three Empires dwell at peace!  
 Glad Plenty crowns their unwatched towns,—  
 Why should it ever cease?

## III.

War! War! Mad war outbreaking!  
 How brief was war's eclipse!  
 Again men die in battle,  
 With curses on their lips.  
 For kings are only mortals,  
 And dynasties may fall:  
 Despair doth seize such bonds as these  
 To hold race-hates in thrall!

Greece smites the hosts of Persia;  
 Carthage succumbs to Rome;—  
 Nay! close the bloody pages  
 Of History's black tome!  
 What can our age enlightened  
 Care for old crimes and fears?  
 From Him whose birth brought peace to Earth  
 We date our Christian years!

Alas! the Christian warrior  
 Drinks fury from his Faith!  
 Alas! our boasted Science  
 Invents new tools of Death!  
 Earth's groaning millions hunger  
 That armies may increase.  
 What tongue could tell of war's red hell  
 If these are days of peace?

Wake, nations, from this nightmare!  
 Fever and famine kill;  
 Why should ye toil to render  
 Your hard life harder still?  
 Recall the awful darkness  
 When Heaven's Light stooped to die:  
 In mangled men he dies again,  
 Your God ye crucify!

Of one blood hath He made us;  
 By one Cross doth He save;  
 To conquer stubborn Nature,  
 One common task He gave.  
 Not kings, but men are brothers!  
 The hour auspicious waits.  
 By this true tie let us ally  
 The World's United States!

## Physiognomy of Soldiers.

BY DR. M. L. HOLBROOK.

In looking over recently the pictures of several hundred soldiers from the highest to the lowest in rank, I was struck with the fact that few of them had an expression on their faces indicating that they were under the inspiration of high motives. It is, I believe, a well-known fact that the face bears always when free to express itself something of the mental state of the individual. When a person is inspired by high motives the face indicates it. When under the influence of base passions the face tells the tale to those who are skilled enough to read it correctly. To illustrate: when a dog snarls we know that he is not in an amiable mood; the expression of his face is very different from what it is when he wants to lick the hands and face of his master. When a horse is frightened his whole expression and attitude show it. He raises his head, his eyes and ears are directed forward, his nostrils become red and dilated, and if he is terrified he rushes away at full speed. So a bull when enraged shows it in his attitude and expression. He lowers his head, distends his nostrils, paws the ground or tears it up with his horns, bellows fiercely and expresses in his physiognomy the state of his mind. So, too, when a child weeps or is joyous the face in its expression tells the story. The same child may be beautiful in one case and very repulsive in another. When low spirits, grief, despair, or high spirits, joyousness and delight take possession of the mind, the signs are correctly drawn in our expressions. As man becomes more highly civilized, he may, to some extent, control his feelings and not show them so plainly in his expression as the less civilized do, but this is only exceptional and rare.



Now, the bearing of what I said in the beginning, as to the expression on the faces of several hundred photographs of soldiers which I had examined, becomes plain. They are engaged in one of the most barbarous of all occupations, and it could not be possible for them to wear in their expressions joyousness or nobility, such as they would were they inspired by nobler pursuits.

There are multitudes of people who think war can never be done away with, but such people are in error. Causes are at work continually that are diminishing wars. *Human nature is changing for the better.* Human sympathy is growing all the while, and an enlarged and enlightened human sympathy is making war less and less possible.

We can help along this change in human nature by culture in the right direction, by the culture of reason, of self-control, of a sense of justice. But whether we will or not, it goes on by a process of evolution, only more slowly; and we may confidently hope that finally any occupation which like war gives to the face a more or less animal expression will be entered into with greater and greater reluctance, and finally, as Tolstoy says, men will refuse to enter it altogether. If men refuse to follow this pursuit, wars must at once cease; and when they cease, new resources worked out by reason and common sense will take their place. Then mankind will wonder why so long they labored under the delusion that human nature could not change.

## A Practical View of Peace.

BY JOHN CROSBY BROWN.

Is anything practical being accomplished by the Conference at The Hague? I want to say frankly and fully that I thoroughly believe, from my own experience in the past, that the results that we all hope for will sooner or later follow from what is taking place at The Hague at the present time. I can best show my reason for this faith by a homely illustration.

A good many years ago, in my early business life, when the merchant really existed as a part of the commercial machinery of the world,—I am sorry to say he is now passing away very rapidly,—the merchants of my acquaintance were very intelligent, very tenacious of their own rights, and always spoiling for a fight. Each had his favorite counsel, and if one took the slightest advantage of another, or if one thought that another was taking the slightest advantage of him, counsel was at once called in, the lawyers were set to work, and there was a first-class fight. That went on for some years. It was very good for the lawyers; but somehow the merchants began to find out that, little by little, the lawyers' fees were increasing and the merchants' dividends were lessening. The lawyers were getting the money and they were getting the experience. One day a bright merchant, whom I know very well, thought it time to put a stop to that sort of thing; and so there was organized in a quiet way in the city of New York what is called the Merchants' Court of Arbitration. One after another the merchants who had difficulties with their neighbors, instead of calling in their lawyers, presented their cases before a fellow merchant, who understood the matter a great deal better than the lawyers would have done, and the result was that the lawyers' fees were

lessened, and the merchant's assets were increased. But the lawyers have lost nothing by it, let me say; instead of being the fighters of the mercantile community they have become the peacemakers, and we hope they will continue to be such.

That is exactly what has taken place among the nations of the earth. They are now waking up to the fact that there is a small class in the community who are getting all the plunder; that is, the military and the naval men and the manufacturers of military stores are getting the assets, and the bulk of the people are bearing all the burdens. It is because the world has come to this condition, in which their burdens are becoming intolerable, that we business men are looking forward with a good deal of confidence and hope to what is taking place at The Hague, as a new way out of the present difficulty.

It seems to me most significant that this movement for arbitration, or in that direction, has come from Russia. Without in any way desiring to detract from the honor due to the Czar for the manly and splendid words of his rescript, yet we can see that there have been, and are to-day, forces at work in that kingdom which, sooner or later, would force him or some successor to this very step. If any of this audience have followed the course of the Russian Empire for the last twenty or thirty years, they have noticed some things which are very significant. A little while ago the financial world was much disturbed by a continual drain of gold from the financial centres of Europe into St. Petersburg. It was said to be "to fill up the war-chest," and all sorts of other reasons were given; but one day the world woke up to find that the finance minister of Russia was quietly preparing to reform and rearrange the domestic currency of Russia, and put it into such condition that Russia could take her place among the financial nations of the world, and be in a position to trade internationally on fair terms. And that has now been accomplished. Then again, little by little, the Russian debt has been refunded so that the burden upon the people, as far as interest is concerned, is much less than it was some years ago; and now Russia may be said to be, not in absolutely first-class credit in Europe, but in very good credit; she can borrow at a rate of interest which is no discredit to any nation.

Another thing is before Russia. She has the great domain east of the mountains to take possession of, to occupy, and to civilize. For this purpose Russia needs the help of the world. Every recent utterance of the finance minister of Russia has been looking toward the removal of disabilities upon foreigners, and the attraction of foreign capital into Russia for the development of her great country. Russia, financially and commercially speaking, is at the present time in exactly the position which this country held thirty years ago. She is holding out her hands for the capital of the world to come and help her take possession of her great trans-continental empire. She has wealth of land, she has material and mineral wealth; but she needs the active capital to set that wealth at work and to give occupation to her people. And she knows,—at any rate, the finance minister of Russia knows,—that as long as this threat of war continues, capital will not flow into Russia to enable her to do her beneficent work.

### Not Yet Treason to Think.

The organized effort of the administration papers to scare us out of discussing the Philippine question is as foolish as it will be fruitless. To yell "traitor" to every American who dares to think without asking Mr. Hanna's permission shows that the yellers know as little of business as of morals. For this is not a nation of slaves. We like fair play and free speech, and we are not so stupid as not to know when they are assailed. We are not ready for a Kaiser and *l'es majesté*, and all that. Kaisering, in a Republic, has to be very judicious, else in a moment we shall turn and laugh in his face, and the "divine robes" will fall away, and the servant of the people will stand naked to the rebuke of his masters.

They are either not very thoughtful or not very honest who are crying, "Sh! you mustn't think in time of war!"

Every sober man knows that in the intended sense *this* is no "time of war." The argument rests on such war as menaces the country. But to pretend that this nation is in such danger from the Filipinos that we must put our reason under martial law is a little too absurd. Lawton—and there is no better fighter—has had twenty-two "battles" in thirty days, and got six men killed and thirty wounded. The only danger this country is in, or ever will be in, is from the citizens who think self-government is a sort of blind man's buff, and that all they have to do is to shut their eyes and minds and grope in the wake of the gentleman who is "It."—*The Land of Sunshine*.

### PHOTOGRAPHIC.

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### The Future of Armaments.

Disarmament will be reached through arbitration. Mars was tolerated as chief justice of Christendom only because hitherto mankind had to choose between his arbitrament and none. The creation of a tribunal, which the Germans insist must be called a court, where impartial judges will hear the evidence and decide each case upon its merits, affords the opportunity for which the slowly evolved moral sense of mankind has been waiting. It is, perhaps, as well that the conference put its foot down heavily upon all efforts to make war more economical, more humane and less deadly. War and arbitration are two competing rivals for the business of settling international disputes. War is every day becoming more heavily handicapped by the intolerable cost of the procedure and the unwieldy size of its instruments. War on a great scale may not be quite as impossible as M. Bloch argues, but there is no doubt that it tends to become more and more ruinous and more and more difficult every year. The shrinkage of the world, the growing intercommunication of states, the immense complexity of human society, all tend irresistibly to make some other system of settling disputes than war a first necessity of the modern state. When that system has proved itself armies will continue to exist. But they will only be used after the sanction of the tribunal is asked and obtained for the vindication of law, or the maintenance of order, or the destruction of some lawless state that refuses to submit to the universal rule.—W. T. STEAD, in the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* for August.

### Fourth of July.

An effort was made this year at Wichita, Kansas, as in many other places, to secure from the Fourth of July celebration something more than the perishing bombast and noise which so often is about all that our Independence Day has to show for itself. The following resolutions, introduced by Dr. G. W. Hoss, were passed at the great meeting which assembled in South Riverside Park:

*Whereas*, Humanity the world over has suffered from the desolations of war, and

*Whereas*, The nations of the earth are groaning under the burdens of taxation to support armies, and

*Whereas*, On this glad liberty day tens of thousands of hearts are bleeding, and myriads of homes are curtained in gloom because of loved ones lost in the ravages of war, and

*Whereas*, Christianity, civilization and all the nobler instincts of our nature cry out for the abandonment of war; therefore

*Resolved*, That we hereby pray our commissioners at The Hague not to consent to the adjournment of the peace congress now in session there until a plan of international arbitration is adopted. If not this, then some other plan looking to the abolition of all wars and the incoming of a reign of peace among the nations of the earth.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Hon. Andrew D. White, Chairman of the American Peace Commissioners at The Hague, a copy to President McKinley, at Washington, and a copy to THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, at Boston, for publication.

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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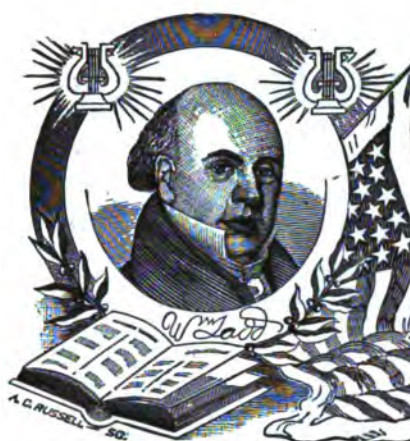
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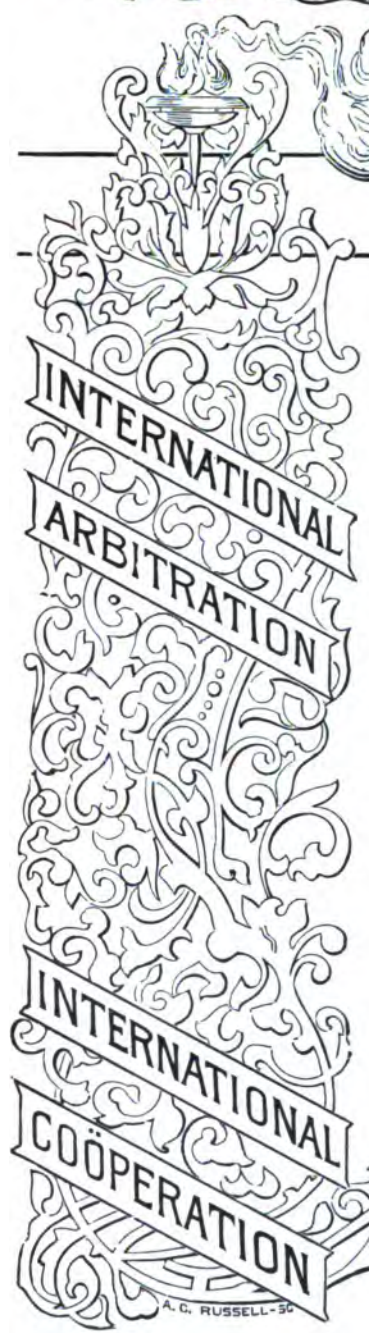
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“Boys and girls,  
And women, that would groan to see a child  
Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war,  
The best amusement for our morning meal!  
The poor wretch who has learnt his only prayers  
From curses, who knows scarcely words enough  
To ask a blessing from his Heavenly Father,  
Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute  
And technical in victories and defeats,  
And all our dainty terms for fratricide;  
Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongues,  
Like mere abstractions, empty sounds to which  
We join no feeling, and attach no form!  
As if the soldier died without a wound;  
As if the fibres of this godlike frame  
Were gored without a pang; as if the wretch,  
Who fell in battle doing bloody deeds,  
Passed off to heaven, translated and not killed;  
As though he had no wife to pine for him,  
No God to judge him! Therefore evil days  
Are coming on us, O my countrymen!  
And what if all-avenging Providence,  
Strong and retributive, should make us know  
The meaning of our words, force us to feel  
The desolation and the agony  
Of our fierce doings!”

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.



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## The Problems Before Us.

The Hague Conference, much as it has accomplished, has only made more imperative the problems which it has not solved. The conventions made at The Hague will doubtless all be ratified by most of the powers represented in the Conference. But when this is done, it will be no time for any of the friends of peace to fold their hands and suppose that the cause will run itself hereafter of its own momentum. Nothing could be more fatal than such a course.

In the first place, the nations not represented at The Hague must be brought to adhere to the conventions adopted, and the powers whose representatives signed the conventions must be induced to make the way easy for them to do so. The non-signatory powers include all the South and Central American and West India states, eighteen in all, and the independent states in South Africa. The adher-

ence of all these states is of the greatest importance to make the work of the Conference the most effective.

Then again, the governments which agree in setting up the permanent court of arbitration must be prevailed upon to refer the largest possible number of their disputes to it. The use of the court, it must be remembered, is to be entirely voluntary. The governments which have established it will feel in honor bound to make use of it to some extent. The sense of honor and obligation must be so deepened that they will be ready to bring difficult as well as unimportant cases before it; and, furthermore, not to pass it by in periods of excitement when the sense of national honor is wounded and passion runs high. Here is the point at which the friends of the court will have to stand guard and do much earnest and patient work for many years to come.

Of more importance still will be the work for disarmament. Much of our effort must center here in the years to come. It is conceded that the Conference has done much to prepare the way for disarmament. In our protest against the "bloated armaments" which are ruining Europe, and the growing militarism which is fast involving the whole world, the result of the Hague Conference puts us on a vantage ground which we have never had before. We can now plead with great force that there is an open way, prepared by the nations themselves, for the pacific adjustment of their controversies, and that because of this there is no longer any excuse for the further development of armaments, or even for the retention of the enormous ones existing. We can insist also that disarmament must come in order to save the work of the Conference. If the rivalry of armaments goes on, the convention for the pacific settlement of disputes will become a dead letter. No pacific agreement can live in the awful strain which will be put upon it by a further development of armies and navies. Our work for disarmament must henceforth therefore be more direct and intense than ever before. We must not dodge the issue. It must be met with outspoken and unwavering devotion.

But our supreme work will continue to be what it has always been, the arousing and educating of public opinion in favor of peace and in opposition to war. Without a strong, settled public sentiment of

this kind practical measures are nothing. So long as men are unenlightened as to the real nature of war, and love it more than they do peace, so long as the soldier is the top hero, we shall have war, arbitration court to the contrary notwithstanding. Recent events in many parts of the world show that the love of war and of its pomp and circumstance is not dead or even asleep. There is an evident recrudescence of the love of fighting, of the ambition for martial glory; a powerful impulse to test the tremendous destructiveness of the new implements of death. Society is still at the mercy of waves of war excitement, before which none of the barriers of civilization hold. The loathsome immoralities of army life, demonstrated anew in recent campaigns, move the public conscience, or even the Christian conscience, very little. The most senseless and irrational military adventures find defenders in the most unexpected quarters. Not a few Christian pulpits are still scornful toward the principles of peace; others are weak and dumb. War education still goes on in state, in church, in family.

In view of all this, our peace movement has reached the critical stage, where the most serious, intelligent and heroic work must be done. Enough has been accomplished to nerve and encourage every friend of the cause; enough remains unaccomplished to tax the faith and the perseverance of the most tried and devoted.

### Light for Russia.

A great and good deed always has a beneficent effect upon the doer. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. The effort put forth by one of them in a sincere spirit, to promote human good in a humane and rational way, may be expected to carry it farther along in both its moral purposes and its strength to do its duty.

In accordance with this law, woven into the moral structure of human society and making every step in voluntary advancement the pledge of others, we may reasonably anticipate that a great flood of light is to come from on high upon Russia in the near future. The step which she took in calling the International Peace Conference, and in inducing the civilized world to heed the call and make a sincere and successful effort to promote more harmonious relations among nations, was one of the greatest moral ventures ever made by a great power. The difficulties under which it was made, both from within and from without, make its moral value all the more conspicuous. It took genuine courage to risk such a step, when it was clear that there was an even chance that more than half the world might mock. The success which has attended the experiment, confessedly greater than the most hopeful had dared to expect, will brighten in Russia's soul the light kindled by

her heroic resolution, and fortify the nation in the purpose which dictated her action.

Not only will light and strength come to her in her relations to other countries, but also in her internal life, which the world has had reason to suspect of very great darkness. The leaders in her public affairs, as well as the Czar, must have felt deeply the criticisms called forth by the rescript against some of her internal policies, even more than those against her aggressive designs in the East. These criticisms, the chief of them, were well founded and justly made, as enlightened and progressive Russians themselves knew better than any one else.

It is already clear to well-read people that Russia has entered upon a new era of development much more in harmony with right and liberty, and true material prosperity likewise, than her past has been; much more in harmony also with the real underlying pacific and liberty-loving character of the Russian people, which has been misinterpreted to the world by her unfeeling bureaucratic proceedings of previous years. The new motives and forces will not put an end at once to the old policies. A nation which has started on the road of liberty and progress does not transform its wrong institutions and habits in a day. But there are clear grounds for believing, in spite of the repression still practiced, some of it new and very disappointing, that in a generation or two Russia will be one of the most advanced of the nations in liberty, justice and the peaceful development of her national life and great resources. This advancement ought to come without revolution, and will if her leaders are wise. Both on her internal and her external policies there are, since the Hague Conference, already evidences of the growing light. The practice of exiling to Siberia persons convicted of political crimes, so-called, has been ordered discontinued. Siberia is to become, instead of a political prison, the home of industrious families, who along the line of the great railway are to assist in the industrial development of the land. It is scarcely possible that the government will ever use again, in any other way, a system of punishment for political prisoners so heartless as that which has made the name Siberia a synonym for oppression and cruelty.

On the external side, the government has recently made one of its new ports on the Pacific an open one. In the light of this fact, no contradiction was needed to the ridiculous story which a short time ago, for a single day, went the rounds of the press, that after a little time Russia was to close all her ports on the Arctic Ocean, the Baltic and Black Seas to all but her own ships. She is much more likely within ten years to open all her ports unreservedly to the commerce of the world.

If Russia would take one further step, which she might do with the greatest ease, the light of God would fall upon her with a fulness which no nation

has yet known. One of the leading ambassadors at the Hague Conference told the writer that the Russian government ought at once to discharge three hundred thousand soldiers, and that, on account of Russia's position, this could be done with entire safety. He added that, after the Czar's action in calling the Conference, this was the logical thing to do, and that it would bring about disarmament as nothing else could do. If Russia could only see her duty in this regard and do it as bravely as she has already done a more difficult thing, not only upon her, but upon the whole civilized world, now groaning and trembling under the deepening darkness of militarism, would come a sun-burst of light which would irradiate with divine glory the century so soon to open upon us.

### Source of the Dreyfus Infamy.

We had not believed it possible, until a few days before the end of the trial, that Dreyfus could be again condemned by any court in France. Then it became evident that, in spite of the action of the Court of Cassation, in spite of the total want of evidence of guilt, the military tribunal at Rennes had determined to throw to the winds all considerations of justice, honor and truthfulness, and recondemn him. It has been hinted that this outcome was merely stage-play, the government having secretly arranged with the court for the verdict, with the purpose of speedily giving a pardon. If this be true, which we do not in the least believe the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry capable of, it would indeed prove that France is almost hopelessly corrupt and weak.

The result has filled the whole civilized world with amazement and moral indignation; for nowadays justice is an affair of the world society, and no longer of any particular nation or small quarter of the world. Day after day all civilized humanity watched in the court-martial room at Rennes as if each particular individual had been present at the trial of a brother or friend. This was not because of any personal interest in Dreyfus; not, we are glad to believe, from mere contagion, curiosity and love of excitement, though some of this was certainly mixed in; not because of dislike of France and of French judicial methods,—but because this outraged Jew is a man, a member of the common brotherhood of men now consciously felt throughout the world, and entitled therefore to the fairness everywhere extended, or which it is so strongly felt should be extended, to every member of the social body. This splendid exhibition of universal public interest in right and justice is, amid the confusion, the injustices and the aggressions of power of which the world is so alarmingly full, a strong proof that the root of progress in right and liberty is growing ever deeper and stronger.

The verdict of this great outside court, having in its membership the ablest and purest minds of our time, has totally acquitted Dreyfus. It has, at the same time, condemned his prosecutors and the epau-letted jury which rendered the verdict against him. It has found them guilty — monstrously, intentionally guilty — not only of injustice, but also of the deepest and blackest corruption and cowardice.

With scarcely the same fairness has the whole French nation been declared guilty and unworthy. The boulevards, music halls and corrupt army circles are not the whole of France. Multitudes of Frenchmen in every city and country district have felt as deeply grieved and outraged at this miscarriage of justice as any foreigners. Furthermore, the men who have sought out and exposed the corruption and set aflame the conscience of the world are Frenchmen. No people in the world has a deeper innate sense and appreciation of justice and right than the French people. If saved from the disease which has prostrated her, France will be saved from within, in large part, rather than from without. The nation as a whole will be rightly condemned only if it finally, either through weakness or corruption, submits to the verdict of the Rennes court-martial, as we do not believe it will do. The discouraging thing about the whole affair is that this same public opinion, superbly expressing itself on the side of justice, has shown no appreciation of the real cause of the corruption and the crime. In all the outburst of amazement and moral indignation there has been scarcely an allusion to anything back of the personalities connected with the case. Race hatred has been mentioned, but nobody believes that to have played more than a subordinate part in the drama. Nor is the cause to be found in French weakness, fickleness of character, or corruptibility, on which foreign critics have harped. France is not worse than many other countries in these respects, and but little below the very best.

What then is it that lies at the root of this extraordinary bit of injustice? It is nothing less than that which in Germany leaves a civilian no redress in a contest with a soldier; which in all the great nations of continental Europe is riding rough shod, with its conscienceless conscription and taxation, over the heads of the common citizens, regardless of their personal and family rights to food, raiment, health and comfort; which is, we fear, in these latter days seriously threatening the foundations of Anglo-Saxon justice and respect for personal and state rights. The very nations themselves which have been loudest in their condemnation of France and the gross miscarriage of justice at Rennes are, in so far as they uphold and support the evil system out of which it has sprung, guilty in a measure of the crime against Dreyfus.

France is in the clutches of the tyranny and corrupting influences of the gigantic militarism of the

day. It is with this that she is really struggling. It is her great peril that she has allowed the army to so exalt itself over the nation that great masses of her people shut their eyes, stifle their best convictions and cry "*Vive l'armée*," utterly forgetful of the principles of freedom and justice on which the republic is built. The new ministry itself, desirous as it is to correct the injustice which has been done, is so paralyzed by the dominance of the army that it fears to pursue the open way of truth and justice.

It was this cowering submission of the nation to the army, and to the false ideas of safety and honor out of which the army has grown, that emboldened Esterhazy and Henry and their accomplices—some of them possibly among Dreyfus's judges—to sell military secrets to German officials, equally base and corrupt in the buying. Otherwise they would not have dared to give loose reins in that direction to their low mercenary spirit—a spirit which always grows and thrives where militarism prevails. It is this military enslavement of the nation to the army which makes possible the pitiable spectacle of a naturally great and noble people stooping to such depths of iniquity as are found in the Dreyfus infamy—the willingness, rather than displease their "idol," to see any number of guilty, dishonorable officers go free and the penalty of their accumulated crimes borne by one innocent man.

France may, and probably will, under the mighty moral pressure from without and the goading impulses of justice from within, right up the wrong done to Dreyfus. But she has a still graver and more difficult duty to perform. She owes it to herself and to the whole civilized world to deliver herself from the degrading slavery to which, out of pride, vengeance and false conceptions of national honor and glory, she has sold herself body and soul. If she does not do this, she will sink deeper and deeper into moral debasement and ruin. Rectification of the Rennes infamy may give temporary relief and strength, but it will give no permanent assurance against the recurrence of similar or equally shameful occurrences. There is but one way of lasting hope for the future. The army must go or France will perish.

But the rest of the civilized world is involved here more or less in the same great guilt. If the tremendous cry of moral offence and indignation which has arisen over the Dreyfus infamy had uttered itself with the same clearness and emphasis over the everywhere overshadowing deadliness of the militarism out of which this frightful episode sprang, there would be less doubt of its utter sincerity, and more hope of its producing some result really worth the breath spent.

Since the above was written Dreyfus has been pardoned. This is for him better than nothing, but it is

not justice in any real sense. The stigma, however, will not rest upon him but upon the government, which ought to have insisted that the course of legal proceedings should continue until his acquittal was complete. The government seems to have adopted its course in order to hush up the strife between the army and the opposers of injustice. But the covering up of guilt and letting an innocent man remain under the reproach of treason is a poor basis for peace. The army is still master.

### Editorial Notes.

As we go to press the situation in the Transvaal dispute has reached a tension that cannot last many days. The Boers have increased their defences and have everything in readiness for the struggle. The fighting spirit is high among them. Great Britain is rushing troops to South Africa, and making hasty and extensive preparations in every direction for war. There is still said to be a hope of peace, but if there is it comes from the dread which each side has of the awfulness of the pending conflict and the uncertainty of the results. The disposition to make concessions seems to have ceased. The Orange Free State is determined to throw in its lot with the South African Republic, and this complicates the situation. It seems monstrous that at the very end of the century and so soon after the Peace Conference such a gloomy and foreboding state of affairs should be possible in any quarter of the globe, and more disheartening still that enlightened Great Britain, under a noble peace Queen, should have allowed her ambition of empire, expressing itself through the grasping perverseness of one of her statesmen, to bring her into such an unworthy and degrading dilemma. Almost any way out would be infinitely more creditable to both sides than to plunge with headlong fierceness into the murderous, bloody abyss of war. But we fear that the iniquity has gone so far that the cup must now be filled up, with what result to the world only God knows.

Meanwhile our own iniquity towards the Philippine population still goes on and accumulates. Recruiting continues, new regiments of young men are being sent over the Pacific to be corrupted, to sicken and die, Filipinos are being shot down and their shores desolated, the lying and deception of the commander at Manila is little diminished, the government refuses to take a single step to withdraw from the dishonorable situation, lest, forsooth, its "honor" should suffer in the eyes of the world, and its "political capital" be diminished at home.

There is as little prospect as ever that the struggle will soon be over. But it is the duty of all friends of peace and of American political principles to keep up

their protest and to carry on an incessant campaign for a reversal of the policy that is being pushed at so much expense and dishonor to the country, and to the temporary ruin of the only native movement for constitutional liberty and republican government ever undertaken in the far East. The plea that the government cannot now change its policy without dishonor in the eyes of the world is the veriest puerility. The changing of its policy is the only way in which it can ever get the least honor out of the situation. Persistence in an iniquity begun is always dishonorable, to a nation no less than to an individual. Equally puerile is the claim that we cannot fulfil the obligations to the civilized world assumed in the Paris treaty without going forward in the "pacification" of the Filipinos by the sword. What are these obligations, pray? The pacification and constitution of the Philippine inhabitants into orderly communities, if that is what is meant, can be infinitely better done by the reversal of the policy of conquest than by continuing it. The *supreme duty* of the government to-day is this reversal, and public opinion must be so aroused and solidified in this direction that no other course will be possible.

Any one who has thought on the subject of disarmament knows the difficulties in the way of it in the present state of both national and international public opinion. Mr. White, chairman of the United States Commission at the Hague Conference, has given in a recent letter to Dr. Magill of Pennsylvania, a part of which we quote on another page, a very lucid and reasonable opinion on the subject. He says:

"As to disarmament, that is simply impossible at the present time. It requires long and careful preliminary studies by experts before any conference can propose any distinct plan.

Besides that, it must come after arbitration rather than before it. When arbitration shall have diminished the probability and frequency of wars or armaments, the arguments for the present enormous armies and navies, will be greatly diminished.

I believe that the diminution of armies and forces will begin in Europe within a few years, but it will be after careful comparative studies of the different forces, so that any nation will be prevented from gaining undue advantage in the process, and it will be greatly promoted by the likelihood of effective results from the arbitration scheme."

The *Manchester Guardian*, replying to some English papers which have described the Hague Conference as a failure, says that "In face of the arbitration project, *incomparably the most important document of its kind ever drafted*, such a conclusion seems particularly unfortunate. The chief difficulty to some minds is the fact that arbitration under the project remains purely voluntary, but to make that a stumbling-block is to miss the whole significance of the

project. To reject the arbitration project on that ground is to reject the whole of international law, which has been built up from the beginning without physical sanction. It is the virtue of an idea, as distinguished from the mere fact, that it must change and grow; and to refuse to admit that this idea has made enormous progress at the Conference is simply to knock one's head against a wall of very hard facts. No one has ever believed that the Peace Conference would make it impossible for nations to do wrong. Its proudest boast is that it has made it more difficult to do wrong, a little easier to do right. The Conference at The Hague was precluded from discussing the question of peace in some of its most important and most practical aspects. It had to cry "Peace!" when there was no peace. All this is true, and yet one is not going to bandy reproaches of hypocrisy. There are some people whose character is so bad that their neighbors begin to suspect them of hypocrisy on their first symptoms of reform. The great Powers are in much the same plight. Yet there are worse evils than inconsistency, and the inconsistency of what the Powers have done at The Hague with what they have done elsewhere is not a reproach to, but a justification of, the Conference. It is reserved to the forces of Liberalism in every country to make the most of all the opportunities of reform — many of them splendid opportunities — afforded by the Conference, and to see to it that the undoubtedly genuine zeal in the cause of peace displayed by all the Powers at The Hague shall not be the passing mood of a moment of repentance, but a permanent state of the political mind."

The *Herald of Peace*, organ of the British Peace Society, commenting on the appeal of the people of the Netherlands to the British people to abstain from war with the Transvaal, speaks in the following strong terms:

"It will not do. There is no justification for such a war. We are one with the Dutch in their appeal on behalf of the Boers. Let us err, if error there be, on the side of patience and magnanimity and generous action. We say to our Dutch kinsfolk that 'Little England,' that is, the minority of the British people who are lovers of righteousness and fair dealing and humane and magnanimous treatment of others, whether they are inside the great British empire or out, do heartily respond to their appeal and join in their protests.

"There is no justification for such a war, or even, as the leader of one of the political parties avowed, for such preparations for war. If statesmen fail to keep their country out of war, the direst of all calamities, they have failed as statesmen, and that is usually the verdict of the electorate. If they carry the country into hostilities without strenuous efforts to preserve peace, they are culpable criminals. Nor are they less criminal if they fail to preserve peace where there is an avowed desire and a willingness on the part of their antagonists to do so, and when there is not only a repeated appeal for peace, but every effort is made to avoid war. But, beyond this, if powerful ministers disregard the laws of righteousness, and are not bound by the sentiment of magnanimity which should prevail in a great and strong nation, if they set themselves up as superior to the moral government of the universe, and become a law to them-

selves, then, all history being witness, the nation will suffer, the moral government will vindicate itself, and the betrayers of the truest and best interests of their country will be guilty not only of a political blunder, but a moral crime, and will go down to the hereafter of righteous judgment as colossal fratricides."

The annual meeting of the International Law Association at Buffalo on the thirty-first of August and two succeeding days was one of the most successful conferences held by the Association in recent years. The program of the meeting was given in our last issue, as well as some account of the origin of the Association. The success of the meeting at Buffalo consisted not so much in the character of the discussions as in the character of the delegates and the interest awakened thereby. The delegation from England was a large and influential one, headed by Sir William R. Kennedy, a member of the British High Court of Justice, who was president of the Conference. Other English delegates were Joseph Walton, Esq., T. G. Carver, Q. C., Judge Raikes, Q. C., Dr. W. Evans Darby, one of the Council of the Association, J. G. Alexander and Mr. Phillemore, secretaries, Alfred F. Morgan, Esq., Dr. F. J. Tompkins, etc. The Conference accepted the report of a committee of last year which had drawn up a plan for an international system of arbitration. It gave its approval of the work of the Hague Conference, and appointed a committee to study in detail the Hague Convention on the subject and report next year. It discussed the subject of marine insurance, that of the immunity of private property at sea in time of war, etc. On the subject of the immunity of private property at sea a very able address was given by Mr. Charles H. Butler of New York City, maintaining the position which has always been taken on that subject by the United States. The success of the Conference was due in a measure to the fact that it was held immediately after the meeting of the American Bar Association, on whose invitation it came to Buffalo. About sixty members of the Bar Association remained over to the International Law Conference. The presence of so many strong men of the International Law Association at the meeting of the Bar Association added much to the interest of the latter. The Bar Association again took strong ground in favor of permanent international arbitration, as it had done in preceding years. The committee of the Bar Association on international law, of which Hon. Everett P. Wheeler of New York City was chairman, presented a report covering thirty-five pamphlet pages, on the progress of international arbitration during the year. The report dealt chiefly with the work of the Hague Conference, with the advance in civilization which it marks, with the importance of its ratification,

and the necessity of arousing public attention in its behalf. The committee offered the following resolution, which was adopted by the Conference:

*Resolved*, That the American Bar Association renews with emphasis the strong declarations made by it in 1896 and 1897 in favor of the adjustment of controversies between nations by the medium of enlightened international arbitration, expresses its great satisfaction that the efforts which have been made to establish so beneficent a principle have culminated in the adoption at The Hague of a wise and statesmanlike agreement for that purpose, and its earnest hope that the Senate of the United States will approve the Convention of The Hague, and that the Administration will take such steps as may be proper to carry it into effect.

Something like the senseless war passion which preceded the Crimean War seems to be now prevailing in London. The opponents of the policy of Mr. Chamberlain towards the Transvaal attempted to hold a public demonstration on the 24th ult. in Trafalgar Square. When the speakers attempted to speak they were howled and groaned down, and pelted with rotten eggs, rotten apples and other missiles. The members of the peace associations were received with execration when they mounted the platform. A soldier and a marine, with clasped hands, were shouldered and carried around the square amid frantic enthusiasm. Opponents of the demonstration surrounded the platform and made several ugly rushes accompanied with fierce yells. The mounted police were finally summoned and cleared the square. The promoters of the demonstration held a private meeting in the evening and passed this resolution: "In consequence of the organized interruption of the anti-war demonstration in Trafalgar Square to-day, fomented by a section of the yellow and stock-jobbing press, this committee resolves to hold a public meeting in one of the largest metropolitan halls at an early date." Such conduct as that of this Boer-hating rabble needs no comment. One had supposed that the time for such beastly behavior had passed by in England. We suppose that Mr. Chamberlain was greatly pleased with this rotten-egg demonstration of his supporters! It was the legitimate fruit of the policy which he is pursuing, of the war spirit which he has evoked, and with which he will find it impossible to deal in a "civilized" way. We hope the friends of peace will courageously persist in their opposition to war with the Transvaal even if it costs them much greater annoyance and danger than came to them in Trafalgar Square. They have had a signal proof that they are right; for it is only wrong and blind passion that appeal to such methods as were used against them on the occasion of their attempt to call the English people back to reason and justice.



**Growth of the Navy.** The navy of the United States, including vessels of all classes, now numbers 244 ships and boats. When the 60 ships now under construction are completed the number of men-of-war will be carried up to 304. The increase is due in part to the addition of the 13 gunboats purchased by General Otis from Spain, and of the vessels captured during the war. Two years and more ago, when the serious suggestion was made that several tendencies of the nation indicated the approaching dangerous growth of militarism, the thought was hooted at as an absurdity. This country, it was effusively declared, never would become a military nation! But here we are to-day with an army of one hundred thousand men, sixty thousand of whom are, or are soon to be, fighting an alien, liberty-seeking people on the far side of the globe, where we never had and have not now a single rational and moral right to sovereignty. The fleet of the country is rapidly passing in size one after another of the fleets of the other powers, and we shall soon have outstripped all but England's. We shall then be in the mad and senseless race to beat her. Do the people of this "great and glorious country" know what all this means in the end? Do they know what a heritage of taxation, tyranny and woe they are deliberately, or blindly and stupidly, preparing for their children? It takes not even the remotest kinsman of a prophet to see the end standing out there in the near future in all its hideous reality.

**Delegates' Appreciation.** The Secretary of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, London, has received, in response to letters, some very interesting replies from some of the Delegates who did so much to make the Peace Conference a success. A noticeable feature of some of them is the sincere appreciation which they show of the work heretofore done by the peace organizations. Lord Pauncefoot, who expressed the same view to the editor of this paper, is especially hearty in his appreciation. He says:

"In those views, so forcibly and eloquently stated by you, I venture to express my entire concurrence and deep sympathy, and I request you to convey to the Council my heartfelt thanks for the generous tribute they have paid to the services I have been fortunate enough to render to the cause of arbitration at The Hague and elsewhere. I must be permitted to state, however, that my services count for nothing as compared to those so nobly rendered for many years by your Association, and which laid the foundation for the edifice which is justly admitted to have crowned the labors of the Conference."

Senator Descamps, of Belgium, chairman of the committee which drafted the Arbitration Convention, is equally appreciative. He says:

"I am convinced that an immense step has been taken

toward the triumph of a cause which is especially dear to us. The merit of it belongs, in great part, to those who, like you, have prepared opinion and so energetically and perseveringly demanded the action of the governments. Honor then, in the first place, to the International Arbitration and Peace Association! The work that we have accomplished is imperfect, without doubt. We count on you, as you may count on us, to promote its completion. Onward, then, toward this great end: 'To drive back Force and to advance Justice!'"

**Congregational Council.** Among religious events of the past month the International Congregational Council, held at Boston from the 20th to the 28th, was the most important.

Nearly five hundred delegates were present, from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Hawaii, Japan, China, India, Scandinavia, etc. The most elaborate preparations had been made by the Congregationalists of Boston for their reception, and they were given most cordial welcome and entertainment, including trips to the historic places in the vicinity. Many of the ablest men in the denomination were present, the addresses were of a high order, the audiences overwhelmingly large, the interest unflagging to the end. All the great subjects with which the church deals were ably and freshly discussed,—the ministry, pastoral work, education, missions, social Christian work, Christian citizenship, etc. One of the marked features of the Council was the prevalence of the spirit of international Christian brotherhood. This was, however, unfortunately somewhat marred and weakened by a touch of the prevailing recrudescence of the war spirit of the day, and there was a dangerous approach on the part of a few speakers to demanding an Anglo-American Alliance of force, with a view of forcing civilization on those who are not as good as "we." The position of those who hold that war is fundamentally unchristian and unworthy of man, and therefore to be always abstained from, was dubbed "sweet-hearted sentimentalism." One session of the Council was given up to the subject of the Christian attitude toward war in international relations. The speakers were Dr. Lyman Abbott for America and Dr. Alexander Mackennal for England. The chief exhibition of the "war spirit" in the Council was in connection with the latter half of Dr. Abbott's address, on which we hope to comment more at length in our next issue. Dr. Mackennal's address, which we give in full on another page, was full of a lofty and pure Christian spirit. Its chief purpose was to show that war is a failure as a means of attaining high ends, that the Christian conscience can now with difficulty ever tolerate it, and that Christian people will not long be able to tolerate it at all.

**Dr. Darby in America.** Dr. William Evans Darby, Secretary of the Peace Society, London, has been spending several weeks in this country. He arrived in Boston on the 25th of August with the International Law Association delegates from Great Britain, of which he was one. He spent three days at the Peace Convention of the Universal Peace Union at Mystic, Conn., where he gave several addresses, and preached twice on Sunday. From Mystic he went to Buffalo and attended the meetings of the American Bar Association (whose "clever jingoism" was rather too much for a pacific Englishman) and of the International Law Association, of whose Council of direction he is a member. From Buffalo he went to Philadelphia, where he spent a week visiting the peace workers, addressing meetings, preaching, etc.; then a day or two was spent in Toronto on business. Dr. Darby went thence to New York for the Sabbath, September 24, and then came by Mystic to Boston for a few days at the International Congregational Council, to which he was a delegate. He set sail for home on the 27th ult. Dr. Darby is an indefatigable worker in the cause of peace and international goodwill, and we are very sorry that the time of his visit was not at a more opportune season for the holding of important meetings in the interest of the work. The English Peace Society, whose General Secretary he is, was never more vigorous and aggressive than now. It has the support, moral and financial, of a very large proportion of the peace workers in Great Britain, and spends more than two thousand pounds sterling per year in its various lines of work, most of which is received from private contributions made annually by its members and friends.

**Conscription in England.** England has so far held out against the conscription system which has now practically converted every able-bodied man on the Continent into a fighting machine. It has been said all along, and by none more loudly than by the military party, that Britain would never tolerate conscription, utterly opposed as it is to all the principles of her civil and religious liberties. But a number of clear-sighted Englishmen have for years plainly seen and declared that conscription is the inevitable last term of the militarism which is so rapidly laying its ruthless hands on all the institutions of the country. The fatal day seems now near at hand. It is reported that what is equivalent to conscription is to be introduced at once into Guernsey. The present militia is declared by the war office to be inefficient. The regular garrison is to be removed therefore, and replaced by a force of thirty thousand men between seventeen and thirty years of age, with a reserve. If the number cannot be secured by volunteering, then the deficiency will be made up by ballot, as it is euphe-

mistically called. The next step will speedily follow, and in less years than the number of one's fingers the entire country will be in the deadly clutches of enforced military service. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

**Friends' Protest.** The British Friends, who are always on the watch against any encroachment upon civil or religious liberty, have sent to Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdown the following protest against the bill recently introduced into Parliament to amend the long disused Militia Ballot Act:

"This representative meeting of the Society of Friends views with grave concern the introduction into Parliament of a bill to amend the long disused Militia Ballot Act. It cannot but regard such a measure, taken in conjunction with statements made by members of the government, as preliminary to the enforcement of compulsory military service in this country. The Society of Friends has ever held that war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Christ; and, believing that His commands are those that claim allegiance above all others, they desire to record their protest against any extension of that militarism which is the increasingly recognized cause of so much evil. They hold that any attempt to enforce compulsory military service is an infringement of the liberty of conscience which we have so long enjoyed, and which is one of the greatest privileges of citizenship in this country. They therefore earnestly desire that no portion of these advantages should be withdrawn, and, further, that the Militia Ballot Act should be repealed and not amended."

**South America Fears U. S.** There has been a good deal of talk about a federation of the South American republics against the "paramount" pretensions of the United States. Though nothing practical is likely to come of it, the mere fact that the question has been raised is an evidence that national vanity has gone quite far enough in this country. Our business is, not to repel by our superciliousness, but to attract the other nations of this hemisphere, and of the world, too, for that matter, by kindly treatment and by faithful abstinence from all pretensions of dictating to them or lording it over them in any way whatever. This country is great, rich and powerful, but it can never be paramount anywhere, in the European sense of "paramount," without degrading itself and losing its right to be considered the foremost nation of the New World.

### Brevities.

... "I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success; it is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglass is nothing;—but do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity, the Declaration of Independence."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

. . . Dr. Charles Richet, professor in the University of Paris, and secretary of the French Arbitration Society, has published a study of international arbitration, under the title of "Les Guerres et la Paix." It is a small book of one hundred and ninety pages, in ten chapters, and has twenty-three illustrations. The publishers are Schleicher Frères, Paris.

. . . Sir Julian (now Baron) Pauncefoot will return this month to his post as ambassador at Washington. He will retire from the diplomatic service next spring.

. . . Count von Münster, who was president of the German Commission at the Hague Conference, has been made Prince of Derneburg by Emperor William. The German papers think that this honor was conferred not so much because of the Count's services at The Hague as it was as a mark of conciliation toward France, to which von Münster is the German ambassador.

. . . "The Neutrality of the Scandinavian States" is the title of a pamphlet of forty pages by A. Hedin, published at Stockholm. It elaborates a proposition made in the Swedish parliament by Mr. Hedin and a group of Deputies, that the King be invited to open negotiations for the neutralization of Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

. . . The International Peace Bureau at Berne has published in French in pamphlet form for general circulation the "Decisions of the Hague Peace Conference." The brochure covers fifteen pages and contains all the conventions, declarations and expressions of wish.

. . . Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Washington, D. C., corresponding secretary of the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia, sends us a copy of a twenty-page pamphlet recently published by her entitled "Peace and the Outlook: an American View."

. . . The parcels post treaty with Germany, the first one arranged by the United States with any European country, went into effect the first of this month. Packages of merchandise, not to exceed eleven pounds, may now be sent by mail to Germany at the rate of twelve cents per pound or fraction thereof. This will stimulate trade between the two countries and promote friendly relations.

. . . The Coöperative Society of Great Britain, which has recently held its annual meeting, has in fifty years done a business of three hundred million dollars, with a profit of thirty millions.

. . . The new battleship Kearsarge when fully equipped has cost five millions of dollars, enough to endow at four per cent. two hundred and fifty families with an income of \$800 a year for — ever.

. . . The old affection for France in Alsace-Lorraine is said to have cooled very much on account of the injustice and corruption shown in the persecution of Dreyfus.

. . . The Chinese minister at Washington, Wu Ting Fang, has lodged with the State Department a protest against the military order of General Otis excluding Chinese from the Philippines, as contrary to international law, in violation of existing treaties, in disregard of the long maintained friendly relations between the two gov-

ernments, and uncalled for by any military necessity. The result of the protest has been the countermanding of General Otis's order until the subject can be further looked into.

. . . There is now a Peace Committee in St. Petersburg. It has offices at "corner of Kirochnaya and Petyomkinskaya, 48, lodging 42." Mrs. R. N. Shabanova, a well known lady physician, is president.

. . . We are greatly indebted to Mrs. Lucy A. Powers, of Lansingburg, N. Y., for a picture of her father, Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., one of the original members of the American Peace Society in 1828.

. . . The Philippine Commission, sent out with so much *éclat*, has gone to pieces from inefficiency and internal disagreement, and is coming home piece by piece. The President is to have a sitting with the Commission when the members are drawn in from their various orbits.

. . . The United States, Great Britain and Germany are now engaged in negotiations for the adjustment of the claims arising out of the bombardment in Samoa last summer. The principle to be followed is that private property destroyed in the prosecution of the naval and military operations will be paid for.

. . . The revolution in Venezuela has made rapid progress, and the overthrow of the government seems imminent. There has been hard fighting and many have been killed on both sides.

. . . The enthusiasm already shown and the voting done in the different colonies make it clear that Australian federation will soon be an accomplished fact, and that the continent under one government will have before it a splendid prospect of peaceful and harmonious development, free from the boundary quarrels and irritations which have marked the history of all the other continents. Is civilization centering there?

. . . The *Saturday Evening Post* of Philadelphia will publish in the number for October 7 ex-Speaker Reed's impressions of the procedure of French law courts as illustrated in the Dreyfus case.

. . . Russia is to build a ship canal from the Baltic to the Black Sea, a distance of about one thousand miles. It will cost one hundred million dollars and require ten years for completion.

## Correspondence.

### Transvaal Crisis.

Editor ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

In your September issue the article with above heading is admirable with one exception,—and that of course, if in error, is so because of misapprehension of facts. You say: "Both countries are wrong. The Boers under Krüger, in the attempt to prevent the swallowing up of their country by the greedy, high-handed British gold-seekers, have been exclusive and severe toward foreigners to a degree impossible of justification in these days." This impression has grown out of grossly dishonest misrepresentation of facts. The British press, from which

our ideas are gathered, is under the control of the "greedy, high-handed gold-seekers," as you justly term them. That the mining interest has been liberally dealt with is seen by the London Stock Exchange Year-Book. It gives long lists of Transvaal gold mines that pay from 15 to 675 per cent. a year. That the enemy has no idea of even semblance of fair play is seen by his unwillingness to arbitrate. It is high time, as a matter of international Christian citizenship, for us in America to find a way to emphatically support application of the Hague Peace Conference plan to this case. For Britain to play the high-handed murder and robbery evidently contemplated is cowardly and cruel. For us to fail to vigorously protest will not be creditable to us. The Transvaal has had generations of bitter experience of British driving them north, step by step, from the cape, by instigating savages to murder women and children, rob and burn their homes. Then, assuming that "protection of British subjects" demanded annexation, they have had reason to be exclusive. For a quarter of a century I have been in touch with South Africa. I am personally acquainted with General Joubert and with a prominent judge in their Supreme Court, and others of their leading men and women. They are a people where the Sabbath and the family altar are far more sacred than in Britain or America. In wealth and culture they are our peers. We shall be guilty if we do not insist on arbitration; and on arbitration that arbitrates fairly. Britain has no more right to dictate to that republic than she has to dictate to Massachusetts. Earnestly yours,

GEORGE MAY POWELL,  
President Arbitration Council,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

### The American Flag.

BY CECILIA DE VERE.

*Read at the Mystic Peace Convention.*

It was the emblem of a dawning day,  
Type of earth's brave, aggressive hope,  
The hope that called to freedom far away  
To take a heritage of broader scope.  
That flag flashed glory from the loftiest height,  
Spanned with new smiles the solemn circling sky,  
Holding the stars it rescued from the night  
(The stars colonial) sparkling safe and high.  
Crushed nations gladly saw through blinding tears  
Emancipation's herald, true and bold,  
Oppression's air was rent with ringing cheers,  
And tyrants read their doom in every fold.  
The Young Republic waved it to the gale,  
Pressing through curling flame and rolling smoke;  
Strong, rapturous voices proudly bade it hail,  
While manhood trampled on a royal yoke.  
Bright broke the sunburst o'er the battlefield  
In splendid contrast to its darkling woe,  
Fair rose our ensign, unto freedom sealed,  
As free from blood as morning's vivid glow.  
'Tis true brave men lay white beneath its bloom,  
While sorrow held its staff and wept their fall;  
Still of grim war it prophesied the doom,  
For honor raised it up at heaven's call.  
What was "Old Glory"? Dreamed we it could fade,  
Or lose the loveliness that arched the tide?  
Was it an idol for our homage made  
That matin music reared aloft with pride?

Whate'er it was, the world now sees with pain  
That flag subservient to greed's desire,  
Treason's black brand, fierce slaughter's crimson stain  
And whelming selfishness that blights like fire.

The world now sees the banner of our boasts  
Dragged to debasement through invasion's crimes,  
Tattered and crumpled 'neath the putrid hosts  
Rapaciously cut down in their own climes.

It will not cleanse through leagues of sea outspread,  
Nor purify below the tropic sun;  
It is the winding sheet of murdered dead,  
The pall of victories but lately won.

O Liberty, bend o'er our flag and weep!  
Thy tears will fall, not on its stains alone,  
But they will fall that schemes so foul and deep  
Were bred like serpents in a land thine own;

And that misguided patriotic sons  
Were slaughtering helpless ones on sea and shore,  
That "Christian" men stood calmly at their guns  
And saw poor victims deluged in their gore.

Ah! they forgot the angels' midnight song,  
These military slaves who must obey,  
Who dare not flinch however great the wrong  
That plants its hideous form in virtue's way.

Poor military slaves! they prove apace  
The savage blindness that has ruled the years,  
When the fair flag that gladness brought the race  
Now symbolizes rapine, blood and tears.

It should have fluttered to the angels' song,  
The song of morning stars, that still is sung;  
Men knelt with varying prayers through ages long,  
While but one answer from the chorus rung.

Besieging centuries in garments red,  
In clotted rankling raiment, kept earth's ills,  
Till simple shepherds heard those strains o'erhead,  
Amid the stillness on Judea's hills.

We trace a line of progress from that time;  
Learning and science lift their voices strong;  
The arts have reached an altitude sublime;  
Tradition was entrusted with the song.

O deaf as well as blind the world hath been!  
It did not listen to the notes of peace,  
Nor hear the saving words, "Goodwill to men."  
The much it mastered still excluded these.

Peacemakers, called the children of Great God,—  
Shall they not shout with joy's ecstatic thrill?  
Shall they not send the messages abroad  
Of peace on earth and gentle, pure goodwill?

Yea, when Bethlehem's star doth shine within,  
And hearts are tuned to love's angelic sphere,  
The whole rich symphony this life shall win;  
Hark! the sweet prelude even now we hear.

MOUNT LEBANON, N. Y.

### The Christian Attitude Toward War in the Light of Recent History.

BY REV. ALEXANDER MACKENNAL, D. D., OF BOWDON, ENGLAND.

*Address delivered at the International Congregational Council, Boston, September 22, 1899.*

The second half of the century began with one of the most delightful of the visions which have enraptured the youth of the world. On May-day, 1851, the first International Industrial Exhibition was opened in London, and we looked on it as the symbol of an abiding peace among the civilized nations. Enlightened self-interest claimed to be a fellow-worker with the gospel; com-

merce wore the look of beneficence; the nations were going to learn their dependence on one another for the fruits of nature and of skill, and free barter was to displace fighting in an ever-enlarging intercourse of man with man. We thought we were on the eve of the fulfilment of Tennyson's prediction:

"Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle flags were furled"

In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,

And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

It was a generous forecast, but it left human nature out of the account. The girders of the Crystal Palace were hardly removed from Hyde Park when the Crimean War broke out, and that war has left behind it fears and anxieties and a mutual distrust that have not since allowed Europe a tranquil year. The United States has entered the comity of nations with a war. Colonial enterprise has awakened ceaseless suspicions; out of it have come campaigns sorely wounding the self-respect of the best European peoples, and an armed peace, scarcely more tolerable, in the view either of economic science or of morality, than war. The close of the century finds us in the midst of "signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity; men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."

It would be wrong to say that the story of the wars of the last half-century has been wholly ignoble; that they were all base in their conception, ignoble in their execution, unmitigatedly evil in their results. Some of them have been condemnable from beginning to end. It is impossible, for instance, to read the inner history of the Franco-German campaign without seeing the indelible stain it has left, alike and equally, on the reputation of Bismarck and of the Emperor and Empress of the French. Craft, falsehood, wantonness and mean terror brought about the war and marked its conduct. Even here, however, we must distinguish between the courts of Berlin and Paris and the French and German peoples. The rulers would have been powerless for mischief if they had not deluded their subjects: appealing to their patriotism, their enthusiasm, their self-devotion, if also to their pride and ignorance and passion.

But the Crimean War, to take another instance, came out of a generous impulse. The partition of Poland, the betrayal of Hungary, the iniquity of serfdom, and the long agonies endured in Siberia, had awakened in France and England the deepest distrust of Russia, an honest and generous dread of the extension of her power. The cause of freedom, justice and humanity called out the war fever that has been followed by that restless debility in which Europe is found to-day. The friends of Christian peace make no greater mistake than when they belittle and misrepresent the generous motives, misguided it may be and erroneous, but sincere and deep, which sometimes hurry free peoples into war. During the contest between the Northern and Southern States of America, not only did the Lancashire operatives show most pathetically that their sympathies were with one side in the struggle; what was still more significant,

those distinguished advocates of peace, Richard Cobden, John Bright and Henry Richard, were, for the most part, silent until the conflict was over. They could not approve the battles, but they could not be indifferent to the cause. One of the painful incidents of those terrible years of Turkish misrule, when the only happy Armenian was the dead Armenian, was the fact that one sometimes heard Christian men attempting either to belittle the suffering of the Armenians, or to set over against it their restlessness and occasional rebellion. We must be reasonable in our judgment of a people's action, and tender in our remembrance of the oppression which makes a wise man mad.

Indeed, one of the severest condemnations of war as a method emerges when we have frankly acknowledged the generous motives out of which it sometimes comes. War squanders and degrades the noble impulse which gave it being. If the impulse could go at once to its object—as when a father boxes a troublesome boy's ears—there might be some justification for militarism in a civilized community. But this is just what never happens. Months and years intervene between the honest indignation and the declaration of war, and a still longer period drags on until the end of the fighting. Not many persons can bear the strain of a noble purpose, again and again thwarted, its fulfilment indefinitely, hopelessly delayed. History tells us that the martyrs can: it also tells us that the soldier cannot, the politician cannot, the people in public meeting cannot. We have seen the process of deterioration more than once: the nation is sincerely enthusiastic, but the conduct of the war passes into the hands of men with whom war is a profession, and it gives opportunity to the unscrupulous speculator to make his gain. As the months go on, there is great searching of heart among Christians; with those who are not Christians, the generous impulse becomes an ignoble necessity of finishing what has been begun. Then, as the opposition is prolonged, the determination is come to, to use any and every means to put down the enemy; something like a malignant temper may appear where the original motive was so good. If there is a marked inequality between the combatants, or if one side has soundly beaten the other, the conquerors do not stop with righting the original wrong; they aim at punishing the beaten party. The cry *Vae victis* has a pagan sound: have we altered the fact when we talk of "indemnity"? If the nations are fairly matched, both are weary of the struggle long before it is ended; terms are proposed and accepted far less satisfactory to either than could have been arrived at without fighting; but there is no grace in the proposal or the acceptance, only a rankling sense of humiliation and necessity, forbidding concord between the nations.

There has appeared of recent years, in Great Britain, a marked antagonism between the awakened Christian conscience and the consciousness of the necessities of militarism. Although, since 1856, we have taken no part in European campaigns, and for a longer period there has not been any real fear of the invasion of our island, we have had an unbroken experience of fights on the Asiatic and African continents; there has not been a year, Henry Richard used to tell us, during which we have not had some "little war" on hand. The press

correspondents have kept us acquainted with the details of the campaigns, with the result that national interests have been a burden and a pain to the sensitive soul. On the other hand, there have been the most open acknowledgments that, in military matters, the law of Christ must be disregarded. Lord Lytton, once viceroy of India, some of whose verses are deservedly admitted into a book of devotion, "The Cloud of Witnesses," told the Glasgow students, in his address as Lord Rector of the University, that between nations the word "morality" has no place. And Lord Wolseley's "Soldier's Pocket Book" has been more than once quoted from, extracts being given which teach young soldiers how to deceive when on spy duty. He has written that if a soldier is to succeed in this, he must lay aside the belief that "honesty is the best policy." We have given up the practice of praying in our churches for the success of our arms and keeping days of thanksgiving for our victories. There is here at least the merit of frankness; but we do not contemplate without distress the fact that, in a large part of our national life, which claims the bulk of our taxes and engrosses the time of our Parliament, we are obliged to forget that Jesus Christ is King of kings and Lord of lords.

Recent events, moreover, have shown us that war fails conspicuously where its pretensions have been the loudest. It does not inspire and sustain the loftiest courage. Bravery in fighting is one of the primary animal instincts: the tiger has it; so has the dog; so has the Norwegian lemming, a little creature you could cover with the palm of your hand, and which has not the sense to avoid drowning itself when in its migration it reaches the sea. This form of courage seems pretty equally distributed among the races of men. All say they have it. If we admire the fortitude which enables a few hundred British soldiers to await the onslaught of a host of Kaffirs or Nubians, we equally admire the resolution of the naked barbarian advancing against the irresistible fire from Maxim guns. There is a higher power of courage of which war knows nothing. If it were not so sad a spectacle we might find boundless humor in the fact that Europe has been for fifty years amassing armies, which to-day it trembles to behold, perfecting weapons of precision until it is afraid to use them. History knows few more disgraceful sights than the "Concert of Europe"; civilization cowering before barbarism; the most contemptible monarch on the Continent allowed to work his wicked will, because the civilized and Christian governments were afraid of what might happen if any of them opposed him. Seven hundred years of martial training have destroyed the heroic temper of the Crusaders. The fancied necessity of militarism effaces that moral courage, that chivalry and tenderness of honor, which the gospel has called into being. Lord Kitchener is not brave enough to spare the Mahdi's tomb; the Emperor of Germany is not brave enough to discourage duelling, and bid his officers lay by their arrogance towards the civilian. A French court-martial is not brave enough to pronounce him innocent whom no one believes to be guilty. Even the Czar's rescript, noble as it was in its conception, and benignant as we hope it will be in result, had the taint of terror in it; the nations were called to consider the arrest of armaments which they had all

provided and which they were all afraid they might have to use.

We may frankly aver that indignation is an honest impulse, that resistance of wrong, the determination to put it down, ought to have an abiding place in human action; that the call to war, because it is an appeal to common, not to individualistic, effort, may startle the selfish into warmth of heart; and that the discipline, of which the military system has been up to now the chief exponent, has trained men in the subordination of self to society. We may recognize that human sentiment has, from the beginning, tempered the sufferings and the humiliations of war; and that, under Christian influences, regard for the wounded and tenderness towards the vanquished individually have come to be prevailing sentiments. And we may wish that this pitifulness may have full play when whites are in conflict with colored men, as well as in what is called "civilized warfare." But it has become conspicuously clear that war is no instrument in the accomplishment of the highest ends; and that involves — since the highest human ends are always in the consciousness of the true follower of Christ — that it has become hard, and will become impossible, for Christian people to employ it. War may be a fitting instrument for men inflamed with the lust of possession; it fails us when we invoke its aid for unselfish uses. French and English statesmen were aroused to prompt action when Major Marchand was reported at Fashoda; those same statesmen had been pitifully powerless when the Sultan was breaking the Treaty of Berlin.

What we have seen during the last fifty years has been the simultaneous development of the military system and the Christian ideal of life and conduct. It is the growth of the Christian sentiment which has raised the standard of courage, putting the grace of consideration for others into the foremost position once held by nerve; which has made men so sensitively truthful that the system of espionage and the secret service have become intolerable; which have taught us the brotherhood of man, so that we feel as if in war we incurred the guilt of fratricide, and brought home to us the truth that, as death hushes all strife, so should life, of which death is but the solemn consummation. And while the churches have been learning to feel all this, governments have been frankly pagan. Now and then there has been a war in which the specific end has seemed to commend itself alike to the churches and the nations. In reality, the ultimate purpose in view of the churches and the nations has been radically different. Moreover, the churches and the nations do not acknowledge the same sanctions in their conduct, nor obey the same motives; and when you change sanctions and motives, you alter the whole ethical system. The Christian law is this: "So is the will of God, that with well doing ye put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." "It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing." There is not a cabinet in the world where this law is accepted, even dreamed of as a possibility in national action. No statesman, not even he who withdrew the British forces after the defeat of Majuba Hill, because he had learned that he had begun an unjust war in ignorance of the facts of the case, has ever thought of exposing national existence to such a



strain. Yet, until this law is accepted for nations, as it is loyally and obediently accepted by many individual Christians, there will be no security against war. Commercial necessities give us no pledge of peace; enlightened self-interest is not to be trusted, the self is sure to dim the light; the fear of war will not prevent war. And God will not give us peace in any other way than that which is revealed to us in Christ. We cannot enter into alliance with God on our own terms. The suspicion that it is so — I speak not for other nations, I speak for that I know the best and love the most — the suspicion that this is so has checked the military enterprise of Great Britain, and made the wars in which we engage the heaviest burden on patriotic hearts. That is the reason why we have not had for many years a royal proclamation inviting us to prayer for success in war and thanksgiving for victory; why millions of our children have never heard such services, and it is a forgotten art among us how to pray that we may win battles. Instead, there has come to us a great yearning, a continual cry of the heart:

"Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

The story of the Transvaal difficulty is full of instruction. It was a Christian action, so far as it went, to make concessions to the Boers. It was by no means a declaration of the policy of non-resistance; it was an acknowledgment that, as the war was now seen to have been under a misconception, nothing, not even the shame of defeat, could justify its continuance; it was the endeavor of a strong nation to make amends to a weak one. But a noble deed can never stand alone; it must be followed by a noble course of thinking and of action, or the last end may be worse than the first. If both the English and the Boers had been Christian people, as many individuals are so, abiding brotherhood would have been the result. But neither of the nations understood the grandeur of their opportunity. The Boers traded on the consideration which had been shown them; the majority of the English people thought their government had been weak. And when the valorous heart which conceived this new departure had ceased to beat, and the stately voice was heard no more, which said, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace to men of good will"—when again the heresy that "gain is godliness" asserted itself, the old passion was re-kindled and reason and justice were unheard. Not for a moment have I regretted that the great experiment was made; it will be followed, even if it seem to have failed. But I do not wonder that men who have not learned the secret of the religion they profess regard Mr. Gladstone's policy as something to be repented of.

There will be no end to the liability of war until nations are Christian in the sense that many men and women are so; and in this sense there is not, and never has been, a Christian nation. But there are nations in which many are troubled about what they tolerate, and asking how war can be stayed. The Hague Conference has brought us light, more than a gleam; it is like the dawning of the day. The original proposal has been rejected; humane suggestions were made only to be voted down; but the Congress has ended more successfully than most of us could have dreamed. The body

of the rescript lies moldering in the grave, but its soul goes marching on. The nations have been told to look to arbitration as a means of preventing war, and methods by which to make it effective have been suggested. Arbitration is a method of law; and as it is true that "*inter arma silent leges*," it is also true that "*inter leges silent arma*." One great cause of war is this: neither men nor nations will believe they are wrong when they are judges in their own cause. The hope of peace through arbitration is this: civilized men and nations may believe they have made a mistake if impartial authorities tell them so. There have been some international arbitrations: in few of them has either side been satisfied with the award; in none have both sides been satisfied. Nevertheless, the awards have been accepted, wars have been prevented, and arbitration has been resorted to again. So has duelling disappeared in states where the law can be trusted. It is not that wrong is never done; but the habit of appealing to law takes away the desire to resort to arms.

Arbitration is law, is reason; and where law and reason are, Christ's words may be spoken and will be heard. Arbitration will not destroy greed, the lust of possession and the pride of power; but it will provide the conditions in which better influences may prevail. We shall not be released, by the acceptance of arbitration, from the duty to proclaim the Christian way of overcoming international evil with international good. We shall indeed have better opportunities of preaching this, and we ought to use them. Unless we do so, we must not complain that this truth cannot be received. All truth is received by some when it is set forth; very often received by most unlikely people. Some faithful sons of the Pilgrims have criticized John Robinson for censuring Myles Standish in that matter of the "poor Indians," some of whom Robinson wished had been converted before so many had been killed. We do not read that the "choleric captain" himself resented the admonition. It is always the idealist who leads, the practical man who trots behind. Myles Standish is sure to listen to John Robinson, if only John Robinson will speak, and speak in time.

## The Peace Cross.

BY SARAH F. SMILEY.

*Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference.*

I am glad to be here to-night as a representative from that little district in our great country in which women have no right to vote,—and neither have men. But one privilege is left them; they can do all the more thinking, and as much talking as they please,—and so can women.

About a year ago we did a great deal of thinking, and not much talking. All hearts were stirred, and the whole question of war and arbitration and peace was deeply studied. Then in the autumn, when it was all over, we had a great object lesson, which I would like in a few words to describe, because it taught us more than all our thinking had done.

It was in the last days of the beautiful October, on a Sunday afternoon, that the whole city seemed with one accord to turn its steps towards St. Albans Mount, in the

northwestern part of the city. Here there had been erected a monument; but no one could see it just then, for it was veiled in a vast flag. As we waited for the arrival of the dignitaries who were to take part in the ceremonies we had a magnificent view. We could see the whole city: there was that beautiful white monument which represents the nobility of Washington's character and life, towering in the clear air; there was the Capitol; there was that magnificent Library, unsurpassed in the whole world; there was the Potomac rolling below us, bringing back to our thoughts those other days of war when we heard "All quiet along the Potomac." Everything we saw was suggestive of our past history and of the future hopes of our country. At last the procession came in, — bishops of the Church from north and south and east and west, and between two chief dignitaries the President of our country. The seats had been so arranged that they turned their backs to this magnificent scenery and were facing the veiled monument. And then, after various exercises, the flag was dropped, and there before the eyes of this vast gathering was — the Cross; a beautiful Iona cross, and on it engraved the words: "That it may please Thee to give to all nations, unity, peace and concord; we beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord."

We had come there to dedicate that monument to Peace, as our grateful offering to God for the blessing that He had given us, and in setting it up to pour forth our prayers that peace might be given among all nations as it had been given to ours. And I have thought today, when so much has been said about the power of commerce to effect union between nations, and of various other agencies tending in the providence of God to the same end, — I have thought that after all it is only the Cross of Christ that can bring them together. It is only as they turn their backs upon all else, forgetting for a moment even the glory of our land and the greatness it has pleased God to give it, letting even the flag of our country pass out of our sight, that we see in the Cross the one power which will bring about this longed-for peace. That is the bond which will unite all nations.

There is one practical difficulty in the working out of this grand scheme of arbitration, which has not been alluded to here. Among the civilized nations, the great powers of the world, it may be comparatively an easy thing. But how is it going to work among the savage peoples with whom we have just now so much to do? How will it work in China, in Africa, where that vast region has so lately been given to Christian nations? How in those distant islands which have not yet fully come into our hands? Shall we not have to yield a little to some other view than the view of arbitration? But then I have remembered a great lesson which we had in Africa. Many years ago when Livingstone made one of his visits to England, he went to the universities and put before them a plan of sending out missionaries to Central Africa. The universities took it up at his strong persuasion, and that was the beginning of what has ever since been known as the "Universities Missions to Central Africa." It was arranged that the bishop who went to plant the first mission should go in the ship with Livingstone and that for a time they should keep together. Up to that time Livingstone had carefully maintained

peace among the natives, and had opposed bloodshed. But one day they were marching along in their peaceful way when they met a band of slaves driven by men of a fierce tribe which overpowered them. Then Livingstone felt his blood grow hot within him, and he concluded that a little war was justifiable, and they liberated those slaves, giving them in charge to the missionaries, who afterwards defended them in a second fight.

But the evil consequences of that bloodshed did not pass away for many years. The savage people no longer saw the Cross before them, but only the sword. They thought that the missionaries who had come among them were of the same nature with themselves; and the distrust of them spread even among distant tribes. It was only as the mission came at last to adopt altogether the policy of persuasion, trying to do all in their power to bring about friendly relations between these many hostile tribes, that they began to make headway. In fact, they carried out, under those most difficult circumstances, the principle of arbitration. Thus they won the confidence of the tribes, so that at last they were glad to come and submit themselves to the advice of these men who fed them in time of famine, who cared for them as no one had ever cared for them, and who held out to them the hope of rising to a different life. And when that policy was thoroughly established, a blessing fell upon that mission such as has never fallen upon any other. The results seem like the days of the apostles, as one reads the story. From this wonderful success of these earnest, devoted missionaries I think one may gather the greatest encouragement that, if we only have faith in God's providence in the midst of the difficulties that confront us, the Cross of Christ will ever point the open way to peace.

### De Staal's Closing Speech at the Hague Conference.

(Our readers will be interested in seeing the full text of the final speech made by Mr. de Staal, the president of the International Peace Conference. The speech evinces the beautiful, conciliatory, humane spirit which this eminent Russian showed throughout the two months of the Conference.)

*Gentlemen:* We have reached the end of our labors. Before separating and shaking hands for the last time in this beautiful "House in the Woods," I would ask you to join me in renewing the tribute of gratitude which we owe to the gracious Sovereign Lady of the Netherlands for the hospitality which has been accorded to us in so large a measure. The wishes which her Majesty expressed on a recent occasion, in a voice so charming and firm, were of good augury for the progress of our deliberations. May God shower his favors on the reign of her Majesty the Queen, for the good of the noble country placed under her authority.

#### EXPRESSIONS OF GRATITUDE.

We beg of Mr. de Beaufort, in his capacity as Honorary President of the Conference, to be kind enough to lay at the feet of her Majesty our homage and good wishes. We also ask his Excellency and the Netherlands Government to receive the expression of our sincere gratitude for the kind coöperation which they have given us, and which has so greatly facilitated our task. It is with all my heart that I make myself the mouth-

piece of your warmest thanks to the statesmen and eminent juriconsults who presided over the labors of our commissions, sub-commissions, and committees. They have there displayed the rarest qualities, and we are happy to be able to congratulate them on this account. Our reporters also have a claim to your gratitude. They have set forth in their reports, which are real masterpieces, the authorized commentary on the texts agreed on. With a zeal worthy of all praise, our secretariat has acquitted itself of an arduous duty. The faithful and complete minutes of our long and frequent sittings are there to furnish evidence of this. I have, finally, to thank you myself, gentlemen, for all the indulgent kindness which you have shown to your President. It is certainly one of the greatest honors of my long life, entirely devoted to the service of my Sovereigns and country, to have been called by you to the presidency of our high assembly. In the course of the years during which I have followed as an attentive witness, and sometimes as a modest worker, the events which will form the history of our century, I have seen the influence of moral ideas in political relations grow by degrees. This influence has reached a memorable stage to-day. His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, inspired by family traditions, as M. Beernaert has happily pointed out, and animated by a constant solicitude for the welfare of nations, has paved in some sort the way for the realization of these conceptions.

#### SOME GENERAL IDEAS.

You, gentlemen, who are younger than your President, will no doubt pass through the new stages on the road on which we have entered. Now that after so long and laborious a session you have before your eyes the result of your labors, I shall take good care not to trouble you with the historic account of what you have accomplished at the price of so many efforts. I shall confine myself to selecting therefrom some general ideas. Responding to the appeal of the Emperor, my august Master, the Conference accepted the program traced by the circulars of Count Muravieff, and made it the subject of a prolonged and attentive examination. If the first commission, which took on itself the military questions, the limitation of effectives and of budgets, has not arrived at any considerable material results, it was due to the fact that it encountered technical difficulties and a series of cognate considerations, the examination of which it did not consider itself in a position to enter on. But the Conference has requested the different governments to resume the study of these themes. It has approved unanimously the resolution proposed by the first delegate of France; namely, "that the limitation of military burdens at present weighing on the world is greatly desirable for promoting the material and moral well-being of mankind."

#### HUMANITARIAN PROPOSALS.

The Conference has also adopted all the humanitarian proposals which were assigned for consideration to the second commission. In the same order of ideas it has been able to give satisfaction to the long-expressed wish for the extension to naval warfare of the application of principles analogous to those which form the subject of the Geneva Convention. Taking up again a work inaugurated at Brussels twenty-five years ago, under the auspices of the Emperor Alexander II., the Conference

has succeeded in giving a more precise form to the laws and customs of war by land. These are, gentlemen, positive results obtained after conscientious labors. But the capital work — the work which opens a new era, so to say, in the domain of the law of nations — is the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Conflicts. On its title-page is the inscription: "Of the General Maintenance of Peace." Some years ago, when closing the Behring Sea arbitration, an eminent French diplomatist expressed himself as follows: "We have endeavored to maintain intact the fundamental principles of this august law of nations, which, like the canopy of heaven, stretches over all nations, and which borrows the laws of nature herself in order to protect the peoples of the earth one from the other by inculcating in them the dictates of mutual goodwill." The Peace Conference, with the authority attaching to an assembly of civilized states, on its part has also sought to safeguard in questions of capital interest the fundamental principles of international law. It has set itself the task of defining them, of developing them, and of applying them in a more complete manner. It has created on several points a new law in harmony with fresh necessities, with the progress of international life, and with the best aspirations of humanity. In fact, it has accomplished a work which the future will, no doubt, call "the first International Code of Peace," and to which we have given the more modest name of "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Conflicts."

#### MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION.

In opening the sittings of the Conference I mentioned, as one of the principal elements of our common study, and as the very essence of our task, the realization of progress so impatiently looked for in the matter of mediation and arbitration. I did not deceive myself in anticipating that our labors in this matter would assume exceptional importance. The work is now accomplished. It bears testimony to the great solicitude of the governments for what effects the pacific development of international relations and the well-being of peoples. This work is certainly by no means perfect, but it is sincere, practical and wise. It seeks to conciliate, by safeguarding them, the two principles which form the basis of the law of nations, the principle of the sovereignty of states, and the principle of a just international solidarity. It gives the preference to what unites over what divides. It sets forth that in the new period on which we are entering what shall prevail are the works sprung from a desire for concord and fertilized by the collaboration of the states seeking the realization of their legitimate interests in a durable peace founded on justice. The task accomplished by the Hague Conference in this direction is truly meritorious and beautiful. It responds to the magnanimous feelings of its august initiator. It will have the support of public opinion everywhere, and will, I hope, meet with the approval of history.

#### THE GOOD SEED IS SOWN.

I shall not, gentlemen, enter into the details of the Act which several of us have just signed. They are set forth and analyzed in the incomparable report which is in your hands. At the present hour it is perhaps too early to judge in its entirety of a work scarcely finished.

We are perhaps still too near the cradle. We lack the aerial perspective. What is certain is that this work, undertaken on the initiative of the Emperor, my august Master, and under the auspices of her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, will develop in the future. As was said on a memorable occasion by the President of our third commission, "The greater the progress made on the road of time, the more clearly will its importance come out." Now, gentlemen, the first step has been taken. Let us unite our efforts and profit by experience. The good seed is sown; let the harvest come. As regards myself, I, who have reached the term of my career and the downward slope of life, consider it as a supreme consolation to have seen the opening of new perspectives for the good of humanity, and to have been able to cast my eyes into the brightness of the future. (Prolonged cheers.)

### Address of Prime Minister Steen.

*At the opening of the Interparliamentary Peace Conference at Christiania, Norway, Aug. 2.*

*Gentlemen:* The Committee on Organization has done me the honor to invite me to open the ninth Interparliamentary Peace and Arbitration Conference in the capital of Norway, and I have thankfully accepted the honorable duty.

I know with certainty that I am at this moment the interpreter of the feelings, not only of my fellow citizens assembled here, but of the entire Norwegian people, its parliament and its government, when I greet and welcome in their name the foreign guests from the different countries of Europe, whom we now have the honor of seeing assembled with us. They are messengers from a large number of national assemblies, who again set forth and make their appeal to the noblest purposes and the highest ideals of general public sentiment.

We congratulate ourselves that the opportunity has come to us of declaring to you here at our own fireside and showing to you, in fact as far as we can, how near to our hearts lies the aim which you have set before you, and how highly we esteem the work which you each and all have done and are still doing for this assuredly greatest and most weighty common concern of humanity—peace and brotherhood among peoples, justice and arbitration, instead of rude violence accompanied by all the horrors of war and the degradation of morals through generations.

That is the condition and the means of securing freedom and progress in the work of civilization and of protection against aggression, seeing that the struggle of contending interests which threatens the greater states as much as it does the smallest is becoming ever more intense.

It seems also that it is at last recognized on all hands that the present condition cannot continue, and that the greatness and might of the world in all its splendor will tear itself in pieces and sink in ruins, if no means of relief is found which will furnish protection against the disintegrating forces which the armed peace is gradually developing in its own bosom.

The utterances, gentlemen, which you have made in your countries, have found an echo in men's hearts, and

have opened people's eyes and ears to the calls for help about us which can no longer be put off. For you, gentlemen, that which is more powerful than all else, speaks—I mean the facts themselves.

We have long wished that your word might also reach us, and it was a great pleasure to us when you accepted the invitation to hold your annual meeting here.

It is said, and rightly, that the place of holding the Conference is determined by the desire of increasing the number of your adherents, of making your peace work everywhere better known, of enabling the nations to show towards one another an open, brotherly hospitality. In this respect I hope you may not repent of your choice, and that, in spite of your long journey into the far North, you may retain, as a precious memory of your stay with us, the impressions and experiences which you carry away with you, and which will give you a clearer understanding of the relations which make the idea of peace and arbitration specially significant for us.

This is a fruitful soil for your work, and here there is need in a peculiar manner of mutual explanations and enlightenment, in order to come to a right conception of the relations of our fatherland.

The position and nature of our country and the history and development of the people which have been conditioned thereby have impressed their stamp upon the national character and the public life of the people. Its extended sea-coast, with the deep bays and the grand mountains keeping watch above them, its long, narrow valleys with their dusky forests and their mighty streams and waterfalls, coming down from the glaciers into the great gleaming inland seas, with their laughing shores and their broad fertile plains—all this together forms a variegated whole, which kindles the admiration of foreigners and draws hither a stream of visitors who with their Bådeckers go through the country and then spread abroad its fame as the paradise of tourists.

But the visit of such travelers is fleeting, and gives but little opportunity to learn to know the people, their labor, and the circumstances of their lives, to say nothing of what they have been able to accomplish in the matter of the cultivation and improvement of the soil, and the overcoming of their remoteness through the channels of modern commerce,—and, further, how they have made themselves influential among the nations in the realms of science, literature, art, technique, industry, and international traffic,—so that nobody can deny them the full right and the capability of living their own life as an independent people.

The varied character of the country itself points the people to the duty of extending their activity, with a view to gain, to all possible fields of enterprise. The sea, the mountains, the forests, the rivers, the waterfalls offer them, along with agriculture, the means of developing the country, in both an intellectual and a material way, as a land of civilization. All this demands courage and manly purpose, and deepens love of the fatherland. Thus has the character of the people been developed.

I shall not mention names. But if you travel about and make careful observations, you will find clearly marked individualism along with a strong feeling of community of interests, an enlightened, sagacious, energetic and enduring people, with an understanding of

every kind of spiritual development, but above all else with respect for law, with love of freedom, and with a consciousness of themselves—a people that will not barter away their freedom.

Norway is, more than other lands, a democratic community. Democracy underlies our constitution and characterizes all our institutions. Democracy demands peace. That is the specific reason why the Norwegian Storting, earlier than any other national assembly, expressed its approval of your peace propaganda, and has stood by it until this day, and why the government has repeatedly given the cause its sanction.

In recognition of this, the noble Swedish friend of peace, Alfred Nobel, who recently deceased, and who in his will has left a monument more enduring than marble, has shown his confidence in the Norwegian Storting by entrusting to it the awarding of the prize for the best work in the service of the peace cause, and through the establishment of a Nobel Institute to further promote the cause by speech and writing in the future. Honor and gratitude be to him and to his memory, which shall never perish from among us.

Your union has been in existence since 1889. In the year 1890 the Storting voted an address to his Majesty the King, in which it was proposed that treaties should be negotiated with foreign Powers providing that disputes which might arise between Norway and these Powers should be settled by arbitration. The address was presented. It led, however, to no immediate result, and in the years immediately following, our political relations were unfavorable to taking the matter up again. But in the year 1897 the Storting—and this time unanimously—voted an address of like contents, in which attention was called to the fact that in the interval the idea of arbitration had taken still deeper root in the consciousness of the peoples and of their directing statesmen, and that during this time controversies between great and powerful nations had been settled by arbitration. This address the Peace Conference at The Hague had before it—the only one of its kind—as an aid in the discussion of the question of arbitration.

Norway has no ambitions in the way of expansion. It desires no adventurers and no intermeddling in the affairs of other states. Its task is the untrammelled development of the means of its own internal welfare, the condition of which is a free and friendly intercourse with other lands and at the same time the preservation of its independence.

Indeed, the geographical position of Norway and Sweden seems to predestine them to play the rôle of neutrality in the future. This position makes their duty easier and puts them in a condition to maintain their neutrality. It must, one would think, be of interest to the Powers that they should, under all circumstances, declare their purpose to maintain this neutrality inviolate, and that the Powers on their part should recognize this as a right. The more states and the larger territorial areas are in this way neutralized, the more security will there be against conflicts of the other Powers. The settled program of subjects which you have undertaken to discuss is a pledge that we are in full sympathy in this matter.

Through the Conference at The Hague, which has just closed, the cause of peace and arbitration has entered

upon a new phase, since it has now been taken in hand by the governments and the diplomatists. This is in part, at any rate, a fruit of your labor, and has contributed something toward clearing up the question as to the way by which the great common goal can be best and most securely reached. As to this, however, it would be premature to draw any conclusions, and this is neither the time nor the place to do so.

Your aim is a higher one. Your task is a more thorough and comprehensive one and demands continued labor. It has already made progress and must continue to progress, often under misunderstanding and neglect. You have already experienced these, and such will be your lot in the future. But this is the strongest reason why you should not give up your work. To fear and to doubt would be to despair of humanity.

While, therefore, with gratitude for what you have accomplished, I declare your Conference opened, I may add, with confidence, the wish and the hope that your future labors may be crowned with success. Beyond all doubt, public opinion in Europe is in favor of peace. It is so in our country. The benediction of those who are already won to your cause be with you, and may you be victorious.

### The Interparliamentary Peace Conference.

Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, who has just represented the United States Congress in the Interparliamentary Peace Conference at Christiania, Norway, writes a most interesting account of the Conference in the *Independent* for September 7. We quote the following portions of his letter:

This Conference has proved to be one of the most interesting and valuable in the history of the organization. Two things contributed greatly to its success. One was the enthusiastic reception given by the Norwegian government and the Norwegian people. The other, the remarkable success of the Hague Conference, which closed its deliberations just as the Union was beginning its sessions.

The Norwegian group has been one of the most earnest and active in the Union. Its Parliament took the lead in 1895, in voting 2,000 kroner for the support of the Interparliamentary Bureau. The president of the Lagthing, Mr. John Lung, and the president of the Storting, Mr. Ullman, have both been ardent supporters of the Conference. When the Union accepted the invitation to meet in Christiania in August of this year, a hospitable reception was indeed anticipated, but the most expectant delegate was hardly prepared for the enthusiastic greeting. The government voted 50,000 kroner (\$13,500) for the entertainment of the Conference, and furnished free transportation on all government railroads for some weeks before and after the meeting. A steamer brought delegates free of charge from Denmark to Christiania, and the steamship lines from Newcastle, England, and from Grangemouth, Scotland, also gave free berths to all members.

A dramatic and memorable feature of the welcome was the way in which the steamer bearing delegates from the Continent was received. A special steamer

from Christiania, containing representatives from the government, and a large party of delegates and invited guests of both sexes, sailed down the beautiful Christiania Fjord to meet the Copenhagen steamer. Half way down the fjord three Norwegian ironclads awaited the steamers. The five vessels then formed a procession and sailed up the fjord, the three ironclads escorting the two steamers bearing the apostles of peace. The vessels were gaily decked with the flags of all nations, and the band played the national airs of every country represented. Nearing Christiania, a salute was fired by the war vessels. A vast throng on the shores witnessed the procession and welcomed with enthusiastic cheers the delegates at the pier. The escort of the war ships was not only picturesque, but beautifully symbolic, suggesting that the mission of force was to minister to peace and brotherhood. No delegate who landed at Christiania could feel that Norway was a cold country, or that his mission was insignificant. The session of the Union was the great event of the year for Norway, and everywhere the people manifested an intelligent and hospitable interest.

The Conference was opened August 2 by an address of welcome from Mr. Steen, president of the Ministerial Council. The floor of the large hall of the Norwegian Parliament was occupied by the members of the Union, a throng of spectators filled the galleries, and the popular interest was so great that not half those who applied for tickets could be accommodated. The Norwegian Parliament is called the Storting; a section of the same constitutes the Lagthing, which is not a distinct second chamber, but a sort of wheel within the wheel, with powers to ratify or revise the action of the Storting. Mr. John Lund, the president of the Lagthing, presided at the opening meeting of the Conference, being relieved at different times by Mr. Ullman, president of the Storting, and Mr. Horst, president of the Odelsting.

In his opening address, Mr. Lund congratulated the Conference on the progress which had been made in the development of an international public sentiment in regard to arbitration. When the Conference met for the first time ten years ago, only seven countries were represented; at the Christiania meeting, eighteen. "At the first conference," he said, "none of us certainly imagined that before a decade had elapsed our cause would have gained such ground as it has done throughout the whole world."

As has already been said, the Conference has from the beginning made international arbitration the main feature of its effort. Its great opportunity this year was not in working out in detail a fresh scheme for an international court, but in ratifying the general features of the plan just formulated at The Hague, which embodies the principle for which the Interparliamentary Union has so long contended. The Conference lost no time, therefore, after receiving the official text of the action at The Hague, in extending its felicitations to the Emperor of Russia and to the sovereigns and governments represented at that Conference upon the important success which has been achieved. One paragraph of the resolution read: "The Interparliamentary Conference is happy to find that the principle of the plan adopted by it at its session in 1895 at Brussels for the establishment of an international tribunal of arbitration has been

accepted." While admitting that the work at The Hague was not perfect or final, the Conference saw in it an event of the greatest historic importance, and expressed the confidence that the first and most difficult step having been taken, the favorable attitude of the different governments and the force of public opinion will insure the ultimate development of the institutions inaugurated.

The Conference urged all of its groups to employ their influence to obtain the adhesion of their governments to the pacific and humane resolutions of the Hague Conference, to encourage their governments to conclude treaties of arbitration with as many states as possible, and to facilitate the accession of countries not represented at The Hague.

The Conference has also charged the council of the organization to prepare a more detailed report upon the various features of the Hague Convention to be presented to the next conference, which will be held next year in Paris.

A resolution was also passed, expressing the hope that other diplomatic conferences, such as that just held at The Hague, by the invitation of His Majesty Nicholas II., should be convened for the more complete application of the principles of arbitration and for the gradual constitution of a code of international law. The Conference has also taken a step in the same direction. It has invited its council to prepare and submit to the deliberations of the next and succeeding conferences a draft of a code of international law fixing the rights and duties of nations.

The final resolution of the Conference was one which was gratifying to the American delegates, because it reaffirmed a principle for which the United States has long stood and which the President in his last message reasserted,—namely, the exemption from capture of private property at sea in time of war. The resolution, which I had the honor to offer, and which was adopted without any opposition, declared that the "Conference notes with pleasure that the President of the United States in his last annual message has called attention to the humane and beneficent principle of the exemption of private property at sea in time of war, and asked authority of Congress to correspond with the governments of the principal maritime Powers with the view of incorporating this principle into the permanent law of nations. The Conference favors the enactment of similar treaties to that concluded between Italy and the United States in 1871, in which this principle is strongly asserted, and trusts that such treaties may be the prelude to a general agreement on the subject through a special international conference as urged by the Interparliamentary Conference in 1892 at Berne, and in 1894 at The Hague."

Thus the ground covered by the Conference in the four days of its deliberations was not large, but it was wise to concentrate rather than to dissipate its force. The value of the meeting lies not in assertion of new principles, but in the reaffirmation of old ones, and in the development of a stronger public sentiment in favor of conclusions to which the Hague Conference has given a new significance.

The hospitality extended to the Conference was simply regal. It seemed as if every possible need of the dele-



gates had been anticipated and supplied. The local secretaries and committees were of unusual efficiency. An open air reception and concert was given at the park of St. Hans Hangen; the next evening the delegates were received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Steen; a dinner was given by the Municipal Council of Christiania on the Frognersateren, a beautiful mountain resort overlooking the city. The Conference concluded with a grand banquet given by the Norwegian group in the Masonic Hall, the principal feature of which was an admirable address in French by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, who is not only the beloved poet and novelist, but the leading orator of Norway.

Nearly three hundred members attended the gathering, of which nearly fifty came from Germany. Many of them availed themselves of the generosity of the Norwegian government in arranging excursions and in furnishing transportation to some of the most beautiful portions of that delightful country.

### Does the Government Propose to License Gambling to Raise War Money?

J. W. Leeds of Philadelphia has published in the West Chester (Pa.) *Local News* the following statement as to an effort made by him to secure from the government an authoritative declaration of its intentions as to raising war revenue by taxing illegal gambling slot machines:

There was several days ago printed in the Public Ledger, and probably in the daily press throughout the country, the details of a scheme, seemingly emanating from the internal revenue central office at Washington, which, in enumerating a number of articles that might be taxed for war expenses, included slot machines "in which is any element of chance." Inasmuch as this method for the replenishing of overdrawn exchequers is strongly suggestive of the ways of some of the monarchial countries of Europe, there seemed to the writer a propriety in early seeking an authoritative statement of the government's intention in this direction. The following communication was accordingly addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury:

"In the schedule which has just been given out as tentatively embodying the views of internal revenue officials concerning articles of manufacture, which, in anticipation of the largely increased expenses of the government, might be made the subjects of taxation, it is stated that 'it is also proposed to place a stamp tax on all slot machines in which there is any element of chance. It has been found that the manufacture of these machines has attained gigantic proportions. In each of them the percentage of profit to the proprietor is enormous, and the tax would not be oppressive. Of course this would not strike those machines which dispense chewing gum, for in them there is no element of chance, and the gum already pays a government tax.'

"I very much hope that the government will attach no sort of tax (virtually license) to any contrivance in which is the element of a lottery. With a great deal of effort the national anti-lottery law was brought to pass,

and the moral effect of the enactment has been a distinct gain to the country. We ought to take no backward step, such as the suggested measure, it seems to me, would, if adopted, certainly be. Every municipality has had its own trouble with the slot machine lottery device, and were it now protected by a government tax, the efforts to suppress the evil would be nullified. I would be glad to receive assurance that such a measure for securing revenue is not seriously considered."

The above letter was followed the same day by a supplemental note, referring to the incident, singularly germane to the subject, reported in the daily papers of even date, to wit the raid of Deputy Sheriff Sell and a force of fifty officers upon the saloons of Gloucester City, for the purpose of taking possession of their illegal slot machines, nearly two hundred, it was reported, being secured in seventy of the city's seventy-eight saloons.

The response to the foregoing communications, not altogether reassuring in its tone, comes from the acting commissioner of internal revenue, Robert Williams, Jr., to whom the correspondence had been referred by Secretary Gage. He says, under date 2d inst.:

"Your letter, dated 28th ultimo, and supplemental letter of same date, addressed to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, relating to the taxation on vending machines, have been referred to this office. The office notes the objection you make to these machines being recognized as proper subjects of federal taxation, as a number of the machines have connected with them lottery devices and appliances in contravention of the laws of the United States.

"In reply, the proper function of this office is to administer the law and leave to Congress questions concerning taxation, and it is respectfully suggested that such questions as presented in your letters should be addressed to your representative in Congress, and, while the office never hesitates to give a full and definite reply to all inquiries concerning matters properly before it, it will not volunteer any opinion in matters not connected with its proper duties. Your letters have been placed on file."

The case is therefore sufficiently stated. The internal revenue office, in casting about for ways and means to defray the cost of crushing the "insurgent" Filipinos, rejects all protest or counsel from any interested citizen who may be disposed to question the rightfulness of so compounding with evil as to take tribute money from the owners of "lottery devices and appliances in contravention of the laws of the United States." The same office must be allowed to lay its corrupting plan undisturbed, and then when matured all remonstrances may be happily addressed to our representative in Congress! This letter may be therefore taken as in part addressed to Representative Butler and to his intelligent constituents. If any of these, sympathizing with the Burgess of West Chester in his concern for the continuance of the free public library as a fountain of useful instruction in the community, feel forward to recommend, as a means of getting the money, that he favor the imposition of a tax on all illegal slot machines discoverable within the borough, the way is open to declare themselves. The government's scheme and the supposititious one for the borough would be at one in the line of the direct promotion of gambling.

### Compulsory Arbitration Impracticable.

Hon. Andrew D. White has given his opinion on compulsory arbitration in a letter to Dr. E. H. Magill, of Swarthmore, Pa. We quote what he says on this subject:

The fundamental principle which you seem to lay down, namely, that arbitration should be made compulsory, or at least that there should be some means of enforcing the decrees of a high International Court, is utterly inadmissible in these days, and, so far as I can see, will never be attained.

While we, in common with Russia and several other powers, were willing to have compulsory arbitration adopted for some minor questions of ordinary business, and while I myself, in view of my experience in the diplomatic service, would hail some such relief of our diplomatic representatives with especial satisfaction, even this was swept away in the opposition of various powers to anything like a compulsory system.

The great difficulty is that there are such a multitude of difficulties between nations, involving burning questions of race, religion, national security and even existence, and it is so exceedingly difficult to draw a line between these and other questions, that no nation represented at the Conference was willing to tie itself to anything like a thorough system of compulsory arbitration.

Compulsory arbitration, unless so carefully restricted that it ceases to be really compulsory, in cases likely to produce war, would unquestionably come to mean the power of any

and every nation to drag any and every other into an international tribunal. Think what that would mean in the questions between France and Germany, or Russia and some of her neighbors, or Italy and Austria, or in a multitude of other cases which we could think of.

As to enforcing the decrees, I must confess to you that this seems even more chimerical. Your plan would simply dismiss these powers from diplomatic relations with the others; that is, it would abolish all the ordinary means of preserving peace, with the result that a condition of war would doubtless soon follow.

I understand that young Professor Woolsey of Yale has written an article in which he takes the ground that arbitration to be effective must be compulsory, and that the logical result of this is that the various nations should maintain an army sufficient to enforce their decrees. I have not read the article, but am told that this is the fundamental idea of it. This, of course, means something infinitely worse than the difficulty which afflicts the world at present. It means the increase of armies and the use of them in accordance with intrigues between various powerful states, in so far as the powers would consent to allow their contingents in this vast army to be thus used.

It is as clear to me as the day that our Conference did the best that could be done. After a world of thought and pains by a great body of men among the most competent in the world to really discuss the subject, there was prepared a system of voluntary arbitration with a carefully stated procedure and with various subsidiary institutions to promote general mediation, special mediation and commissions of inquiry, the purpose of which last is to substitute facts carefully ascertained by experts for the insane or malicious lying with which the public is generally deluged on both sides when questions arise likely to produce war.

Our trust, to make resort to this court more and more constant and its decrees more and more like law, must be in the public opinion of various countries. My hope and, to a considerable extent, my belief are that such public opinion will more and more oblige governments to resort to the court and to abide by its decisions.

Another thing to be done by public opinion is to discountenance the sort of journalism which lives by providing sensations, reports likely to provoke hostile feelings between nations. At present that sort of thing is rampant, and especially in the United States and France.

### Our Greatest Hope.

Mr. W. T. Stead says that the last time he met Mr. Gladstone he asked him what he regarded the greatest hope of the future. After a moment's thoughtfulness he answered: "I should say that for our greatest hope we must look to the maintenance of faith in the invisible; this is the great hope of the future; it is the mainstay of civilization; and by that I mean a living faith in a personal God. I do not hold with streams of tendency; after sixty years of public life I hold more strongly than ever this conviction, deepened and strengthened by long experience, of the reality of the nearness of the personality of God."

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

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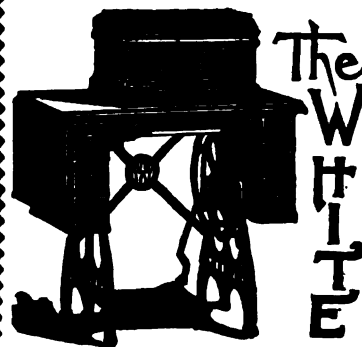
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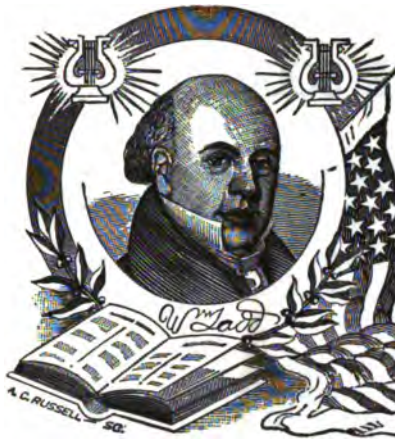
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# The ADVOCATE — OF — PEACE.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER, 1899.

I believe that with wise counsels, great statesmen, large knowledge of affairs, combined with Christian principle, there is probably not a single war in which we have been engaged from the time of William III. that might not have been without difficulty avoided; and our military system might have been kept in great moderation, our national debt would never have accumulated, our population would have been a great deal less barbarous and less ignorant than they are, and everything that tends to the true grandeur and prosperity and happiness of the people would have been infinitely advanced beyond or above what we see now in our own time. I think we ought to begin to ask ourselves how it is that Christian nations — that this Christian nation — should be involved in so many wars. If we may presume to ask ourselves what, in the eye of the Supreme Ruler, is the greatest crime which his creatures commit, I think we may almost with certainty conclude that it is the crime of war. Why is it that there has never been a combination of all religious and Christian teachers of the country, with a view of teaching the people what is true, what is Christian upon the subject?

JOHN BRIGHT.



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## The Venezuela Boundary Award.

The Anglo-Venezuelan arbitration commission announced its decision on the third of last month. The commission had been in session at Paris nearly four months. In addition to the printed argument of each country, the cases for Venezuela and Great Britain were also presented orally in a most able and exhaustive way by counsel, Ex-President Harrison being chief attorney for Venezuela and Sir Richard Webster for Great Britain. No case ever submitted to arbitration has been more thoroughly and fairly examined than this. It will therefore go down in history as one of the most signal instances of the value and practicability of arbitration in serious disputes. The only shadow upon it is that it was undertaken in the first place by Great Britain only under the threat of compulsion. The outcome of the case ought to satisfy

any nation that it can always safely trust a controversy to impartial arbitration, however sure it may be that its contention is well-grounded.

One cannot help contrasting the spirit in which the announcement of this award is received with that which was manifested when President Cleveland's message on the subject was published in December, 1895. Then the populace, because of the possibility of war, went wild with excitement and the newspapers flamed and snapped for days, until a better spirit arose and finally controlled the situation. How much real interest in the arbitration of the controversy demanded by Mr. Cleveland was at the bottom of the flurry? The answer to this question is found in the lack of attention to the results or even to the proceedings of the Paris tribunal. As soon as all prospect of war had disappeared, public interest in the matter died away. If, instead of the announcement of the award just made, we had had the news of a triumph in war over Great Britain, the nation would have gone intoxicated with the enthusiasm of self-glorification for days and weeks. If interest in right and justice toward Venezuela and toward other lands were what it ought to be, were what with infinite gush it professes to be, we should have had a great national outburst of enthusiasm over the decision of the Paris tribunal—a really great event in the progress of civilization.

The decision of the tribunal is considered a compromise. It was made unanimously, the British and the American members voting together. Though appearing to bear the marks of compromise, the judgment rendered is probably much nearer the right than if it had sustained entirely the contention of either party. Cases have gone to arbitration in which the right was wholly on one side, but it was clearly not so in this case. It has been objected to arbitration that its outcome is so often a compromise. But this, instead of being an argument against it, is one of the strongest in its support. In nearly all international controversies of importance right lies more or less on each side. It is the duty of tribunals, as it is their general practice, to decide how far this is the case and allow each party its dues. If the Anglo-Venezuelan tribunal had given the case wholly to Great Britain or to Venezuela, under the evidences exam-

ined, arbitration would have lost immeasurably in public confidence.

An examination of the text of the decision, which we give on another page, shows that Venezuela is given Point Barima with a strip of land about fifty miles long, thus securing to her entire control of the Orinoco river. The Orinoco, however, and the other rivers along which the boundary is drawn, are to be kept open to the merchant shipping of all nations. The valley of the Essequibo river and the whole coast up to the mouth of the Orinoco are awarded to Great Britain. This is a vast region rich in forests and probably in gold. But Great Britain loses all the territory, or practically so, claimed by her west of the original line drawn by Sir Robert Schomburgk in 1840. The boundary line drawn by the commission follows the original Schomburgk line almost entirely,—a line which had been vigorously rejected by both parties to the dispute.

The line of the boundary now fixed is about 175 miles east of England's extreme claim and 145 miles west of the extreme claim of Venezuela. Of the whole territory in dispute, about 200,000 square miles, each of the disputants gets a large area, the amount going to England being considerably in excess of that going to Venezuela. Venezuela, in addition to securing the entire control of the Orinoco, gets the extensive gold fields in the interior, which constituted one of the chief matters of contention.

When the president of the commission, Professor de Martens of the University of St. Petersburg, read the decision, he expressed satisfaction that the commission had been able to reach a unanimous decision, and that the former good understanding between the two governments was now to be restored. He expressed thanks to his colleagues, to the respective counsel, and especially to the French government for its generous hospitality to the tribunal. Remarks were then made by Mr. Harrison and Sir Richard Webster, the latter declaring that Great Britain and Venezuela would now work side by side in harmony. Afterwards, replying to an inquiry, he said he was satisfied with the result. Mr. Harrison, replying to a similar inquiry, said that "It might have been worse."

The award becomes binding when it is officially communicated to the two governments. Thus ends a dispute which has run on in one way or another for three-quarters of a century, which has broken up diplomatic relations, and at one time threatened war. How simple, inexpensive and honorable the settlement became the moment the nations were willing to drop sentiment, passion and unintelligent wrangling, and carry the controversy to an impartial tribunal capable of grasping and sifting all the facts! The decision, which both nations will without doubt loyally accept, commends itself to the world's sense of fairness. It gives neither party ground for exultation over the other or for feeling humiliated because

of entire defeat. It is a great triumph of reason and good sense, and must do much to strengthen public sentiment in favor of resort to arbitration even in the most difficult and delicate controversies.

### The Basis of Civilization.

In his brilliant address on International Relations and Responsibilities before the International Congregational Council at Boston, on the 22d of September, Dr. Lyman Abbott took some most extraordinary grounds in support of his thesis that war is sometimes an advisable and righteous instrument for the promotion of human good. The position taken in this part of his address was essentially that which for many months he has been advocating in the *Outlook* and in addresses at various places. This position is not the old one that defensive war is justifiable. One hears little of that nowadays. It is rather that a certain kind of aggressive war is a Christian duty,—namely, to break down oppression, to promote liberty, to establish law and order, and, as Dr. Abbott now asserts, to lay the foundations of civilization and to prepare the way for successful mission work in the unevangelized portions of the globe.

It is difficult for an unsophisticated mind to see the difference in principle between this position and that taken in support of the "holy wars" of former times. The difference in aims, if there is any, does not change the principle in the least. The parties making the aggression always set themselves up as judges of the righteousness of the ends to be attained, and declare that their standard of goodness and their methods of order are the ones by which others must be forced to govern themselves. If history teaches any lesson with absolute clearness it is that *aggressive* physical force employed by one people against another to promote "holy ends" is dangerous in the extreme, and always leads in some measure to the treading down of liberty and to violations of justice and right, and in the end defeats in its measure the very purposes which it set out to attain.

It is curiously interesting to note that it is the necessity which Dr. Abbott has felt of finding some substantial ground for his defence of the armed subjugation of the Philippine inhabitants, contested as it has been by very many of the best Christians and truest patriots of the country, which has led him on step by step to this extreme position. The extreme dangerousness of the proceeding which Dr. Abbott recommends has been most forcibly illustrated by the recent Spanish War and its resultant, the war in the Philippines. The government went to war to free the Cuban people from oppression. No sooner had it accomplished this purpose, so far as it has been accomplished, than it proceeded, in spite of its solemn declaration against "forcible annexation" as "criminal aggression," to *force* Spain at the point of the

sword to turn over to its sovereignty the Philippine people, who had long been likewise struggling for freedom from oppression and for the independent direction of their own political destiny. When the Philippine inhabitants declined to submit to a sovereignty acquired only by force and the technical right of war, the same arms that were piously taken up for Cuban deliverance were turned to Philippine conquest, and the plea of "civilization" and the promotion of "Christianization" had to be resorted to, by all who did not turn back morally aghast, in order to cover up the iniquity of the job. Even God himself was foisted into the business as doorkeeper, eagerly opening the door to let us in and then shutting it upon our backs and standing against it to keep us from getting out!

But it is about the extraordinary arguments brought by Dr. Abbott to support his position that we wish especially to say a word. It is not true, as Dr. Abbott declared and reiterated, that "law is the foundation of civilization, the basis of life." Law is a part of the structure of civilization, not its basis, and the stage which civilization has reached can always be fairly judged by the nearness to right and truth attained by law. There has been a continuous struggle through the centuries to bring law up to the standard of right. Law is often among the strongest obstacles to the progress of civilization. Bad law, to which people cling with superstitious tenacity, has to be broken down, often at the expense of great suffering, sacrifice and heroic loyalty to the truth.

Civilization is founded on the lives, principles and services of *good men* and *women* who have intellectual and spiritual perception of the truth of God and the courage and endurance to promote and uphold this until it is accepted and incorporated into the structure of society. Take away men and women of love and goodwill, and civilization, guarded by no matter what structure of good law, goes backward. Even the educative value of good law departs when righteous and loving personalities depart. Roman law, to which Dr. Abbott appeals, was of absolutely no protection to Christians when bad emperors were in power, and even good Roman emperors were among the severest persecutors.

In view of these considerations, which are too evident to need elucidation, the plea that law is the basis of civilization, and that its acceptance must be forced by the sword as the primary condition of civil and religious advancement, is a monstrous perversion of the whole history of Christian civil and political progress. The position of those who hold that the employment of deadly physical force, whatever its immediate results, has crippled and impeded the redeeming and transforming power of love and truth, and who discard war with its abominations and inhumanities as incompatible with a truly human and Christian spirit, may not be convincing to one who

takes the above fallacious position as to law; but those who take it, in addition to the assurance that they are near the mind and heart of the Master, have the strongest and truest rational and historic grounds for believing that thereby they can advance the cause of civilization indefinitely more than by upholding or practising the "civilizing" brutalities of battle. They are not likely at any rate to be driven from their "trenches" by such reasoning as that which Dr. Abbott discharges at them.

We are not surprised that Mr. Cary from Japan and other missionaries in actual service deplored Dr. Abbott's utterances as "a terrible blow to foreign missions," and felt that it was a degradation to Christianity to assume that it could successfully enter the ill-civilized portions of humanity only as the tail-end of a conquering army. Dr. Abbott must have forgotten for the moment his missionary history,—the early unarmed triumphs of Christianity against the "law and order" of the world, the modern China Inland Mission, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Titus Coan work in Hawaii, and many other mission enterprises which have wholly discarded reliance on the sword. If the success of Christian missions has so far been "only like the light of a glowworm in pitch darkness," as Dr. Abbott claims, it has not been for the lack of armies and navies, but because the "civilized" nations have gone in after them with the sword and stabbed the life nearly out of them, or "soaked" out confidence in them by the traffic in rum.

Dr. Abbott asserts, in defence of his claim for the superior efficiency of force in making way for the evangelization of the world, that in Christian work law must precede gospel. But the law which precedes gospel is the perfect law of God, not the bungling and imperfect law of man, and in the enforcement of the claims of God's law ministers of the gospel, in our time at least, do not descend from their pulpits with a sword and proceed to stab to death a lot of their unwilling hearers in order to reduce the rest to submission. The motive which the true minister of the gospel uses, for the most part, to break men down and lead them to repentance and submission to the divine will, is the goodness and love of God, not the wrath and terrors of the law. But for the proclamation of love and mercy, which "rejoices against judgment," the law would have made no progress in the redemption of humanity. So far as it made the effort it was a conspicuous failure. The doctrine of the supreme redemptive power of love, which has at last nearly displaced from the Christian pulpit the old terrific, heartless propaganda of wrath, has had no more conspicuous advocacy than that of the Plymouth Church pulpit when Dr. Abbott stood in it. It seems a strange reversion to something like the days of Calvin and Servetus to hear Dr. Abbott before the great Council of Congregationalists virtually defending with his superb and captivating rhetoric the ap-

plication of the very theory which he has for forty years been among the foremost in helping to destroy. Only the necessities of a false position on the Philippine question could, it seems to us, have ever led him to the employment of such arguments.

### London Boulevardism.

Later information shows that the breaking up of the meeting in Trafalgar Square, called to protest against war with the Transvaal, was a much more serious affair than our note on the subject last month indicated. The breaking up of the peace demonstration was brought about, the London *Daily Chronicle* says, "in obedience to the direct advice of two or three of the less reputable London newspapers," meaning the *Daily Mail*, the *Sun* and the *Evening News*. We had supposed that some of the "Yellow" journals of this country could not be outdone in lying and mischief-making, but the course of these London "reptile" papers outdid anything of the kind we have seen in this "wild and woolly" America. Think of calling such men as Hodgson Pratt, Felix Moscheles, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. William Randal Cremer, Dr. G. B. Clark, M. P., and their friends, "Boer bribe takers," "Sunday idlers," "stock-dabblers," the "fringe of city life," "bar-parlor frequenters," "self-advertising quacks," and the like! If these men are the scum which these papers represented them to be, the good Lord have mercy upon the rest of humanity!

When these men, whose devotion to the good of humanity is known in many countries, arrived at Trafalgar Square on the 24th of September, and proceeded in the most civil and orderly way imaginable to try to address the meeting which they had called, they found the square in the possession of a dangerous mob of forty or fifty thousand persons. This immense mob was organized here and there in groups, and their yells and howls arose in one indistinguishable roar. The friends of peace on the platform were rushed, were pelted with rotten apples, eggs, tomatoes, walnuts, pipes, caps full of sand, coppers, rolls of paper, books, sticks, heavy door keys, and partly opened knives. Mr. Moscheles, chairman of the Standing Committee of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, was struck under the left ear by a half-opened knife, though fortunately not seriously hurt. The success of the hit was loudly laughed at by the "civilizing," Boer-hating crowd! Many knives were afterwards picked up and carried away as souvenirs of the dastardly ruffianism. Knives are not known ever to have been thrown before in Trafalgar Square, not even in times of the greatest disorder. The people on the platform were finally rescued and carried out of danger by a body of six hundred mounted police.

The worst feature of the affair was, not that the newspapers which had incited the riot boasted of the

success of the mob, which they styled "a thoroughly typical English crowd of the upper, middle and working classes," but that the riot was justified by some of the ordinarily respectable dailies, including nearly all of the Ministerial press. The *Evening Standard*, the *Times*, the *St. James Gazette*, the *Standard*, the *Western Morning News* declared that "the seething mass of people, hooting and groaning, shaking their fists, sticks and umbrellas," was a "proof that the government had the hearty support of the people," that "Londoners were becoming very impatient of the professional advocates of peace." According to the *Standard*, "The throng was a respectable and representative one; indeed, the rowdy element was conspicuously absent." The three conscienceless papers which brought on the ruffianism, the *Mail*, the *Sun* and the *Evening News*, declared that "it was a great day for the United Services," "a great and stirring Imperialistic demonstration," that "London is unanimous in its imperial patriotism."

This exhibition of coarse mob ruffianism, even though on a scale rarely surpassed anywhere, and upheld by so many journals, is not proof that England is lost to all sense of decency and right; but it is proof that the degrading and barbarizing influences of militarism and imperialism have got a much deeper and deadlier hold on Englishmen and English institutions than is generally supposed. When a great paper like the *Standard* can coolly describe a mob which is shouting "Drown 'em!" and from which arises "a growl as from a cage of wild beasts," as "a respectable and representative throng," it is not exaggerating to say that English civilization is harboring to its own hurt an exceedingly dangerous foe. It is true, as *Concord* argues, that no recognized representative of the national life has spoken such words as those uttered by newspapers on this occasion. But John Morley, Herbert Spencer, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Clifford, and others whom it mentions and does not mention, have not, with all their eloquence and common sense, been able to keep English journalism from descending in this instance to a depth of shamelessness which would be no credit to the lowest sort of French boulevard journalism.

All these right-minded men together have just now less influence in controlling and directing the national life than the single man Joseph Chamberlain. His imperialist policy has its halter around the neck of the whole nation, and even the unwilling are marching helplessly after him. The classes of men whom he represents, as Mr. Pratt says, "through a powerful section of the press, teach the nation to glory in the subjugation of weak and defenseless races," that British wealth may be increased by robbing them of their lands. We do not wonder that Mr. Pratt adds, with great sadness: "Let such corruption of men's minds go on for a few years, and it is easy to see how

soon all love of justice may disappear and society become rotten. Trafalgar Square and the incitements to outrage which preceded the meeting, and the utter disregard of 'British fairplay,' indeed demonstrate how far we have entered on the path which leads to retribution and national decadence."

There is ample love of justice and moral strength in Great Britain to save the nation quickly from the gulf into which ambition of power and greed of wealth are hurrying her, but this better sentiment has a strange way of being silent before the foreign projects of government, as if government can do no wrong. That is the great national weakness of Englishmen, as of other peoples. When the government has adopted a policy, however iniquitous, discussion at once ends, consciences are hushed up, party differences are put away, supplies are voted, and the whole strength of the nation is thrown into the execution. An unscrupulous, long-headed politician knows perfectly how to take advantage of this characteristic and hurry the nation away into an iniquitous scheme in which foreign and home justice sink together. The Trafalgar Square incident is a clear indication that the same sort of blind subordination to authority through which the nation was swept away into the Crimean War is again in possession of the people.

Our friends were right in attempting to make their protest, and we hope they will not allow themselves to be silenced by the dictates of a time-serving prudence. It is perfectly clear that English liberty, as well as American liberty, is passing through a new and insidious peril, and the battle of right must be heroically waged at whatever risks to life and reputation.

### A Harpy Power Critic.

A writer in the October *North American Review*, who signs himself R. M. Johnston, and before whose mind the Harpy scene in Virgil seems to have been vividly present, makes a frantic effort to persuade the Senate that it ought not to think of ratifying the doings of the Hague Conference. The Arbitration Convention agreed upon he styles "a piece of egregious folly," which requires us to "sacrifice on the altar of international brotherhood the long cherished traditions of our foreign policy." If this Convention is ratified we shall lose our independence and be forever afterwards in "the clutch of the Harpy powers."

The proofs which he adduces are profoundly original. The eminent men of the Conference consciously played a huge farce. Having nothing else to do, and fearing that they would be overwhelmed with obliquity by the "millennium-seekers" unless they attempted something, they fell eagerly upon the subject of arbitration. If Mr. Johnston had been at The Hague he never could have conjured up, even out of his extraordinary brain, such an utterly groundless charge against as serious a body of public men as ever assem-

bled. His second count is that arbitration fell upon the delegates and forced them in spite of themselves to give it a hearing. Arbitration schemes "poured" in upon the hapless men and overwhelmed them. Now, there were just four schemes all told, and that of Italy was only an amendment to the Russian. How four schemes could "pour" surpasses comprehension. But Mr. Johnston considers four schemes a "plethora of solutions."

His next contention is that Mr. Stead, with his "big drum of universal peace," now got after the delegates, who had by this time "lost their heads," and "banged" at them so "distractedly" that he succeeded in "beautifully stampeding" them. This is really too hard on Mr. Stead, "banger" though he may be. We saw him often at The Hague, but not once did we find him cutting any such capers as Mr. Johnston's lively brain imagines. Mr. Stead, he says, was aided in stampeding the innocent delegates by "all the liberal ladies of the world, assembled in their thousands at The Hague, calling the delegates 'dears.'" Aside from tourists, who scarcely pricked up their ears at the Conference, and a few wives and daughters of delegates, there were just twelve liberal ladies from abroad assembled there. Two of these were Quaker ladies who came over from England "in thousands" and remained two days "buzzing around like bees." Not over five or six ladies remained during the Conference or had anything whatever to say to the delegates.

In spite of all this "banging" and "dear" influence of Mr. Stead and the liberal women, Mr. Johnston declares that the arbitration schemes must have failed from discord among themselves if kind old Sir Julian Pauncefote, "with his engaging, genial diplomacy," had not after a time joined in the fray. But Sir Julian was in the ring the very first with what Mr. Johnston courteously calls his little "boiled down scheme," with its "poisonous ingredients," which this alarmist thinks is to put his beloved America to sleep.

Mr. Johnston further argues that, notwithstanding the serious utterances of our government and people, the United States had no particular interest in the Conference, not even in the matter of arbitration, but simply consented to its consideration out of courtesy to Russia; therefore the Senate should reject the Convention. Especially should this be done because the Convention has a loop-hole in it in which the Monroe Doctrine is sure to get its precious neck caught and suffer strangulation, in spite of the fact that Mr. White got inserted in the General Act of the Conference a declaration that nothing in the Convention should be construed as requiring the United States to abandon her traditional policy of non-interference in European affairs.

Mr. Johnston, after this pettifogging abuse, goes into a somewhat elaborate argument to show that, while the arbitration provided for in the Convention

is wholly voluntary, both the mediation and the commissions of inquiry are fixed and binding. But an examination of the text of the clauses dealing with these subjects shows that exactly the opposite is true. The whole document is of a piece and the voluntary principle controls it throughout. The commissions of inquiry are simply declared to be "advisable." When constituted they are to be constituted by special convention between the parties in dispute, or, failing that, according to a general plan which is laid down. The United States, if the Senate ratifies the Convention, need never have, unless it wishes to, a commission of this sort between itself and any other nation either European or American.

The same is true of the mediation section. While under this the signatory powers agree in case of grave dispute to have recourse to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers, "so far as circumstances permit," it will always remain optional with any power whether its circumstances do permit it thus to proceed. If, under the provision that neutral powers may offer their good offices, any European powers should offer their mediation to the United States in case of a controversy with a European state, it would be in the power of the United States at any instant to declare that the circumstances did not permit, or that the basis of agreement proposed was not acceptable. The mediating powers would then be bound by the Convention (Article 5) to stop, as it is provided that the rôle of mediator shall cease at that instant, and that the good offices or mediation shall have "no obligatory force."

We have wondered, on reading Mr. Johnston's article a second time, whether the whole production was not intended to be a huge piece of sarcasm. If not, then his intense chauvinistic dislike of international fellowship and his determination that the United States shall go her way among the nations according to her own arbitrary will, setting up her own standards of judgment and making war on whom she pleases, without any friendly consultation or coöperation with other powers, have led him recklessly to make a special plea against the Hague Convention, for which not the shadow of a ground is found in the document itself. Mr. Johnston cannot find words strong enough to express his unutterable contempt for the "Harpy powers" of Europe. The United States is so supremely and immaculately good that she must keep her skirts clear of them all,—absolutely all except England, whom earlier in his article he also put among the "Harpy powers," and whose first delegate at The Hague he ranked as a silly and adroit old sorcerer, mixing "poisonous" political drugs with which to conjure away our liberties. So intent is he on his hunt for destructive arguments that he insults not only all Europe, but also the intelligence and honesty of our own delegates at The Hague, and in fact of the government and the whole nation.

If we had any fears that the Senate would not ratify the Hague Convention, we should feel tempted to ask the *North American Review* for the privilege of reprinting the Johnston article for special circulation among Senators. Nothing could be found more fitting to convince them that the Arbitration Convention is an able, wise and safe arrangement, destined to bring great honor to the United States and great and lasting blessings to the whole world.

### The Transvaal War.

The storm has at last burst which is to desolate South Africa. It became clear months ago, from the disposition manifested on both sides, that all efforts to secure a pacific solution were practically sure to end in failure. England, or rather the official managers of the English end of the controversy, pressed unreasonable demands which it was certain the Boers would not accept. On the other side, though concession after concession had been made and arbitration urged, there was an invincible determination not to yield to these imperialistic demands, at least the most exacting of them.

The ultimatum of the South African Republic, though it came unexpectedly, was the logical outcome of the situation. The independent spirit of the Boers, knowing as they did the intention of it all, could not brook England's great war preparation and the hurrying of troops to the border. Hostilities began almost immediately after the time of the ultimatum expired. The Orange Free State immediately threw in its lot with its sister republic, and the two little states at once turned their arms against one of the great powers of the world. We are sorry the Transvaal government did not refrain from taking this hazardous and possibly ruinous step. We are much more deeply pained that Great Britain has proceeded in such a high-handed way that it is impossible not to consider her the chief guilty cause of the crime against civilization which this war must be regarded. But it is too late to indulge in these reflections.

The fighting so far, pushed by the Boers with terrible earnestness, has been such as to indicate that the struggle will be a fierce, deadly one. Neither side will spare life or money. For months to come South Africa is to hear of nothing but war and rumors of war, of battles and sieges, of victories and retreats. Britons and Boers alike, laying aside their humanity, are to long for nothing but each other's blood, are to rush savagely upon each other like senseless beasts, shooting and shelling and stabbing each other to death. The hills and valleys, which God made for peace and prosperity, are to ring with the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry, with the fierce battle yell and the delirious shouts of vic-



tory, with the bitter blasphemies of despair and the groans of the wounded and dying. All business suspended, railroads torn up, cities bombarded, houses wrecked and burned, women and children ruthlessly driven from home, the country everywhere desolated! The flower of the Dutch population will in all probability be swept away. The British forces, whatever the outcome of the struggle may be, will be fearfully cut to pieces, and more hearts than the Queen's will bleed at the cruel losses. New burdens of taxation will be laid on the people. Deadly race hatred will be engendered which no one now living will see pass away. It is a spectacle to drive one into the darkest caverns of pessimism and despair! These two nations are professedly Christian, reading the same Bible, praying to the same God, pretending to love and follow the same Saviour! And here they are madly exterminating one another, as if they had taken their inspiration from the altar of hell!

What the result will be it is useless to forecast. Appeal has been made to brute force and cunning, and the combatants will have to abide by the results. The war will not decide who is right, but only who under the circumstances is strongest, most enduring, most skilful and cunning in the use of deceit and violence. Rather, the war has already decided that both are wrong, and the memory of the great sin which they are committing will never be effaced from human history. It is easy to argue that the victory of either side will prove a gain to civilization. But it is certain that the sin of both sides in going to war has not only inflicted for the present a ghastly wound upon civilization, but will leave great and serious obstacles in its way for generations to come. Civilization will revive in spite of the war, and South Africa will some day grow green again; but the time and treasure and lives wasted can never be recalled.

The friends of peace will learn from this conflict that they must push their work wider and deeper into the hearts and consciences of the people. This is the only abiding remedy for war. The thoughts and dispositions of individuals and of peoples toward one another must be so changed that national leaders like those which have brought on this senseless conflict will become an impossibility. "If nations choose to play at war, they will always find their governments willing to lead the game." Ruskin means by this that the hearts of peoples must be so changed that there will be no game and no leaders.

### Editorial Notes.

**Judge Day's Letter.**

Judge Day's effort, in his letter to Congressman Watson of Columbus, O., to show that the United States got its assumed title to the Philippines not by conquest, but by purchase, is not very successful. The prime thing pro-

posed by the Peace Commission at Paris to the Spanish commissioners was not the purchase of the islands for the sum of \$20,000,000, or any other sum. The basis of the transaction was the insistence by Judge Day and his associates that Spain should cede the islands to the United States. No one knows this better than Mr. Day. The Spanish Commission was allowed no choice in the matter. They protested with brokenness of spirit, but Judge Day held the power of the United States over their heads, and rather than go on with the war they agreed to the cession and to the acceptance of the \$20,000,000 so graciously offered as a poultice to their wound. This may not be conquest by the sword through actual seizing of the territory, but it is conquest in the essential meaning of the term. To attempt to cover up the real thing by the pretence that the title was transferred through an open and willing sale, both parties acting freely, is worse than a quibble. But it is, at any rate, encouraging to find one of the chief actors in the drama openly confessing that conquest of territory is wrong and un-American, as multitudes of Americans, following Judge Day's act at Paris, have said that it is not. We may hope that in time he will also have the frankness to confess that the purchase of sovereignty over an unwilling people, which he now holds to be a virtuous thing, because sanctioned by international law, is equally iniquitous and contrary to every principle of our national life. To seize a man in the wilds of Africa or anywhere else and make him your slave is no greater crime than to buy a man of your neighbor who already holds him in enforced servitude.

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At the Massachusetts Republican State Convention, held on October 6, the following plank touching the war with Spain and that now in progress in the Philippines was adopted:

"Under the treaty with Spain, the law of nations put upon the United States the responsibility for the peace and security of life and property, the well being and the future government of the Philippine islands; accepting this responsibility, it is our profound trust that the present hostilities can be brought to an early termination, and that Congress, guided by a wise and patriotic administration, will establish and maintain in those islands, hitherto the home of tyrants, a government as free, as liberal, and as progressive as our own, in accordance with the sacred principles of liberty and self-government upon which the American republic so securely rests."

What is here said about the Philippine situation is entirely unworthy of Massachusetts Republicanism. Nothing could surpass it in straddling ingenuity. "As free, as liberal and as progressive as our own!" If that means anything, it means that the government to be set

up in the Philippines shall be absolutely free and independent, for our own government is free from all others. But the makers of the platform did not mean any such thing. This government in the Philippines is to be "established and maintained" by Congress. That is, the Philippines are to be held by force under the sovereignty of the United States, and their government is to be of our making, not of their own. "The present hostilities can be brought to an early termination" only when the Filipinos abandon all pretensions to the right of freedom and independence, and give themselves totally up to our dictation. It is not surprising that this disgraceful straddling has been severely criticized from both sides. The out and out administrationists do not like it; the opponents of the present Philippine policy detest it. Why was it adopted? Because multitudes of Massachusetts Republicans are known to be opposed to the cruel and un-American conquest which is being made of the Philippine people. If we are not greatly mistaken in the temper of these, not one of them will be enticed by this gauzy stratagem into voting for what they know to be fundamentally wrong.

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On account of the outbreak of war in South Africa, the British Parliament was convened in extraordinary session on the 17th ult. After the reading of the Queen's speech, the House of Commons proceeded to the consideration of the subject of the Transvaal war. A vigorous protest was made against war by a few members. Even the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who declared that his party would support the government in the exigency, asserted that the war had been brought on by the government's errors and excessive demands. An amendment to the address on the Queen's speech offered by Mr. John Dillon, declaring that war had been brought on by British interference in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, and that even then a proposition should be made to the South African republic, in harmony with the work of the Hague Conference, received only 54 votes in its support. The ministry was also criticized by the Earl of Kimberly, the Liberal leader in the House of Lords, but the party's support was pledged to the government. Both parties agreed in condemning the Transvaal ultimatum, though a number of members believed that the British government was to blame for having brought it on. On the next day a special message was sent in by the Queen asking Parliament to provide additional means for military service. Continuing the debate on the address in reply to the Queen's speech, Mr. P. J. Stanhope, a member of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, moved an amendment and severely arraigned the conduct of the negotiations with

the Transvaal. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, though supporting the government in war measures, joined in the criticism of the negotiations, as did several other members. Mr. Harcourt asserted that British suzerainty over the Transvaal had been dropped in 1884, as successive secretaries of state had held. While dissociating himself from the measures which had brought on the war, he was nevertheless ready to support the government in the unhappy conflict. On the 19th Mr. Chamberlain, the great mischief-maker, made a speech in vindication of the government's course, nearly three hours long, in which he used such harsh terms of his opponents that he was called to order by the speaker. Sir Edward Clarke, a Conservative, in a brilliant speech, vigorously opposed Mr. Chamberlain's positions, also maintained that suzerainty had been dropped in 1884, and declared that war under the circumstances was a crime against civilization. John Morley spoke in similar vein. Mr. Stanhope's amendment expressing disapproval of the negotiations received 135 votes, among whom were many of the leading Liberals. On the next day a motion of Mr. Dillon declaring the calling out of the militia unnecessary received 36 votes. When the question of appropriating £10,000,000 for the war came up, Mr. Redmond created an uproar by insisting that the money ought to be spent in Ireland. The £10,000,000 was appropriated by a vote of 271 to 32. The protest against the war during the four days of the discussion, though securing but a small vote, was a brave and intelligent one, such as perhaps no British government going to war has ever had to meet.

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Mr. de Martens, president of the Paris tribunal, said, in an interview immediately after the decision was rendered:

"I am of opinion that this tribunal of arbitration is of exceptional importance, inasmuch as it is the first tribunal after the Peace Conference at The Hague. It is also important because it is the first tribunal of the kind in which certain rules of procedure have been laid down and communicated to counsel as obligatory, rules which have been adhered to throughout. These rules are the same as were proposed by the Russian government for the Conference at The Hague, and approved there in July. As they had been laid down by the arbitration tribunal in January, they were applied long before the Convention at The Hague took them into consideration.

"Another point of great importance is that ever since 1873 all awards had been decided by a majority, but this is the first occasion where the decision was unanimous. Notwithstanding the great interests involved and the extent of the territory at stake, the boundary which is laid down by the judges is a line based upon justice and law. The judges have been actuated by a desire to establish a compromise in a very complicated question, the origin of which must be looked for at the end of the fifteenth century."

**Enlightened  
and Unselfish.**

A writer in the *Boston Herald*, reviewing the volume of Mr. Bloch's "The Future of War" just published by Doubleday & McClure, gives admirable expression to the part which unselfishness is to play in the abolition of war. Mr. Bloch no doubt would agree with all this, though it did not fall in the line of his argument to develop this thought. The reviewer says:

"All this is founded on the idea of selfishness, or, at best, self-interest. The author fails entirely to perceive that the true reason why war is becoming impossible is, not that people are enlightened and selfish, but that they are enlightened and unselfish. Civilized people have progressed in humanity to such an extent that they will not stand much longer the reversion to barbarism that war would entail. It is not simply that we love ourselves more than we did and are unwilling to suffer needlessly, but also that we care more about other people, and revolt from the idea of putting them through a vast amount of needless suffering. It is undoubtedly true, as Mr. de Bloch says, that the development of the business relations of the world has gained the ascendancy of the pugnacious spirit; but it is also true that humanitarian motives have advanced immensely, and their influence is steadily and rapidly increasing to the point where the idea of causing the bloodshed which war entails will not be willingly entertained. The soldier is going down, as Mr. de Bloch says, but the human being, as well as the economist, is going up, and all the facts and phases which the author of this book brings together are only by comparison slight causes which will assist in bringing about the final result."

**Anti-Imperialist  
Conference.**

Delegates from different parts of the nation met in an Anti-Imperialist Conference in Chicago on the 17th and 18th of October. Prominent among the speakers were J. Sterling Morton, Carl Schurz, Bourke Cockran, J. J. Lentz, Herbert Myrick of Springfield, Mass., Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati, George C. Mercer of Philadelphia, Prof. Paul Shorey and Prof. A. H. Tolman of Chicago University, etc. Letters were sent by Hon. George S. Boutwell, Edwin D. Mead and others. The address by Carl Schurz was a masterly treatment of the great problem—the one question—now before the American people. A declaration of principles was unanimously adopted. This declaration denounced the policy of imperialism as hostile to liberty, unconstitutional and tending to militarism. The policy of the present administration was condemned and the cessation of the Philippine war demanded. The coöperation of "all men and women who remain loyal to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States" was invited to assist in the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people, "to oppose the reelection of all who, in the White House or in Congress, betray American liberty in

the pursuit of American ends." The Conference resulted in the organization of a national Anti-Imperialist League. Branches of the League are to be organized in all parts of the nation. The Boston League, which has heretofore done the chief part of the anti-imperialist propaganda, is hereafter to be a branch of the National League. Hon. George S. Boutwell of Boston is president of the National League, and Mr. Edwin Burritt Smith of Chicago chairman of the executive committee.

**Turkish  
Restitution.**

The Sultan of Turkey has issued an imperial irade ordering the rebuilding and repairing, with the assistance of the government, of the churches, monasteries and schools which were destroyed during the Armenian massacres. The edict also orders to be paid sums due to officials or the families of officials who were killed or driven out. The irade pardons fifty-four prisoners, and changes to imprisonment for life the sentences of twenty-four who had been condemned to death. It is a good day when Turkey repents. We shall be glad if the sequel proves that there is a sincere disposition in the Porte to make reparation for the past and to abandon the dire system which has been fruitful of so much repression and woe throughout the Ottoman dominions. Even if the repentance is only for political reasons, it ought to be welcomed. It must have become clear to the Turkish government, during the Hague Peace Conference, that there could be no real friendship between Constantinople and the rest of Europe so long as the régime of tyranny and massacre continued. It will be difficult for the civilized world to put any confidence in these new professions, unless their sincerity be justified by years of "works meet for repentance." But it is Christian to forgive, and if the heart of Turkey should prove to be changed, all Christian people ought to meet her generously rather than to long for the final judgments to fall upon her which cannot have been far away. There is nothing sadder in history than to see a people, no matter what, go out in darkness and ruin because of wickedness and crime. It is the multiplication, by thousands and millions, of individual ruin.

**Annual Meeting  
Peace Bureau.**

The annual meeting of the International Peace Bureau took place at Berne, Switzerland, September 22 and 23. Representatives were present from forty-six peace societies. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Fredrik Bajer of Denmark, president of the Bureau. Honorary secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, read a most interesting report on the occurrences of the year in relation to peace and war. The report treated the subject of the Hague Conference, the Peace Crusade, the new cases of international arbi-

tration, the relations of Russia and Great Britain in the East, the Fashoda affair, the Philippine war ("the most painful of the events of the period under consideration"), and the Transvaal difficulty. After an earnest discussion of the Transvaal question, telegrams were sent both to Queen Victoria and to President Krüger, imploring a pacific arrangement of the controversy. A strong address was also adopted and sent to Lord Salisbury and the other British ministers. A resolution asking that the signatory powers of the Hague Conference might offer their good offices or mediation in the Transvaal difficulty was sent to the public press of the different countries. After an examination of the text of the Hague Conventions, it was decided to send a circular to the peace societies in the different countries encouraging them to do what they can to secure the ratification of these Conventions, to secure the adherence of the non-signatory powers, and the negotiation of special treaties of obligatory arbitration. A provisional program was drawn up for the Ninth Universal Peace Congress to meet in Paris on the 30th of September next year. The number of members of the commission (board of directors) of the Bureau was raised from nineteen to twenty-six. Seventeen of the old members were re-elected and seven new ones were appointed; namely, Dr. W. Evans Darby of London, Mr. Gaston Moch of Paris, Mr. François Kemény of Budapest, Mr. Baart de la Faille of The Hague, Mr. Giretti of Torre Pellice, Italy, Mr. Henri Morel and Dr. Stein of Berne.

Mr. Robert J. Sturdee writes as follows in the *Wasted London Herald of Peace* of the enormous waste and loss of thought and genius in the production of modern instruments of war:

"The amount of thought and ingenuity which the instruments of modern warfare have required to produce them is almost incomprehensible. Take the ordinary magazine rifle, a weapon of wonderful mechanism, one which has needed to have much brain power expended in its production, and this solely for the purpose of destroying human life when a fitting opportunity offers itself. Consider the quick-firing and other guns, the shells and torpedoes. Those who understand the last will fully appreciate the genius which produced the torpedo, if they do not appreciate the torpedo itself. The government dockyards are a marvelous illustration of what time and thought can produce. Where can we find a better summary of the wonderful achievements of the inventive power of science than in the consideration of an ironclad in all its details? So strange and amazing do they appear to us that they are almost beyond comprehension. Enormous armaments have utilized enormous genius in their production; and a proof that that genius is wasted lies in the fact that these are soon destroyed in times of war, and in times of peace they soon become out of date and finally obsolete; after which

they are sold for a price ridiculously small in comparison with what they cost. The men who invented these instruments for wholesale slaughter undoubtedly possessed great genius. They used the power they were masters of in the best way for personal gain, but the world has gained nothing—it has lost much. Why, then, were these things invented? The demand created the supply. It was profitable for the inventors to turn their attention to the creation of those things which the nations were frantic to possess. If instruments of war were not demanded they would not supply them, but would produce other and useful and beneficial things. Of course, the genius of these men was of a particular kind, but no one could believe that they were born with a proclivity to invent murderous instruments only. If there were no such thing as war they would have directed their talents to the invention of things that perhaps would have been of the greatest service to mankind. These we might have possessed had we not demanded the absurd engines of destruction instead, thereby losing not only benefits we might have had, but also the genius that could have produced them. Might they not also have produced the means of saving life instead of destroying it? Their unrivaled genius has been employed in perpetuating and making more terrible a relic of barbarism instead of advancing civilization. Our descendants will one day marvel at our tolerating such a system in the same way as we wonder how our ancestors could have tolerated many follies which we have seen and expelled."

The seventeenth annual Indian Conference **A Vanishing Problem.** was held at Lake Mohonk during the second week in October. Mr. Albert K. Smiley's entertainment of the Conference was as regal as ever, and the Mohonk lake, woods and mountains repeated their captivation of all the guests in usual October fashion. The attendance was less than usual on account of the international religious councils and conferences meeting about the same time, but the interest suffered little on this account. The Indian schools and agencies were well represented and the active friends of the Indians were present in good numbers. The Conference was presided over by Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who is now the general secretary of the Indian Commission. Others present were Commissioner of Indian Affairs Jones, Ex-Senator Dawes, Mr. Herbert Welsh, secretary of the Indian Rights Association, Darwin R. James, Miss Sibyl Carter, etc. Miss Carter's story of the "Smiley Pottery" enterprise, which seeks to do for Indian men what the lace manufacturing is doing for the women, created so much interest that \$2,000 was subscribed on the spot for carrying it on. Commissioner Jones' report showed that, though there are weak spots in some of the agencies, the nation's care of the Indians was never more satisfactory than at the present time. After having done so much in the earlier years of its existence to make successful the "peace policy" of treating the Indians, the Conference in later years has devoted itself

to such methods of dealing with them on the part of the government as will most speedily break up the reservations, the tribal systems, and turn the Indians into full citizens. So much success is attending these efforts, and the Indians are prospering so well under the new methods, that Dr. Gates in his opening address characterized the whole Indian question as a "vanishing problem."

Under the title of "Our Red Brothers,"  
**Peace Policy** John C. Winston & Co. of Philadelphia  
**of Grant.**

have published an interesting volume of 366 pages, by Lawrie Tatum of Springdale, Ia., treating of the peace policy of President Grant in dealing with the Indians. The book also gives many interesting and instructive events in the life of the author while he was in the Indian country, among the Kiowas, Comanches and Wichitas. Lawrie Tatum was one of the original nine Indian agents from among the Friends appointed by the government in 1869, when the then new peace policy, which had been recommended by the Friends, was adopted and put into practice. He was one of the most successful of the agents in dealing with the red men during the ten years while the Friends were in official connection with the Indian department of the government. The work done by the Friends in these ten years put the treatment of the Indians on an entirely new plane, and the policy inaugurated by them, though not always faithfully adhered to, has never been abandoned, and the results in the civilization of the Indians have been very marked. Indian wars have been but little known since. Those interested in the study of Indian history, not only during this transition period, but since, will find Lawrie Tatum's book a most valuable aid. The book is illustrated with a portrait of the author and with fifteen other illustrations.

One of the important international  
**International Com-** events of the past month was the Inter-  
**mercial Congress.** national Commercial Congress at Philadelphia. Four hundred delegates were present from different countries, twenty of them officially representing as many nations, and the rest representing commercial bodies. The audiences were large, being estimated at nearly four thousand. There was much expression of international goodwill in the opening addresses by delegates from various countries. Ex-Speaker Reed presided the second day and gave strong expression to the oneness of humanity and the community of human interests. The same thought was emphasized by the Chinese ambassador at Washington, Wu Ting Fang. Strong addresses on commercial relations were made, prominent among which were those of ex-Governor

Stone and Mr. Sternburgh of Pennsylvania. These and other addresses showed the drift of public sentiment toward greater freedom of international trade and closer commercial relations between different countries. Next to religion, commerce, if it is carried on in a clean and fraternal way, is the great civilizer. Such congresses as that at Philadelphia are among the most encouraging signs of the realization of the brotherhood of the world.

Mrs. Ruth H. Spray, the efficient and earnest  
**Work in** superintendent of the peace department of the  
**Colorado.**

Colorado W. C. T. U., has succeeded in creating much interest in the cause of peace in her state. Her annual report, read at the State Convention of the W. C. T. U. on September 22, was published in full in the October number of the *W. C. T. U. Messenger*, Highlands, Colorado. The report shows that much good work was done by the local superintendents in different parts of the state, in the way of securing the preparation of peace sermons, Bible readings, essays in schools, children's Sunday school programs, mothers' meetings, articles in the newspapers, etc. Mrs. Spray distributed, or had distributed, many thousand pages of peace literature. Petitions were circulated by her asking the President to take measures to stop the war in the Philippines. These petitions were, though not largely, yet influentially signed. Many of those who refused to sign afterwards expressed regret that they had not done so. Speaking of this effort Mrs. Spray says: "Wherever that anti-war petition found lodgment, whether favorable or unfavorable, it proved a great agitator. And that is after all the thing most needed in our department of peace and arbitration. So many people have never thought on these lines. What we peace advocates wish more than all else is that you investigate this subject for yourselves." Speaking of the unpopularity of the department she says: "My department unpopular? I cannot doubt it. And yet why should it be? Do you know, my dear sisters, that the great world's conference held at The Hague last summer is the only conference to which all the great powers ever sent delegates? And the object of that world's conference was wholly, yes exclusively, in the interests of the subject of my department — no, not my department, but our department, which is as world-wide as our Woman's Christian Temperance Union." She further says: "It is not any particular war alone, but all war, that the W. C. T. U. is fighting in its peaceful way." Alluding to the vast amounts of beer and whiskey which this country is now shipping to the Philippines, Mrs. Spray declares (and every sane woman and man in the nation will agree with the utterance) that "We cannot give sanction to methods of civilization which would

shoot down one-half the inhabitants of those benighted islands, while we make the other half too drunk to bury their comrades."

We have received from Senator Descamps' camps of Belgium, chairman of the Arbitration Drafting Committee of the

Hague Conference, a copy of the report of his committee made to the Conference. It is a beautifully printed, large folio pamphlet of one hundred pages. It contains the "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," with the exposition of the different articles made by Senator Descamps in his report. This exposition, as the president of the Conference said when he heard it, is a most valuable commentary on the most important document ever drafted by an international conference. It explains the meaning, purpose and scope of the articles as they were developed during the days and weeks of discussion in committee. The pamphlet contains also the proposals submitted to the Conference by Russia, the rules of procedure of the Anglo-Venezuelan tribunal submitted by Mr. de Martens, the British proposals, the American proposals, and the amendment to the Russian proposals submitted by Count Nigra of the Italian delegation. It includes also an important document on mediation and arbitration drawn up by Mr. Descamps at the request of the Arbitration Commission of the Conference. This document contains the principles of international law governing mediation and arbitration in a general way, and also a list of the special commercial and other treaties into which an arbitral clause has been introduced.

### Brevities.

. . . The Doubleday & McClure Co. of New York have published a translation of the sixth and last volume of J. S. Bloch's great work on "The Future of War in its Technical, Economical and Political Relations." It has a preface by W. T. Stead. Price, \$2.00.

. . . The estimates for the navy for the next fiscal year, which will be submitted to Congress this winter, amount to over \$73,000,000, or nearly fifty per cent. greater than the expenses for the present year.

. . . Senator Hoar, on his recent return from England, when asked what the opinion of Englishmen regarding the Philippine policy of the United States is, replied: "They are laughing in their sleeves about us."

. . . "Come forth out of thy royal chamber, O Prince of Peace! O Prince of all the kings of the earth, put on the visible robes of thy majesty, take up the unlimited scepter which thy Father hath bequeathed to thee! For now the church, thy bride, is calling thee, and all the turbulent, warring nations of the world sigh for peace, and sigh to be redeemed."—*Milton*.

. . . The Filipinos have a horror of intoxicating beverages, and have not allowed the sale of them in their

towns. Since its occupancy by the United States forces, Manila has become a rum-hole with more than four hundred saloons. "Is this the civilization you bring?" asked a cultured native of an American. But the war "civilizers" swallow all this side-iniquity without a blush.

. . . The secretary of the American Peace Society, Benjamin F. Trueblood, was reelected a member of the Board of Directors of the International Peace Bureau at the annual meeting held at Berne on the twenty-second of September.

. . . The Dutch Union for Peace and the Freedom of International Commerce, which has seven hundred members in Holland, has just elected Henri Dunant, founder of the work of the Red Cross, its honorary president.

. . . The French artillery of to-day is held by competent authorities to be at least one hundred and sixteen times as deadly as the batteries which went into action in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.

. . . Negotiations are again in progress for the settlement of the Samoan trouble. This time there is talk of dividing the islands between the United States, Germany and Great Britain, as the only solution of the problem.

. . . More than five thousand horses and mules have been, or are soon to be, shipped to Manila for service in the United States army. Nearly twenty thousand horses are in process of shipment to South Africa for the use of the English against the Boers.

. . . A young American sportsman recently shot a deer in the Adirondacks with a dum-dum, or soft-nosed bullet. The orifice where the bullet entered was the size of his little finger; where it came out, as big as his two fists. He says he felt like a criminal when he saw it. Every Englishman who puts that kind of a hole through a Boer will feel himself a glorious hero! Will he?

. . . Pension Commissioner Evans has made the statement that twenty thousand claims for pensions on account of the Spanish War have already been filed in his office. Forty thousand soldiers were engaged in actual service in the war. Hence, either one-half of them were killed or permanently disabled, or else the claims filed with Commissioner Evans represent an appalling amount of lying and deceit. What may we expect from the Philippine War?

. . . The *Peacemaker* (Philadelphia) for September and October contains an extended and interesting account of the Mystic Peace Convention held at the last of August. It gives the annual address of the president, Alfred H. Love, the annual report of the Universal Peace Union, and digests of the addresses of Benjamin F. Trueblood, Dr. W. Evans Darby, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. S. F. Hershey, Gamaliel Bradford and others.

. . . "Our country is the world, our countrymen all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights and liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race."—*Boston Peace Convention*, 1838.

. . . "Brute courage is a drug. Men who hold life cheap and hesitate not to face the cannon's mouth, who lead a forlorn hope to blockade an enemy's harbor, why



swim rivers under deadly fire, swarm in battalions."—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

. . . The *Morning Star*, Boston, is one of the weekly religious journals which are true to the cause of the Master's kingdom of peace, in foul weather and fair.

. . . The able address by Dr. Mackennal of Bowdon, England, delivered before the recent International Congregational Council and published in the October *Advocate of Peace*, we have put into pamphlet form and can furnish at \$1.50 per hundred prepaid.

. . . "We utter our protest against all war and bloodshed. We hail with joy the results of the World's Peace Conference as only the first step towards universal peace."—*Colorado W. U. T. U.*

. . . Count Muravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has delayed his departure from Paris on account of the situation in South Africa. France and Russia are said to be watching *with interest* the developments in that region.

. . . A new organization called the American League, of which Mr. Bolton Hall of New York is temporary secretary, has been formed for the purpose of opposing the growing military spirit in the United States. Many well-known public men are among the adherents.

. . . "The use of force in the extension of American institutions presents an inconsistency whose evil and dangerous tendency ought to be apparent to all who love these institutions and understand their motives and purposes."—*Grover Cleveland.*

. . . Boston's demonstration in honor of Admiral Dewey for two days cost the state and city governments and the people over \$1,000,000. The saloons did a much more thriving business than the hotels.

. . . The revolution in Venezuela has succeeded. President Andrade has been driven from the capital. General Castro, leader of the insurgents has entered Caracas. A new constitution will be drawn and General Castro made provisionally president.

. . . Great satisfaction has been occasioned throughout Russian Poland by the concessions made by the Russian Governor-General of Poland in allowing more instruction in the Polish language.

. . . "If you deal fairly with other people, all the people on the four seas are your friends and brothers."—*Confucius.*

. . . All the leading peace organizations of Europe have made earnest and repeated efforts to induce Great Britain and the Transvaal to settle their dispute by peaceful methods.

. . . "Christianity has nothing to gain in foreign lands if its presence is secured there by the policy of a government whose methods are essentially imperialistic. The proof of this is furnished by the incontestable fact that the success of American missions in alien lands without annexation or colonization has been more remarkable among the natives than those that have been backed by the prestige of imperialism."—*Dr. George C. Lorimer.*

. . . The expenses of the government for the first two months of the current fiscal year were \$102,969,090.33, of which \$81,902,600.52, or about four-fifths, went for army, navy and pensions.

. . . The extent to which England has become militarized is shown by the fact that twenty-five thousand reserves were brought into service and fully equipped in about six days.

. . . The British admiralty has "chartered" sixty-seven transatlantic steamers to convey troops and supplies to South Africa. In consequence, transatlantic freight from the American seaboard has gone up in cost about fifty per cent.

## The Progress of Arbitration.

BY HON. WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS.

*Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference.*

Arbitration, *arbitratio*, is a word which seems to have an equivalent, more or less exact, in every written language; and the thing indicated by it is probably known, in some form or other, to all peoples, whether savage or civilized. At any rate, it is safe to assume that the principle of optional arbitration, as applied in the settlement of personal differences, is as old as the oldest civilization; and the probabilities are that it is very much older; for, in the progress of society, a considerable length of time must have elapsed, after the ideas of property and exclusive rights of individuals had arisen in the minds of men, before any compulsory system of distributive justice was established. During that unsettled period there must have arisen many disputes involving the right of person and property; and such of these as were not appealed to arms must have been settled in one of three ways. Some of them may have been terminated by mutual agreement between the parties themselves; a larger number may have been adjusted through the intervention of friends; but the greater portion of them were doubtless referred to the decision of some indifferent person or persons in whose superior wisdom and equity both disputants confided—that is to say, to arbitration.

The practice of arbitration or reference is therefore coeval with the earliest dawn of civilization. It was the ancestor of law courts and the harbinger of our modern jury system. Of course its exact origin is unknown; for, like the old English common law of which it is a part, it reaches back through the traditions and mists of ages to a time quite beyond the memory of man.

In its more modern and complex form, as exemplified in the judicial systems of all civilized peoples, arbitration has been defined as "an adjudication by private persons, appointed to decide a matter or matters in controversy on a formal reference made to them for that purpose." There are, then, three cardinal points of difference between a modern tribunal of arbitration and a modern court of law.

First, the arbitrators are "private persons." They hold no commission from the state, and represent no sovereign power. They cannot, therefore, compel attendance nor impose pains and penalties for contempt. Their authority is revokable by the will of either party at any time before the award; and after their award is made, their functions cease by limitation. They cannot, therefore, revise their own decisions, nor can the case be re-opened except by a new agreement.

In the second place, the proceedings before a tribunal of arbitration, unlike those in a law court, are governed by rules previously agreed upon, or by the arbitrators themselves when so authorized, rather than by statutes and judicial precedents. There are no technical pleadings and no special forms. In a law court a mere technical error may indefinitely delay or even wholly defeat the ends of justice; but in a court of arbitration the litigant may state every circumstance connected with his case without apprehension of failure through ignorance of form. Again, an action at law can seldom decide more than a single issue, and one law suit often becomes the fruitful source of others; but a court of arbitration may, and generally does, decide upon all collateral issues. It may set one claim or injury against another, and pronounce such a sentence as will put an end to all disputes between the parties. It is not essential, therefore, that an arbitrator should be a member of the legal profession. It is generally desirable that he should have some knowledge of the law, but this is not essential. His only *necessary* qualification is that he be the choice of the contending parties.

Finally, the award of an arbitral tribunal, unlike the sentence of a law court, generally has no force behind it other than a sense of honor or the fear of public opinion; or, perhaps I would better say, this was once the case, for the exceptions are so numerous that they have become the rule. They occur where the reference is had at the suggestion or by order of some court of law, in which case the award has some form of legal sanction. Even by the common law an award properly made is obligatory; and in modern practice, both in England and the United States, as also in some other countries, there are now so many indirect ways of enforcing an award that, generally speaking, it may be said to have legal sanction.

Paradoxical, then, as it may seem, there is such a thing as compulsory arbitration. It crept into the English system of jurisprudence more than three centuries ago; and by a long series of statutes, beginning under the reign of William III. and extending down to the present time, the cases that may or must be referred to arbitration have been so multiplied that their bare enumeration would be too tedious to be attempted here; in fact, all cases are now referable save only such as arise out of the administration of the criminal law, or out of agreements and transactions against public policy; and even in some of these, where there is a remedy by civil action as well as by indictment, a reference of the matter in dispute, and the award made upon it, have been sustained by the courts.

The same general principle permeates our American jurisprudence. The old English common law, and the principle of arbitration as part of that law, prevailed in each of the original thirteen colonies; and it prevails still where it has not been repealed by statute; and even by statutory provision in some of them, as for instance in Pennsylvania as early as 1705, compulsory arbitration was extended to a class of cases hitherto unknown to the laws of England. By the present civil code of each of the forty-five states of our Federal Union, with possibly two or three exceptions, every matter of controversy, whether in suit or otherwise, may be referred to arbitration; and in some of them, as in Pennsylvania, arbitra-

tion is compulsory when either party elects that method of adjudication.

By the Revised Statutes of the United States all civil controversies are referable to arbitration; and in pagan and Mohammedan countries, where, by treaty stipulations, our ministers and consuls exercise judicial functions, that method of settling private disputes is often compulsory.

With such a record behind it, the marvel is, not that the principle of arbitration should have been applied to international disputes, but that this application should have been so long delayed. It would seem that, as a logical sequence, international arbitration should have come into vogue with the birth of international law itself; and yet only about one hundred and sixteen years ago, when it was first proposed as a substitute for war, the idea was ridiculed; it was thought to be impracticable. Nevertheless, from that time forth, how steadily and surely has been the trend of events in that direction! If Robert R. Livingston, of this state, were now living, he would probably be surprised at the rapidity with which his prediction, made to General Lafayette in 1783, is being fulfilled.

When two governments disagree either as to the validity or the amount of a claim by one against the other, the natural and appropriate remedy is now generally acknowledged to be arbitration by a mixed commission or by an umpire; and where there are reciprocal claims and set-offs, it is now an established rule in the practice of nations to refer the whole to an arbitral commission. Even that class of international disputes which relate to boundaries, to the interpretation of treaties, to title by prescription, and to other issues involving the most delicate and intricate questions of public law, are now referred to a joint commission of jurists.

All this has come about within the past few years. At the opening of the present century there had not been a single case of international arbitration worthy of the name. Since then there have been about one hundred and twenty, and to more than half these the United States has been a party; the Latin-American States have been parties to about twenty-seven; and Great Britain, as the leader of the movement in Europe, has been a party to about thirty-two.

The Pan-American conference of 1890 recommended that arbitration be adopted as "a principle of American public law," and made compulsory in all cases except in controversies involving national independence. Seven years later the proposition was advanced, by the two great English-speaking nations of the world, to establish a permanent international court of arbitration, to which should be referred all disputes not involving national honor and independence; and when this proposition was embodied in a public treaty between the United States and Great Britain, it failed of ratification by our Senate only because, having been hastily and unskilfully drawn, it was thought to be crude and defective in form. The principle itself was not rejected at all; it was not even seriously controverted.

Twenty-four independent nations, including the United States and the five great powers of Europe, are at this moment officially represented in a peace congress at The Hague. It was called at the instance of one of the most aggressive and warlike powers of the world; and

the subject of its deliberations is disarmament and the substitution of arbitration for war. To this end, the congress is already committed to the project of a permanent international tribunal, to which may be referred for final adjudication all differences not adjustable by ordinary diplomatic methods.

But how shall such a tribunal be established, and how shall its decisions be enforced? The "how" is recognized as the most difficult side of the problem; and many good men have considered it insolvable. I do not share that opinion. It was once thought practically impossible to establish a constitution of government that would harmoniously combine the cherished principle of local sovereignty with national solidarity; and the idea of a permanent interstate tribunal with jurisdiction in all disputes between citizens of different states, between the states themselves, and between the state and national governments, was thought to be visionary and impracticable. Some of our greatest statesmen adhered to this view as late as 1785; yet, within less than a dozen years thereafter, the thing was successfully accomplished; and although in the exercise of its constitutional functions, the great interstate tribunal has repeatedly set aside legislative enactments, state and federal, its decisions have been uniformly respected.

A permanent international tribunal of arbitration would be indeed something of a novelty. It would certainly mark a new era in the history of civilization; and yet, when we come to think about it, it would be little more than a legitimate sequence of recent experiences, and the whole trend of events during the past fifty years has been in that direction. Such a tribunal could be established by treaty between two or more leading powers. It could be given exclusive jurisdiction in all disputes between those powers; and its decisions would be quite as binding as are the most solemn treaty obligations on other subjects. If a sense of honor, public convenience, and a wholesome dread of enlightened public opinion constitute, as they do, a sufficient guarantee of good faith in the one case, they could hardly fail to be a sufficient sanction in the other. At any rate, the advanced sentiment of the civilized world is now demanding the experiment; and this fact alone is a guarantee that an honest experiment would not be made in vain.

## The Doukhobors in Canada.

### The Power of Peace.

*From the Toronto Daily Globe.*

The writer of this article has just finished a tour among the Doukhobors settled throughout the west, and it is safe to say that no class of settlers has ever come to this part of the world who could show as good a record for industry and thrift as the Doukhobors, who to-day form a colony of over seven thousand souls. The cry that the government had introduced a pauper immigration appeared at the first glance not without justification, for in truth these people have been deprived of almost the bare necessities of existence, and the unhappy result is apparent to the most casual onlooker; but the work done by these people during the last three months, accomplished in spite of great physical weakness and

fever, loudly proclaims the fact that these are no paupers who claim the right to enroll themselves as Canadians. Wherever they have been life has been sustained by the efforts of their own hands, and the liberty of spirit that made them the victims of persecution has rendered them serfs in name only, and has kept them from sharing the degradation of their class in Russia. The power that Christianity in the truest sense has of civilizing, in our acceptance of the word, is made manifest in this instance.

These people, deprived of even the few necessities of life common to the children of the soil, hunted from pillar to post, made to herd like beasts of the field, beaten, ill-treated, mothers separated from their children and wives from their husbands, are to-day the most polite, orderly people it is possible to imagine. The villages they are building testify to the powers of organization and inherent orderliness of the people. The results of self-discipline are apparent in the people as a unit, and the very core of their religious convictions is self-restraint. The absence of anything like noisiness or excitability strikes one the instant one moves about among the villages. The very children are curiously quiet and gentle in their mode of play, and they are miniatures of their elders in more than their picturesque costume. The quiet dignity noticeable comes from the best possible influence, the parents having apparently little trouble in training their children other than by example of their own quiet and industrious lives. There is something unutterably pathetic to those who live in this wrangling, noisy world of the nineteenth century, to see the women and the children of the Doukhobors quietly and silently bearing, with a great patience, the load that is laid upon their shoulders. The innate dignity of the women and their uncomplaining, untiring patience have perhaps been the reason that they have had strength given them to endure to the end trials that their magnificent physique could not alone have enabled them to withstand.

They are a great people—that is undeniable; and while they are the children of the soil, they are the aristocracy of the soil, people who, to use Ruskin's words, have found that "all true work is sacred, and in all good hand-labor there is something of divineness." Their hand-labor is marvelous, from the finest embroidery to the building and plastering of their houses. The situation that the majority found themselves placed in was one which called for decisive action, and the Doukhobor women, as all great-hearted women must, rose to the occasion, and it is to them, as it was to the great pioneer women of our country, that we are to look for the best results in the settlements of our Dominion. The men of each community were called upon to hire themselves out as farm laborers and railway navvies. The distances in the west are enormous, and it meant simply the exodus of the men from the villages, and absence that was to be counted by weeks or months. Then, too, in a village of perhaps one hundred and twenty souls, they might have a yoke of oxen or one pair of horses, and these were to plough and carry lumber for the frames of houses, and more than all, transport flour from a great distance to feed the community. The question was a grave one; winter comes quickly in these latitudes. But the question was answered by the women, who turned to and

helped the few men left in the village to build the houses, and not only trod the mortar and used their hands as trowels, but carted the logs, drawing them for miles with the aid of two simple little wooden wheels which were no bigger than those of a child's go-cart. The earth for the mortar was carried on their backs in baskets woven of willow, or in huge platters hewn out of the logs; the water being carried at times for half a mile in two buckets, hewn like the platters out of trunks of trees and hung at the end of a long sapling. A deep trench was dug and by the edge sat a score of women less strong than their Spartan sisters, chopping with a rude hatchet hay or grass, to mix with the water in the trench or pit. Bucket after bucket of water was poured in from the primitive wooden pails, while six women with skirts kilted up nearly to the waists, trod the mortar until it was as smooth as paste. Another gang of women carried it in wooden troughs to the houses, where six or eight others plastered the logs, both inside and out, with the cold clay paste. The neatness of the work was astonishing, for while in some cases logs large enough to build a log house were to be found, in others the walls had to be woven out of coarse willow branches, the upright posts alone being of sufficient strength to support the roof of sods (two layers), laid on with a neatness and precision that is seldom seen in this country, and the walls of the houses themselves were not only stuffed with clay, but presented, both inside and out, as smooth a surface as if a trowel of a first-rate plasterer had been at work. In many places these people had neither tools nor nails, and the carpentering-work of the interior of the houses is a marvel of ingenuity.

### Text of the Decision of the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal.

The undersigned, by these presents, give and publish our decision determining and judging, touching and concerning the questions that have been submitted to us by said arbitration; and, in conformity with said arbitration, we decide, declare and pronounce definitely that the line of frontier of the colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela is as follows:

Starting on the coast at Point Playa, the frontier shall follow a straight line to the confluence of the Barima and the Maruima, thence following the thalweg of the latter to the source of the Corentin (otherwise called the Cutari) River; thence it shall proceed to the confluence of the Halowa and the Amakuru; thence, following the thalweg of the Amakuru to its source in the plain of Imataka; thence, in a southwesterly direction, along the highest ridge of the Imataka Mountains to the highest point of the Imataka chain, opposite the source of the Barima and the principal chain of the Imataka Mountains; thence, in a southeast direction, to the source of the Acarabisi, following the thalweg of the Acarabisi to the Cuyuni, the northern bank of which it shall follow in a westerly direction to the confluence of the Cuyuni and the Vanamu; thence along the thalweg of the Vanamu to its westernmost source; thence in a straight line to the summit of Mount Roraima; thence to the source of the Cotinga.

From this point the frontier shall follow the thalweg of the Cotinga to its confluence with the Takutu; thence along the thalweg of the Takutu to its source; thence in a straight line to the most western point of the Akarai Mountains, the highest ridge of which it shall follow to the source of the Corentin, whence it will follow the course of the river.

It is stipulated that the frontier hereby delimited reserves and in no way prejudices questions actually existing or that may hereafter arise between Great Britain and the Republic of Brazil, or between the Republic of Brazil and Venezuela. In fixing the above delimitation the arbitrators consider and decide that, in time of peace, the rivers Amakuru and Barima shall be open to navigation by the merchant shipping of all nations, due reserve being made with regard to equitable regulations and the payment of light dues and other like imposts, on condition that the dues levied by Venezuela and British Guiana on ships traversing the parts of those rivers owned by them respectively shall be imposed in accordance with the same tariff on Venezuelan and British vessels. These tariffs are not to exceed those of all other countries. The award proceeds also upon the condition that neither Venezuela nor British Guiana shall impose any customs duty on goods carried in vessels, ships or boats passing through these rivers, such customs being levied only on goods landed upon Venezuelan territory or on the territory of Great Britain respectively.

### Temporary Alaskan Boundary.

Secretary of State Hay and the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington have agreed upon a temporary adjustment of the Alaskan boundary question. The text of the *modus vivendi* is as follows:

"It is hereby agreed between the governments of the United States and of Great Britain that the boundary line between Canada and the territory of Alaska in the region about the head of Lynn canal shall be provisionally fixed without prejudice to the claims of either party in the permanent adjustment of the international boundary, as follows:

"In the region of the Dalton trail, a line beginning at the peak west of Porcupine creek, marked on the map No. 10 of the United States commission, Dec. 31, 1895, and on sheet No. 18 of the British commission, Dec. 31, 1895, with the number 6500; thence running to the Kleenhi (or Kilaheela) river, in the direction of the peak north of that river, marked 5020 on the aforesaid United States map and 5025 on the aforesaid British map; thence following the high or right bank of the said Kleenhi river to the junction thereof with the Chilkat river, one and one-half miles, more or less, north of Klukwan, provided that persons proceeding to or from Porcupine creek shall be freely permitted to follow the trail between the said creek and the said junction of the rivers into and across the territory on the Canadian side of the temporary line wherever the trail crosses to such side, and, subject to such reasonable regulations for the protection of the revenue as the Canadian government may prescribe, to carry with them over such part or parts of the trail between the said points as may lie on the

Canadian side of the temporary line such goods and articles as they desire, without being required to pay any customs duties on such goods and articles, and from said junction to the summit of the peak east of the Chilkat river, marked on the aforesaid map No. 10 of the United States commission with the number 5410, and on the map No. 17 of the aforesaid British commission with the number 5490.

"On the Dyea and Skagway trails, the summits of the Chilkoots and White passes.

"It is understood, as formerly set forth in communications of the department of state of the United States, that the citizens who are subjects of either power found by this arrangement within the temporary jurisdiction of the other shall suffer no diminution of the rights and privileges which they now enjoy.

"The government of the United States will at once appoint an officer or officers in conjunction with the officer or officers to be named by the government of her Britannic majesty to mark the temporary line agreed upon by the erection of posts, stakes, or other appropriate temporary marks."

### New Books.

**THE YOUNG CITIZEN.** By Charles F. Dole. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. Cloth, 194 pages, with eighty-one illustrations.

This finely illustrated little book for children is full of the beautiful spirit which characterizes all Mr. Dole's writings. It is intended to teach young people "some of the things which they ought to know about our country; things that concern every boy and girl in the nation"; things that "ought to make them feel very glad of our country," that "should stir them all to do something to help make America a happier country in the twentieth century than it has ever been."

**THE FUTURE OF WAR, IN ITS TECHNICAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.** By J. S. Bloch. Translated by R. C. Long, and containing a Prefatory Conversation with the author by W. T. Stead. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. Cloth, 380 pages. Price, \$2.00.

This is the last volume of Mr. Bloch's great work in six volumes which was published in Russia in the spring of 1897, and has since been translated into French and German. The work has made a profound impression throughout Europe. It was said to have had much to do with the Czar's issue of his famous rescript. This Mr. Bloch denies, and says that his own work and the Czar's preparation for his rescript were only a coincidence. The coincidence, however, was a very remarkable one, and the Czar confessed himself powerfully affected by Mr. Bloch's reasoning. The purpose of Mr. Bloch's work, which grew out of eight years of exhaustive research with the aid of the best military experts of Europe, is to show that a war between any of the great military powers has become a physical impossibility. This he contends in all seriousness is the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the present excessively armed condition of Europe. A war between two of the

great powers would be so destructive in men, so costly in money, and so ruinous to all the industries of the nations, that both nations, victor and vanquished alike, would be bankrupt and utterly exhausted in little more than a year. This position he supports with technical details, with vast array of figures and statistics, which make one tremble to think of such a cataclysm as any great future war is likely to be. Mr. Bloch, after demonstrating, as he believes, that war — great war — has become a utopia, argues that it is utterly absurd for the nations to go on piling up armaments as they are doing. His work and his personal influence had a powerful effect in making the Hague Conference fruitful in the way of the arbitration project. It ought to be in every important library in the country. This volume, just published in translation by Doubleday & McClure, contains Mr. Bloch's conclusions and summaries, and will enable those who have not time and means to examine the whole work to grasp the scope and tremendous significance of the author's reasoning. The preface by Mr. Stead, in which he gives in a graphic way a free rendering of conversations which he has had with Mr. Bloch, serves as an excellent commentary to the argument, and will enable ordinary readers much more easily to comprehend it.

### Topics for Essays or Discussions in Schools, Colleges, Seminaries or Debating Societies.

#### I. THE COST OF WAR.

1. In money.
2. In things destroyed.
3. In the labor of men.
4. Cost of the latest invention in steel-clad ships.
5. Cost of the best siege gun; cost of a single discharge of the same.
6. Transportation of troops.
7. Clothing and food of armies.
8. Pay of officers and men.
9. Coast fortifications — object and cost of them.
10. Effect of modern inventions on the cost of war.
11. War debts of the world.

#### II. THE WASTE OF WAR.

1. In human lives. Magazine rifles, rapid-fire guns, modern shells.
2. In human health — wounds, camp diseases, exposures, hospitals, semi-starvation in European countries produced by over-taxation.
3. Waste of material wealth. Proportion of national revenues going for war purposes.
4. Waste of talent and ingenuity.
5. Effect of military life on the moral character of soldiers.

#### III. THE CRUELTY OF WAR.

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. To men.      | 4. To animals.   |
| 2. To women.    | 5. To prisoners. |
| 3. To children. | 6. To enemies.   |

#### IV. THE WICKEDNESS OF WAR.

1. The kind of character it develops in men.
2. The vices peculiar to camps and barracks.

3. Temptations which arise in an enemy's country.
4. Disregard of property — theft.
5. Disregard of life — homicide.
6. Drunkenness of soldiers.
7. Gambling by soldiers.
8. Profanity of soldiers.
9. Sabbath-breaking.
10. Licentiousness.

#### V. THE PLEAS MADE FOR WAR. HOW ANSWERED?

1. War develops some of the highest virtues: self-denial, courage, truthfulness, willingness to suffer.
2. War makes a nation manly, self-reliant and free from mean qualities.

Rome in war and peace.

France, England, Germany, America and other countries.

3. War is sometimes necessary to defend a nation, therefore it should always be prepared for war.
4. War proceeds from high motives: patriotism, religion, love of liberty, etc.
5. Christian officers and men in armies.
6. Nations have the same rights of self-defence as individuals.
7. Self-preservation a right instinct. How far one may go at its behest.

#### VI. REMEDIES FOR WAR.

- |                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Diplomacy.   | 4. Commissions of Inquiry. |
| 2. Negotiation. | 5. Compromise.             |
| 3. Mediation.   | 6. Arbitration.            |
- (a) What is arbitration?
  - (b) Who should the arbitrators be?
  - (c) How enforce their decision?
  - (d) Should courts of arbitration be temporary or permanent?
  - (e) How many international arbitrations have there been?
  - (f) Difference between local and business arbitrations and those between governments.
  - (g) Limits of arbitration.
  - (h) Should arbitration be compulsory or voluntary?
  - (i) What nations have led in seeking the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration?
  - (j) Reasons why the United States should be a peacemaker among the nations.
  - (k) The Hague Conference, its results and probable future influence.

#### VII. ABSURDITY OR REASONABLENESS OF WAR.

1. In what sense is war unreasonable?
2. What is its character as an arbiter?
3. What does it decide?
4. What kind of force is employed in war?
5. History of duelling.
6. Cause of its abandonment.
7. Belligerency the quality of the uneducated, uncultivated and barbarous.
8. Effect of progress in individual, family and national life on belligerency, assaults, mobs, homicides.

#### VIII. CHRISTIANITY AND WAR.

1. War and the ten commandments.

2. War and Christ's Advent Song of the Angels.
3. War and our Lord's character.
4. War and Christ's teachings — Sermon on the Mount.
5. War and Calvary — attitude of the Cross towards enemies.
6. The spirit of war and that of Gethsemane.
7. The Spirit of the Kingdom introduced by the Saviour and extended by the Holy Spirit.
8. The power of the magistrate. Rom. xiii. 4.
9. The two swords. Luke xxii. 38.
10. Clearing the temple. John ii. 15.
11. John the Baptist and soldiers. Luke iii. 14.
12. Military figures of speech employed by New Testament writers. 2 Tim. ii. 3.
13. Jesus came not to bring peace but a sword. Matt. x. 34.
14. War and the Old Testament.
15. The spirit of war and the Holy Spirit — antagonistic.
16. War and the reign of Christ. Rev. xi. 15.
17. Wars and rumors of wars. Meaning of Matt. xxiv. 6.
18. Punitive declarations of Christ and the Apostles and the book of Revelation; how reconciled with universal peace?
19. Progress of the revelation of God and of peace.
20. Development of conscience.
21. Times God "winked at"; blood atonement; polygamy; intemperance; slavery; duelling; war. Acts xvii. 30.
22. God's reservation of judgment as his prerogative. Matt. vii. 1, 2; Rom. xii. 19.
23. The kingdom of heaven one of peace, as seen in the nature and the triumph of it.

#### IX. CAUSES OF WAR.

1. Ambition, greed of wealth.
2. Boundaries of countries.
3. Conflict of the laws of different nations.
4. Maritime questions — high seas.
5. Commercial treaties; rum; opium; cotton; manufactures.
6. Barbarous countries, their occupancy by civilized people.
7. Colonization; commerce.
8. Christian missions.
9. National honor, pride, resentment.
10. Love of liberty.
11. Race prejudices and feuds.
12. Unscrupulous journalism.

#### X. THE WAR SPIRIT.

How stimulated and developed in mankind? How suppressed?

- |   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Novels and war.  | 5. Traditions and war.      |
| 2. Plays and war.   | 6. Music and war.           |
| 3. Poetry and war.  | 7. Uniforms and war.        |
| 4. History and war.   | 8. The grandeur of a march. |
| 9. A child's natural ferocity, how cultivated by precepts or proverbs, playthings, stories, military drills, etc. |                             |
| 10. Is the war spirit natural to man?   |                             |
| 11. If so, does that justify its development and use against enemies?   |                             |



12. Anti-military virtues, forbearance, forgiveness, self-denial, suffering to do good, mercy.

13. The military and the Christian hero.

#### XI. LAWS OF WAR.

1. The will of the commander the supreme law.
2. Raids, foraging, ambuscades, spies, confiscation, privateering.
3. Martial law: its despotism; its injustice; its necessity to war.
4. War the temporary repeal of moral and civil laws.

#### XII. MODERN CIVILIZATION AND WAR.

1. Extent of international travel.
2. Intercommunication between nations.
3. International conferences and congresses.
4. Growth and extent of commerce.
5. The credit system of the world.
6. Immense derangement produced by war.
7. International consciousness and conscience.
8. Growing spirit of general humanity, brotherhood and common interest.
9. Increasing wickedness and irrationality of war.

#### Books of Reference.

THE FUTURE OF WAR, IN ITS TECHNICAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS. By J. S. Bloch. New York: The Doubleday & McClure Co. Vol. VI. Price, \$2.00.

LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS. By the Baroness Von Suttner. For sale by the American Peace Society. Price, 60 cents.

THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS. By Charles Sumner. For sale by the American Peace Society. Price, 50 cents.

THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD. By Benjamin F. Trueblood. Contains a good bibliography of peace literature. For sale by the American Peace Society. Price, 75 cents.

WAR; AN INQUIRY INTO ITS CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, LAWFULNESS, ETC. By Jonathan Dymond. Can be procured of the American Peace Society. Price, 5 cents, to cover postage.

THE WAR SYSTEM. By Dr. Reuen Thomas. For sale by the American Peace Society. Price, 10 cents.

AN ESSAY TOWARD THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE. By William Penn. Published and for sale by the American Peace Society. Price, 5 cents.

PERPETUAL PEACE. By Immanuel Kant. Translated by B. F. Trueblood. Boston: The American Peace Society. Price, 20 cents.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATIONS. By John Bassett Moore. Washington: Published by the Government. Six volumes. Found in the large libraries.

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## Growth of European Militarism 1869-1899.

	EFFECTIVE STRENGTH OF ARMY.				COST OF ARMY AND NAVY.	
	Peace Footing.		War Footing.		In 1869.	In 1899.
	In 1869.	In 1899.	In 1869.	In 1899.		
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY...	190,000	391,675	750,000	2,769,714	£ 9,103,235	£ 18,571,958
BELGIUM.....	25,000	51,302	95,000	219,000	1,475,400	1,932,811
BULGARIA.....	—	39,780	—	302,600	—	1,030,304
DENMARK.....	20,000	42,200	45,000	60,000	726,671	947,767
FRANCE.....	404,000	615,413	1,350,000	2,500,000	23,554,119	37,024,084
GERMANY.....	380,000	585,440	1,300,000	3,350,000	11,216,709	31,562,614
GREAT BRITAIN.....	180,000	220,869	450,000	720,000	24,227,000	48,000,000
GREECE.....	11,000	25,333	35,000	82,000	143,650	933,832
HOLLAND.....	18,000	28,854	45,000	70,623	2,065,974	3,155,583
ITALY.....	120,000	279,982	570,000	2,448,308	7,070,040	13,299,917
PORTUGAL.....	25,000	44,831	70,000	163,000	1,118,779	2,195,922
ROUMANIA.....	22,000	58,192	33,000	158,000	721,913	1,778,813
RUSSIA.....	550,000	1,055,335	1,100,000	2,532,496	24,626,430	55,602,916
SERVIA.....	10,000	18,600	25,000	210,117	648,450	564,616
SPAIN.....	80,000	128,183	450,000	480,000	5,018,268	6,818,615
SWEDEN AND NORWAY...	30,000	71,034	130,000	488,994	909,400	3,279,634
SWITZERLAND.....	—	No Standing Army.	150,000	495,931	103,490	1,019,914
TURKEY.....	130,000	700,620	320,000	1,195,000	4,003,055	6,265,825
<i>Total.....</i>	2,195,000	4,357,553	6,958,000	18,245,783*	116,732,583	233,985,125

\*The reserves are not included.

### The Russian Peasants.

In his work on "The Future War," the concluding volume of which has been published recently by Doubleday & McClure, New York, Mr. Bloch thus describes the financial slavery and wretchedness of the peasants in many provinces of Russia:

"The economic conditions of our peasants in many of our provinces is heartrending. Their ignorance, their innocence, their simplicity, render them an easy prey to money-lenders, who have in many cases succeeded in establishing a veritable system of slave labor."

"But how could that be?" I asked. "The serfs were emancipated in 1861."

"Yes," said Mr. Bloch, "they were emancipated, but their emancipation without education left them an easy prey to the Kulaks, who advance money upon their labor. A peasant, for instance, has to pay his taxes, say, in winter time, and the Kulak will advance the twenty or thirty roubles which he may have to pay in return for what is called his 'summer labor.' The price of labor in Russia in summer is twice or thrice as much as it is in winter. The Kulak buys the summer labor at the winter rates, and then, having purchased in advance the summer labor of the unfortunate peasant, he collects his chattels in droves and farms them out wherever he can dispose of them. It is veritable slavery. But even this is less terrible than that which can be witnessed in some provinces where parents sell their children to speculators, who buy them up and send them to St. Petersburg and Moscow as calves are sent

to market, where they are sold out for a term of years as apprentices to those who have no scruples against securing cheap labor on those terms.

"No one who has seen anything of the squalor and wretchedness, the struggle with fever and famine, in the rural districts of Russia, especially when there has been a failure of harvest, can be other than passionate to divert for the benefit of the people some of the immense volume of wealth that is spent in preparing for this impossible war. The children of most Russian peasants come into the world almost like brute beasts, without any medical or skilled attendance at childbirth, and they are brought up hard in a way that fortunately you know little of in wealthy England. Can you imagine, for instance," said Mr. Bloch, speaking with great fervor and feeling, "the way in which infants are left inside the homes of most Russian peasants, whose mothers have to leave them to labor in the fields? The child is left alone to roll about the earthen floor of the hut, and as it will cry for hunger, poultices of chewed black bread are tied round its hands and feet, so that the little creature may have something to suck at until its mother comes back from the fields. At every stage in life you find the same deplorable lack of what more prosperous nations regard as indispensable to human existence. In some provinces we have only thirty-seven doctors per million inhabitants, and as for nurses, schoolmasters and other agents of civilization, there are whole vast tracts in which they are absolutely unknown. All this makes our population hardy, no doubt—those who survive. But the infant mortality is frightful, and the life which the survivors lead is very hard and sometimes very terrible."

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## CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

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# The ADVOCATE — OF — PEACE.

BOSTON, DECEMBER, 1899.



After madness, after massacre, Jacobinism and Jacquerie,  
Some diviner force to guide us through the days shall I not see?  
When the schemes and all the systems, kingdoms and republics fall,  
Something kindlier, higher, holier—all for each, and each for all?  
All the half-brain, full-brain races led by armistice, love and truth?  
All the millions filled, at length, with all the visions of my youth?  
All diseases quenched by science, no man halt or deaf or blind;  
Stronger ever born of weaker, larger body, lustier mind?  
Earth at last a warless world, a single race, a single tongue—  
I have seen her far away, for is not Earth as yet so young?  
Every tiger-madness muzzled, every serpent-passion killed;  
Every grim ravine a garden, every blazing desert tilled;  
Robed in universal harvest up to either pole she smiles,  
Universal ocean softly washing all her warless isles.

TENNYSON.



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## The Angels as Reformers.

If the angels of the first Christmas night should suddenly appear again, one wonders whether they might not weep instead of sing. Nineteen hundred years have gone by, and what do we see? The two professedly foremost nations in all the higher elements of Christian civilization engaged in two mean and miserable wars, largely of their own making! It had been hoped that they would close the century as shining examples of peace and goodwill, and lead the whole family of nations forever away from the curse of war. Instead, they have failed to enter into obligations of permanent peace with each other, and their present "good understanding," so far as it goes, is suspiciously near to simple support of each other in their wars.

One of these nations, having more than a hundred thousand Christian churches among its people, has so conducted itself in its efforts to "civilize" the world

that it now finds itself with an army of sixty thousand men on the other side of the globe, wading swamps, tearing through jungles, swimming rivers, in order to hunt down and shoot ill-civilized men, among whom it ought to have been sending these fifty years thousands of missionaries of the loving and helpful Christ. What wail of sorrow might not the angels chant at sight of the piling millions which we are consuming on our growing army and navy, which the Christ would have had us spend to the last penny in saving, educating and refining those whom we have driven by our blundering and inconsiderate selfishness to hate, despise and repel us!

What agonizing cries, rending the very heavens, might we not expect at sight of the awful tragedy enacting itself in South Africa! Great Britain, with her fifty thousand churches, her Christian queen, her missions compassing the Eastern half of the world,—see her, with her entire army on foot, in a cruel life and death struggle with a brave people whom her aggression and greed hounded, nagged and insulted into uncontrollable desperation! At such a gigantic failure of her Christian mission (nations are to be judged by their Christian attainments) how could the heavenly hosts refrain from tears of great sadness!

Again, how could the angels do aught but weep over the accumulated folly and madness of armed Europe, spending a thousand millions a year on the forces and implements of death, the Christian spirit of love and self-sacrifice repressed or totally banished from her political councils, her separate governments confessedly pagan in their ultimate relations one to another!

No one, not even an angel, can think long and intently over all these facts without the greatest depression.

But there is another side. Things were infinitely worse when Jesus of Nazareth was born. There was then not the faintest ray of promise of the coming of love and peace in either the social or the political relations of the world. Discord reigned everywhere. Society was hopelessly rotten. The peace that prevailed was the peace of universal repression and fear. Not a movement anywhere indicated the rejuvenation of the dying social and political order. And yet the angels sang, jubilantly sang.

But it was because of the hope which they brought with them that they sang, not because of anything which they saw in either Judaism or heathenism. There was to be something new in the world, which it had never practically known, which was to subdue and redeem it. In this they were so intensely interested that they were utterly oblivious of all the wickedness and wretchedness of which the earth was so full. Their business was with the life and power and glory of Him who had come, with the new order which He was to introduce, and this they meant to sing into the confidence and hope of men.

What would they find to-day? Some of the old forces and systems of evil remaining and grown to unprecedented proportions, but some of them overthrown and gone forever. They would no longer find a simple hope and promise bursting on the world from the invisible, but in addition multitudes of men and women in many lands living and dying for the sake of His kingdom over whose advent they sang in the hopeless days of pitiless Rome. They would find a vast transformation in the life of the world, in family, in community, in nation. So deeply interested would they be in all this,—the old hope still the same, the wonders wrought by it in the nineteen centuries gone by,—that they would have little eye for the great evils still existing. Not even the armies of the Kaiser and the Czar, or the fleet of England, would awaken their notice. With hosannas would they sing of the triumphs already won, the more glorious triumphs yet to be, of the victorious Christ who is to extend His kingdom of righteousness, love and peace over all the earth.

The angels were the true reformers. We mortals cannot do as well as they. We can, however, follow their method. Being more intimately connected with the evils of the world, we must scrutinize them closely and make our everlasting protest against them. But much more must we live in the good which is, which is to be. This must be our life, our hope, our joy. Evil abounds and will abound for a time; good abounds and will abound forever. Like the angels, like the Master, we must overcome the evil, not by feeding upon it, not by breaking our hearts over its ravages, but by rising above it, by living and singing the good and the lovely into its place, by realizing the kingdom of love and peace in ourselves, and by the power and attractiveness of an endless life "compelling" others into "a like precious faith." The towering systems of evil—of hate and lust and war—will go down, when towering systems of good lives built into holy and mighty institutions, which appeal to the imagination and captivate the heart, go up. No evil ever departs till good forces it away.

This is the method, this only. It is God's way; it must be ours. When sense of evil degenerates into weeping, despairing pessimism, reform is dead.

When sense of good fills and masters the soul, reform never languishes.

### The Dewey Demonstrations—A Symptom.

A delegate to the recent International Congregational Council, coming from Manchester, England, wrote to the Boston *Transcript* as follows, of his painful surprise at observing "how completely all classes of Americans seemed to be 'gone' on Admiral Dewey, who could hardly have been more grandly feted if he had conquered the world for America," or been "as great an emancipator of an enslaved race as President Lincoln":

"What would a shrewd, level-headed American think of a surgeon who, having performed a difficult operation and saved a valuable life, should forthwith proceed to decorate his surgical instruments with ribbons and execute a war-dance around them, amid a shower of costly fireworks? But if we profess to believe that war, at its best, is but a 'necessary evil,' is not the hysterical glorification of brute force after a successful war (especially when innocent children, alas! are encouraged to join in the shouts which imply to all thoughtless minds that patriotism and brute force are inseparable) as irrational at least as that above supposed?"

"It will, of course, be said that all nations indulge in this kind of glorification. Quite true, but I answer: (1) the thing has never been carried to such excess before in modern times; (2) that a country which more than any other on earth has proved that

'Peace hath her victories,  
Not less renowned than war,'

might be expected to set an example, at least, of moderation in such affairs; (3) that, as all history proves that liberty and militarism are sworn foes, we in England—who are beginning to hear the echoes of our jubilee shouts of 'Rule Britannia' in muttered proposals of the conscription—would suggest to this land of the free-born to beware of the errors of other nations, and especially of the French republic, which has, by first nursing and then worshipping its army, found itself at the feet of a dangerous monster."

It is against this "hysterical glorification of brute force" exhibited in the recent demonstrations that we are compelled to protest. If Dewey had had his way in the matter, there would have been no such demonstrations. However much he may have finally yielded to their seduction, he was in the beginning opposed to them. They were distasteful to his sense of reserve and modesty. He knew, too, perfectly well that his deed at Manila was, even from a military point of view, much overrated and did not deserve any extravagant public recognition. Again and

again he declared at New York that he had done nothing worthy of the extraordinary adulation poured upon him. One of Dewey's chief virtues is that he hates lying, and we have not the least doubt that he meant what he said.

We have no disposition to disparage in the least the admiral's natural excellencies. His wisdom, courage and skill in execution are, from the military point of view, probably unsurpassed. Though we regret exceedingly that his fine qualities could not have been employed in some nobler way than in sinking ships and in mangling, burning and crushing to death his fellow-men, we do not deny their existence.

In one thing, however, he seems to us entirely to have failed and to have denied himself. General Grant refused to review the British army. He wanted to see no more soldiers. There was a pathetic sadness in his memory of the horrors of battle. War was in his judgment a thing to mourn rather than to glory over. If Dewey had been of like mind and courage, he would have refused absolutely all this "hysterical glorification." Here was his supreme opportunity to show himself loyal to himself and to exhibit a courage never displayed in passing forts in the darkness and sailing over dangerous torpedoes. If he had seen and used the opportunity, he might have taught his countrymen a lesson which they sadly need at the present time. He failed, and thus has given his great influence toward strengthening in the nation the most dangerous spirit which has ever appeared among the people. That he himself was at last affected by the same spirit became clear at Boston, where he declared that nothing else had moved him like the singing, by the Handel and Haydn Society, of the martial strain, "See, the conquering hero comes!"

The chief factor in the demonstrations on the part of the public was unquestionably the disposition to glorify the triumphant deeds of brute force. Other elements of course entered in. Admiration for Dewey's personal excellencies was prominent among them. Much must be allowed for the mere contagion of excitement and of crowds. Many of those who frantically shouted for Dewey would have done the same for any other man for whom the crowds were yelling. Mercenariness was not wanting. Patriotism, as ordinarily understood, was the chief motive with many. They saw in Dewey's deed at Manila what seemed to them the highest honor and glory of the country among the nations of the earth. But what is this sort of patriotism, after all, but the glorification of brute force?

The animus of the Dewey demonstrations becomes clear when it is remembered that it is only in praise of warlike exploits that such adulation occurs. No service, however noble, rendered to the country in any other way would have called out such vast throngs. Grand arches, fine houses, five thousand

dollar loving-cups and thousand dollar watches are not given to men all at one time for any class of civic services. Furthermore, glorification of a deed of war was never before carried to such excess in modern times, if ever. The demonstration in New York is said by witnesses of both to have outdone that of the Queen's jubilee in London.

That all this clearly evinces a perilous condition of the republic hardly needs statement. It would have been an ominous thing anywhere; it was doubly so here. It is unlike anything of the kind which we have ever had before in the history of the nation. But it is only the fullest expression of what has been steadily growing in recent years and manifesting itself in various ways, in the passion to volunteer and rush away to fight, in the senseless laudation of such feats as those of Roosevelt, Hobson and Funston, in the ceaseless clamor for a larger army and a bigger navy, in the reckless appropriation of money for war purposes, in the vaunting wish to "have a hand" in the selfish and unmerciful struggles of the great military powers, in the determination to expand at the expense of no matter whose rights.

It is time that people were everywhere astir to counteract the movements of this strange "fascination of blood." There is still opportunity, but at the terrific speed at which the country is going, the opportunity will soon have passed. Love of country, if nothing more, ought to inspire every heart and open every mouth to cry out against this down grade movement, the end of which is clearly written in the book of the chronicles of every nation which gave itself to ambition and greed, to violence and blood.

Dewey won a victory at Manila in which not one American life was lost, but it will prove to have been a dear victory, if in its results America herself shall have been lost.

### Editorial Notes.

In an able article in the November *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Mr. Frederick W. Holls, Secretary of the American Commission at the Hague Conference, speaks thus of the Court of Arbitration provided for by the Conference:

"An international court of arbitration must necessarily represent the idea of international justice, whether it be in session continuously or only rarely, and whether the questions coming before it be of great or small immediate importance. The organization of this court is necessarily quite informal. It consists really of a clerk's office and a list of available judges, not more than four to be appointed from any one country, and with permission to any country to appoint a citizen of another or to unite with one or more in an appointment. The objection was raised at The Hague that such an institution was hardly entitled to be called a court, but it was pointed out that the organization of the Supreme Court of the State of New York and all the principal *nisi prius* courts

in other states is quite similar. The Supreme Court of the State of New York consists of seventy-six members, elected by various constituencies and never meeting or acting as a body. They are assigned to duty as occasion arises, but still they constitute one court. In the international court of arbitration each litigant in a particular case is to select two judges from the list, and the four thus chosen are to elect the fifth. When the court has been thus constituted the litigating parties are to sign what is called the compromise, but what is in reality the treaty of arbitration for the particular case, requiring on the part of the United States ratification in every instance. In this compromise the exact questions to be determined are to be stated and it is to contain an undertaking by the parties to abide in good faith by the decision. When this compromise has been signed by both parties and filed in the office of the clerk at The Hague, the machinery of the court will be put in motion, the judges will be summoned, and the proper rooms and staff of officers will be placed at their disposal at The Hague unless a different seat for the tribunal has been agreed upon."

**Peace Sunday.** The seventeenth of December, the third Sunday in the month, will again be observed this year as Peace Sunday. Peace Sunday has now been in existence since 1890, and each year the observance of it has grown more extended, particularly in Great Britain. It has taken hold to some extent in the continental European churches, but not largely. It is to be hoped that a larger number of American churches and Sunday Schools will give attention to the subject this year than ever before. The subject of peace, under the growth and development of the Kingdom of God, is a great and inspiring theme at any time. It is the theme of all others to be dealt with in the present conditions of the world. Notwithstanding the continued development of militarism and the gloom and uncertainty brought on by the distressing wars which are marking the century's close, the cause of peace has made prodigious advancement, as the great conference held this year at The Hague abundantly bears witness. The ministers of the gospel and the churches of entire Christendom ought to rally to the support of the cause as they have never yet done, and their efforts will be much more effective if they are united and simultaneous.

**Philippine Commission.** The Commission sent out by the President to investigate the situation in the Philippine Islands made its preliminary report on November 3. The early part of the report, so far as the published summaries of it indicate, is a special plea for the United States, and studiously avoids the real causes which led the Filipinos to distrust and desire to fight the United States. It holds that the war was unavoidable by us, which is, alas! only too true, after the course we had taken at Paris. "There is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insur-

gents are reduced to submission." This is also true, so long as we do not wish any other course open. The Commission says that the insurrection is not a national movement, but is mostly confined to Luzon and Panay. The insurgent forces are declared to be steadily disintegrating. That we have heard constantly for ten months. Aguinaldo, they say, is not struggling for the liberty of the Filipino people, but for the continuance of his own arbitrary and despotic power; but they do not tell us how it happens that he and his little band have managed to keep practically the whole eight millions of inhabitants attached to them. The Commission rates the general intellectual capacities of the Filipinos high, but declares that there is no intelligent public opinion on which self-government may rest. The Filipinos have had no training in self-government. They must, therefore, be forced to accept United States sovereignty and be governed as vassals until, after coöperation with the governing power for nobody knows how long, they shall become fitted for self-government and independence — and then? "Further deponent saith not," but what he would have said is perfectly evident. We confess that this preliminary report, in all that pertains to the real question at issue, reads as if it had been made up here at home, from rumors and newspaper reports and presidential advice. It is certainly an administration document throughout.

A friend writes us from England that it is **The Wars.** heartbreaking to follow the war in South Africa, which, in addition to the burden which it lays upon true English consciences, is proving thus far so disastrous in English as well as Boer lives. He writes that it is considered treason to hold an independent opinion, though there is so much to lead one to such an opinion. That is one of the gravest evils of war, that it destroys liberty of conscience and liberty of speech to such a large extent. There has been little news from the seat of war in South Africa, so strictly has the cable been censored. Mafeking and Kimberly are still closely invested by the Boers, and there have been rumors of severe fighting around the towns. The investment of Ladysmith continues, and the Boers are making strenuous efforts to capture the place before British relief can arrive. The British troops are rapidly arriving at Cape Town and Durban, and are being pushed with all speed to the front. The Boers have ambushed another armored train and killed or captured more than one hundred British soldiers. Severe fighting on a much larger scale may be expected at an early day. The Boers show no signs of drawing back before the large British forces arriving, but are pushing their commandos down the railway with a view of preventing relief from reaching Ladysmith.

In the Philippines the American forces are pushing their way farther north. There have been some small engagements with the native forces. The attempt to surround and capture Aguinaldo has failed. He is supposed to have fled over the mountains, but the American generals do not know where he is. A short and decisive campaign was expected which would end the "insurrection" in a short time, but the war seems likely to go on, in spite of the "hopefulness" of the administration. Nearly every day there are reports of lives lost, and disease is constantly doing its deadly work. The new regiments are rapidly reaching Manila and entering the campaign. At home the elections do not seem to have given any satisfactory indication as to the feeling of the country. They have been interpreted both ways, and with about equal justice. There were so many personal and local considerations entering into the campaigns in the different states that the question of imperialism had no controlling influence, unless perhaps in Ohio, where the combined vote for the Democratic and Independent candidates showed the state to be strongly opposed to the administration's policy. It now seems that the question must go over to the general election next year, both sides meanwhile showing no signs of relaxing their efforts.

**Arbitration with Russia.** Eight years ago three American sealing vessels were seized off the coast of Siberia by Russian cruisers. This seizure gave rise to a controversy which has continued ever since. An agreement has now been entered into by the Russian Foreign Office and Mr. Charlemagne Tower, United States Ambassador at St. Petersburg, by which the dispute is to be referred to arbitration. There is to be but one arbitrator, the celebrated Dutch jurist, Dr. Asser, one of the prominent members of the Hague Peace Conference. The United States' claim for damages is only \$150,000. The case is interesting as involving the question of the distance seaward to which a nation's territorial jurisdiction extends. Russia claims in this case a limit of seven miles as against the three mile limit which has hitherto prevailed. The three mile limit established at the beginning of last century was laid down because that was the range of cannon at that time. Russia seems to claim that the cannon range was the fundamental factor, and that the three mile limit was only secondary. She holds that the greatly increased range of modern cannon and the power which a nation thereby acquires of protecting her coast to a much greater distance naturally extends territorial control farther seaward. The question has been partly opened for some years, the United States at one time having asked for a seven mile limit off Cape Town, and Spain a six mile limit off the coast of Cuba. It is inevit-

able that a new decision be made on the subject, either by judgment in a special case or by treaty agreement.

**Samoa Settlement.** An agreement has been reached by the governments of Great Britain and Germany in accordance with which Great Britain surrenders all her interests in Samoa. In return for this Great Britain gets the Tonga and Savage islands, all claims to which Germany renounces, and also two large islands in the Solomon group closely adjacent to the British islands there. In the partition of Samoa between the United States and Germany, the former is to have the eastern island of Tutuila, which contains the harbor of Pago Pago, already owned by the United States, and the adjacent islets. Germany receives the two islands Upolu and Savaii. The agreement between Great Britain and Germany stipulated that the division was subject to the acceptance of the United States. The arrangement is certain to be accepted, possibly with some slight modifications, by our government, and thus will end, we shall hope for all time, an important international controversy.

**Alaskan Boundary.** A further stage has been reached in the consideration of the question of the Alaskan boundary. Following his proposal for a temporary adjustment, alluded to in our last issue, and now accepted by both countries, Sir Louis Davies, Canadian Minister of Marine, handed to Ambassador Choate in London a proposition for a permanent settlement. He proposes an arbitration similar to that by which the Venezuela boundary has been settled. Fifty years' occupancy by either side is to be considered conclusive evidence of title. Occupancy for less time than fifty years is to be treated according to the principles of equity under international law. Mr. Davies proposes to concede Skaguay and Dyea to the United States if Pyramid Harbor in turn be allowed to Canada. These concessions are to be a condition "absolutely precedent to arbitration." This proposition means that Canada would give up a large part of the territory which she has claimed in return for a seaport. But the matter of the seaport has been the core of the dispute. Great Britain claims that the seacoast meant in the treaty by which the United States acquired title to Alaska is the seaward shore of the outermost islands. The United States contention is that the coast is the mainland shore reached by tide-water. Great Britain's purpose in the whole contention and in these proposed concessions seems to be to get a port of entry free from United States control, where she could establish a commercial depot and a naval station. It is not likely that the matter can ever be settled without the arbitration of the whole question of the "coast." If the coast means what

Canada claims, then she ought not only to have Pyramid Harbor, but much more. Mr. Davies' proposition bears on its face evidence of the grave doubt of the Canadian government whether any arbitration board would decide in their favor. He seeks by concession what he is practically sure he would never get from arbitration.

No Faith  
in Fatalism.

No nobler words of political morality and wisdom were ever uttered than those spoken by Senator Hoar before the recent Unitarian National Conference at Washington:

"I have no faith in fatalism, in destiny, in blind force. I believe in God, the living God. I believe in the American people, a free and brave people, who do not bow the neck or bend the knee to any other, and who desire no other to bow the neck or bend the knee to them. I believe that the God who created this world has ordained that his children may work out their own salvation, and that his nations may work out their own salvation by obedience to his laws, without any dictation or coercion from any other. I believe that liberty, good government, free institutions, cannot be given by any one people to any other, but must be wrought out for each by itself, slowly, painfully, in the process of years or centuries, as the oak adds ring to ring. I believe that a republic is greater than an empire. I believe that the moral law and the golden rule are for nations as well as for individuals. I believe in George Washington, not in Napoleon Bonaparte; in the Whigs of the revolutionary day, not in the Tories; in Chatham, Burke and Sam Adams, not in Dr. Johnson or Lord North. I believe that the United States, when William McKinley was inaugurated, was a greater world power than Rome in the height of her glory, or even England with her 400,000,000 vassals. I believe, whatever clouds may darken the horizon, that the world is growing better; that to-day is better than yesterday, and to-morrow will be better than to-day."

Prof. Goldwin Smith has expressed in the following paragraph his profound regret at the unparalleled change which has come over the spirit of the United States:

"It is announced that during the war with the Transvaal America will take charge of British interests at the Boer capital, and Mr. Chamberlain has returned thanks for this moral indorsement of his policy. Who could have dreamed that he would live to see the United States acting as a bottle-holder to the monarchy of George III. in its fight for the suppression of a republic? Had these events happened three or four years ago, we should have witnessed the most violent demonstrations on the other side. A Boer ambassador would have been welcomed to the honors of Congress in disregard of international courtesy, as was Parnell when he was trying to dismember the United Kingdom. Honor was refused to the memory of John Bright, the staunchest and mightiest champion of the American cause in its hour of need, because he had upheld the integrity of the British Empire. But now the American republic has herself turned Imperialist, and is doing in her own empire what Great Britain is

doing in the Transvaal. Such a moral revolution has few parallels in history. Yet it is not a change so much as a revelation of a change the seeds of which had long been sown."

A War  
Exposition.

Mr. John de Bloch whose great work on "The Future of War" has attracted such unusual attention, is preparing another astonishment for the world. In his efforts to show that war between great powers has become a practical impossibility, he proposes to make at his own expense a "War Exhibit" next year in Paris. The exhibit will consist of a collection of modern implements of war and in contrast therewith those of former times. The exhibit will be made in a large building three stories high, and will be one of the most noteworthy objects of the Paris Exposition. Mr. Bloch has been in Paris for some time making the arrangements for the exhibit, which will cost him more than a million francs. He is doing it all in the interests of peace. His building will contain a lecture-hall, where the subject in which he is so deeply interested will be expounded.

The annual convention of the National W. C. T. U. held at Seattle toward the last of October was an unusually stirring one.

The convention passed strong resolutions condemning the action of President McKinley and Attorney-General Griggs in regard to the anti-canteen law, and also condemning the war in the Philippines. The latter resolution, introduced by Mrs. H. J. Bailey, superintendent of the peace department, met with strong opposition, but after long discussion was carried triumphantly. The action of the convention in criticising the administration has been strongly censured, not only by members of the Union, but by the public press. The censure has been chiefly on the ground that the Union was going outside of its legitimate work, and would therefore mar it. But it must be remembered that the W. C. T. U. has taken up many different lines of humanitarian work, and that these are now as much a legitimate part of its field of labor as temperance itself. Some of these lines, most of them in fact, were taken up because it was found impossible to promote the abolition of the drink traffic without striking at other evils by which intemperance is so powerfully supported. The women were, therefore, perfectly within their province when they took up the subject of the Philippine war and passed a resolution strongly condemning it. They were doubly so, if we take into account the awful curse which the war has proved in introducing the extensive sale of intoxicating liquors into Manila, and thus bringing about the degradation of the native peoples already following from it and sure to follow more dreadfully in the future. The course



which the women of the Union took at Seattle will not only not weaken confidence in their wisdom, as the Seattle papers declare, but will powerfully strengthen confidence in their cause among those citizens who really furnish them support and encouragement. The people, as a rule, who think that they are hurting their cause are people who have no real desire to see their temperance work a success, but would be glad to see it all fall through.

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Race and Civil War. Hon. James Bryce, M. P., in a letter to his constituents of Aberdeen, Scotland, speaks as follows on the character and probable results of the war in South Africa:

"The third point is the result to be expected from a war in South Africa. It will be a race war, and practically a civil war. Those who have lived together in the two colonies as friends and neighbors—many of them connected by family ties—will be severed into two hostile camps, and some at least (no one can tell how many) of our colonial fellow-subjects of Dutch stock will be in arms against their British fellow-subjects. When the Transvaal and the Free State have been conquered, those who have fallen fighting for the republics will be remembered as heroes by the South African Dutch. A bitter and undying resentment against the English will replace that loyalty and contentment which have been the surest foundation of British power. We shall for many years have a colony to deal with half of whose population will be hostile and disaffected. We are told that race feeling is already so bitter that it cannot be worse. A terrible mistake!—a mistake which those who recall the evil wrought by the execution of five Dutchmen at Slagter's Nek in 1815 will hardly share. That act was one of the chief causes which produced the disaffection that culminated in the great trek of 1836, and all the troubles that have followed since. The memory of bloodshed and of a war held to be unjust will fill an exceptionally tenacious race with a hatred far deeper and more lasting than the irritation which now exists—a hatred which may one day cost us our hold on South Africa. We can, of course, conquer the Transvaal and the Free State—it is merely a question of time and money; can, if we like, turn them into crown colonies, and hold them by garrisons. It is after the conquest that the real difficulties will begin.

"I returned from South Africa convinced that what would best secure both its welfare and the imperial future of Britain in the southern hemisphere was to avoid all occasion of racial strife; and I said in the book already mentioned that what was needed to bring about a reconciliation and a fusion of the races was 'tact, coolness, and patience—above all, patience.' It is in the interest of Britain and the cohesion of our colonial empire, no less than in the interests of South Africa and of peace, that I deplore the war upon which we seem to be entering, and for which no sufficient cause has yet been shown."

The American members of the special International Law Association committee of the International Law Association appointed at the recent Buffalo Conference to study in detail and report to the Conference at Rouen next year on the conventions adopted by the Hague Conference met in New York on the ninth of November. Five of the eight American members were present; namely, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, who was made chairman, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler of New York, Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey of Yale, Rev. Charles A. Stoddard, D.D., editor of the *New York Observer*, and Benjamin F. Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society. The members absent were Mr. Cephas Brainerd of New York, Pres. Henry Wade Rogers of Evanston, Ill., and Prof. Henry St. George Tucker of Lexington, Va. A resolution was passed expressing approval of the Hague arbitration and mediation convention as presenting "a practicable working scheme, well adapted to the end in view and capable of successful execution," and also one "respectfully urging the Senate of the United States to ratify said convention." Three sub-committees were appointed to study in detail the three Hague conventions and report their judgment as to any changes which it might be desirable for the signatory powers to make in them.

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Armed Men an Obstacle. In a strong address on "True Imperialism and Expansion," before the recent Massachusetts Christian Endeavor Convention, Rev. W. G. Puddefoot spoke in strong condemnation of the false imperialism of the day. He said that, "To-day we find so-called Christian Europe spending a thousand millions a year for war, and our own nation, the least guilty of bloodshedding, apparently willing to emulate their examples. 'All power is given unto me in heaven and earth,' said Jesus. 'Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations.' Now, after nineteen centuries have nearly passed, we have the spectacle of a thousand millions of helpless heathen, and five hundred millions of professed followers of the Prince of Peace armed from top to toe and ready to disobey every command of Christ at a moment's notice! Beginning at Jerusalem and following Mahomet! There is no greater obstacle to the spread of the gospel to-day than the millions of armed men who are hired to kill other men whom they never saw and could not possibly hate, except they were aroused by wicked prejudice by the rulers of this world. I know that there are more killed and wounded by peaceful pursuits and the unsanitary conditions of civilized life than war causes. But the conditions exist largely on account of war. What would the thousand millions do toward cleaning cities and used in doing good? But it is this awful cost of armies that stops the way. When shall

the missionaries be able to secure the millions and go forth to save as the sons of Mars are able to go forth and kill and slaughter?"

**Spencer's Opinion of War.** Herbert Spencer, in 1896, when the question of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was being warmly discussed, wrote the following opinion of future wars:

"But though, along with detestation of the cruelties and bloodshed and brutalization accompanying war, we must recognize these incidental benefits, bequeathed by it heretofore, we are shown that henceforth there can arise no such ultimate good to be set against its enormous evils. Powerful types of men now possess the world; great aggregates of them have been consolidated; societies have been organized, and throughout the future the conflicts of nations, entailing on a larger scale than ever before death, devastation and misery, can yield to posterity no compensating advantages. Henceforth social progress is to be achieved, not by systems of education, not by the preaching of this or that religion, not by the insistence on a humane creed daily disregarded, but by cessation from those antagonisms which keep alive the brutal element in human nature, and by persistence in a peaceful life which gives unchecked play to the sympathies. In sundry places and in various ways I have sought to show that advance to higher forms of man and society essentially depends on the decline of militancy and the growth of industrialism. This I hold to be a political truth in comparison with which all other political truths are insignificant. I need scarcely add that, such being my belief, I rejoice over the taking of any step which directly diminishes the probability of war, and indirectly opens the way to further such steps."

**Military Corruption.** In a sermon recently preached in Brooklyn, Rev. John W. Chadwick speaks thus of the rottenness, individual and political, to which militarism tends:

"But for the rest read Kipling's 'Barrack-room Bal-lads' and his stories dealing with like situations. Kipling, we hear, is England's martial laureate. 'There is no one else that sings the praise of war so well as he.' Then so much the worse for war. If Tommy Atkins is the typical British soldier, I do not know how war can be subjected to a more fearful accusation than by his character and condition. It may, however, be said that it is not war but militarism—a chronic state of military preparation—that makes Tommy Atkins what he is. And this is true enough. Things worse than Tommy Atkins come of that. See France for proof of this. The French Republic has the army at its throat,—an army given over to corruption, and, in order to maintain itself, plunging ever deeper into a slough of miserable falsehood and intrigue. Frenchmen are nothing if not brave; but where will you find a set of baser cowards than the general staff of the French army, who, even if they would, dared not do justice to poor Dreyfus, lest the whole rotten fabric of their military system should come down about their ears. History teaches nothing if it does not

teach that militarism tends to political corruption. Even in America, where as yet militarism has not been much developed, we have seen things in the green tree which in the dry would be intolerable rottenness. The bias of an elaborate military system upon our politics would be such that old men fifty years hence would talk together of the good old times of Tammany Hall and the Philadelphia and Cincinnati rings, when everybody was virtuous and happy."

**The Nobel Bequest.** The Norwegian Parliament, to which the management of the Alfred Nobel bequest was entrusted, has finally completed its plan for the distribution of the five prizes. Five "institutes" have been founded, whose business it shall be to see that the persons competing shall be properly qualified by reason of some important service rendered. The subjects named by Mr. Nobel are physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and work for international peace. The first distribution of the prizes will take place on the 10th of December, 1901, and thereafter the distribution will occur annually on the same date. The "institute" awarding the prize for peace work for the preceding year will have the power to give it to an individual or an association. The value of the prize annually will be from \$50,000 to \$80,000, or a small fortune. If the leading peace workers and peace associations can only manage their competition so as to have this magnificent prize go to one after another in succession, there will be enough in time to make them all rich. This will not be exactly peace-at-any-price, but it will certainly be peace-at-a-big-price.

**Helping the Doukhobors.** The Friends of Philadelphia continue their efforts in behalf of the recently arrived Doukhobors in Canada, who have need of much assistance in order to get well through the winter already set in. A public meeting was held in their behalf in Philadelphia on the fifth of October. After this meeting committees of the Friends were appointed in different sections of Philadelphia and vicinity to solicit aid. A circular was sent out to all the families of the Friends. Responses were generous, and soon more than six thousand dollars was received. Besides cash contributions, a carload (twenty-one tons) of blankets, yarn, medicines, clothing, soap, hardware, flour, meal and groceries was collected, and forwarded to Winnipeg on October 26. The contents of the car had been carefully assorted, and put up in 751 packages. The next day after the public meeting, a telegram was forwarded to Commissioner McCreary at Winnipeg, authorizing him to purchase and distribute a carload each of potatoes and onions. Afterwards he was authorized to purchase another carload of potatoes. Previously \$3,500 had been spent, through

Peter and Cornelius Jansen, Russian Mennonites residing in Nebraska, in purchasing cows, oxen, wagons, harness, horses, medicine and linseed oil for the Doukhobors. How like the deeds of heaven these acts seem when set in contrast to the horrible and degrading and desolating butcheries which human selfishness and ambition are committing in other parts of the world! Verily, verily, peace hath her victories a thousandfold more renowned than those of war! It is by such sufferings as those which the Doukhobors have undergone because of their peace principles, and by such deeds of loving service as these Friends have wrought because of their peace principles, that the real and lasting civilization of the world is being worked out.

*Christian Work*, discussing the effects upon Japan of her war with China, has the following very pertinent observations:

"In these days, when such terms as arbitration and peace are so much in the air, it is well to note the fact that candid Japanese are coming to realize and, further, to admit that the glorious war of their country with China has its shadowy side. On the financial side Japan is certainly worse off than before the war. All of her indemnity is already spent on increased armament, and a large loan in addition has been placed abroad in order to carry out the ambitious military plans conceived in the intoxication of victory. All this means increased taxation and crippled industries. In fact, several Japanese commercial undertakings have fallen into such embarrassment that the government has had to give them temporary assistance in order to prevent a financial crisis. The only other visible result of the war—Formosa—is almost as much of a white elephant on Japan's hands as the Philippines are on ours. As for having anything to say on the mainland, or taking any part in the partition of China, Japan sees herself as much shut out as if she had never sunk a Chinese ship or stormed a Chinese fortress."

Pres. F. L. Patton, D. D., LL. D., of Princeton University, at the inauguration of Dr. Faunce as president of Brown University, said:

"The bearing of the university upon the nation's moral ideals is very marked, very definite. I do not say that we have never done wrong as a people; I do not say that Great Britain never did anything wrong as a people,—but I do say that if these two Anglo-Saxon peoples do not habitually realize the right and are not governed by high moral motives, then there are no nations in the world that can be actuated by those motives. The time has not come, but it will come,—and that so many are praying and hoping and expecting is proof of the underlying moral power of the people,—when international difficulties will be settled by arbitration. The time has not come, but I trust that it may come, when there will be a proper realization of the relation the individual sustains toward other individuals that will keep us from unduly exalting

the individual at the expense of the great doctrine of self-sacrifice, or from exalting the doctrine of self-sacrifice at the expense of the individual."

Secretary  
in Cuba.

Because of the absence of Secretary Trueblood for a month in Cuba, the January number of *THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will likely be delayed a week or more. He goes to Cuba to make investigation in regard to a missionary and educational work which the Friends of the United States expect soon to inaugurate in the island, and also to make a personal study of the existing conditions there in their general bearing upon the question of peace and good-feeling between the inhabitants of Cuba and our own country. The readers of the *ADVOCATE* will doubtless have the opportunity hereafter of seeing in its columns some of the impressions which the secretary will bring back with him.

### Brevities.

... Up to the first of November the total losses of the United States forces in the Philippines were 2,855, and the amount of territory actually held was 117 square miles. The territory acquired was won at a cost of about 25 dead and wounded for every square mile.

... The opening article in the *Woman's Home Companion* (Springfield, Ohio), for November, entitled "When Queen Victoria saved America from War," brings to light interesting facts about an almost forgotten international episode.

... A convention was signed at Washington, on November 7, providing for the adjustment by arbitration of claims of inhabitants of Samoa for damages resulting from the naval and military operations last spring.

... The Ninth Universal Peace Congress will be held at Paris in 1900 on the Exposition grounds. The Committee of the Exposition have granted the use of the Congress building from the first to the fifth of October.

... The delegates to the Hague Conference from Germany, Austria and Italy, who declined to sign the conventions until they had further consulted their governments, have been authorized to sign them. This carries the number of signatory powers up to eighteen, leaving but six independent states which have not yet signed.

... A recent despatch states that the governments of the Argentine Republic and Paraguay have signed a general arbitration treaty. If this is true, Argentina is now a party to two such treaties.

... The Women's International Disarmament League of Paris has issued another appeal to the women of all countries, giving a review of the work hitherto accomplished by the League, and asking for the coöperation of women everywhere in the disarmament propaganda.

... Mr. John de Bloch, while in Berlin recently, expressed the opinion that the Transvaal war might likely have been avoided if the permanent court of arbitration had already been in operation.

. . . Before the war in South Africa broke out, William T. Stead began the publication of a sheet entitled *War against War in South Africa*. He was strongly opposed to the course of the Colonial Secretary, which brought on the war.

. . . Late reports indicate that Japan is gaining a strong hold in Korea; that Japanese troops are being smuggled in as coolies, and that in consequence there is considerable tension between Japan and Russia.

. . . The Cuban school teachers have drawn up a protest against the appointment of Professor Frye of Boston as superintendent of schools for Cuba. They desire a Cuban as superintendent instead of a foreigner.

. . . Sir Julian, now Lord, Pauncefoot returned to his post at Washington on November 8. He has been very much touched by the many kind notices in the American press on the subject of his elevation to the peerage because of his eminent services at the Hague Conference, and has made cordial public acknowledgment.

. . . Secretary Hay has asked the powers who have "spheres of influence" in China to give assurances to this government that the "open door" will be maintained. It is understood that Great Britain and Japan are both favorable, and he expects written assurances in reply to his request from all the powers interested.

. . . The Czar of Russia has visited the Emperor of Germany at Potsdam. The reception of the Czar was very enthusiastic. The two emperors walked together for half an hour in the Sans Souci park. Emperor William gave Count Muravieff, Russian Foreign Minister, an audience of half an hour. The significance of this meeting of Czar and Kaiser has been much guessed at.

. . . Read Senator Hoar's great paper on the Philippine question in the *Independent* for November 9.

. . . Everybody who is trying to comprehend the significance of the Hague Peace Conference ought to read carefully the two able papers on the subject in the November *North American Review*, the one by Professor de Martens, the other by President Seth Low, both of whom were prominent in the Conference.

. . . The Government of Guatemala has accepted the proposition of the United States to adjust by arbitration the claim of Mr. May, of Tennessee, aggregating about \$125,000, for damages through the action of the Guatemalan government in wrongfully depriving him, as he alleges, of a railroad concession.

. . . Fifty-four thousand names, among which were those of many prominent people, were secured in England in a fortnight to a memorial against war in South Africa, a memorial which in substance pronounced the war a blunder and a crime of the first magnitude.

. . . Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? War is an instrument entirely inefficient toward redressing wrong. — *Thomas Jefferson*.

## War Disenchanted.

REVISED AND ENLARGED BY E. P. MARVIN.

War is the business of barbarians. — *Napoleon Bonaparte*.

I hate war. — *U. S. Grant*.

War is hell. — *W. T. Sherman*.

A gallant form is passing by,  
The plume bends o'er his lordly brow;  
A thousand tongues have raised on high  
His song of triumph now.  
Young knees are bending round his way,  
And age makes bare his locks of gray.

Fair forms have lent their gladdest smiles,  
White hands have waved the conqueror on,  
And flowers have decked his path the while,  
By gentle fingers strewn.  
Soft tones have cheered him, and the brow  
Of beauty beams uncovered now.

The bard hath waked the song for him,  
And poured his wildest numbers forth;  
The winecup, sparkling to the brim,  
Adds frenzy to the mirth;  
And every tongue and every eye  
Does homage to the passer by.

The cannon thunder strikes the ear,  
And martial strains their witchery lend;  
'Neath battle flag "The Men of Peace"  
Their benediction lend  
To Pagod things of saber sway,  
With fronts of brass and feet of clay.

The gallant steed treads proudly on;  
His foot falls firmly now as when  
In strife that iron heel went down  
Upon the hearts of men;  
Unmindful all, mid shouts and cheers,  
Of manhood's blood and woman's tears.

The warrior's stormy voice is heard  
To lead the charge with wrathful mien;  
And brothers join in carnage dread,  
Till darkness shrouds the scene,  
'Mid oaths and groans and cries to God,  
And garments rolled in vital blood.

Dream they of these — the glad and gay,  
That bend around the conqueror's path,  
The horrors of the conflict day,  
The gloomy field of death,  
The ghastly slain, the severed head,  
The mourners weeping o'er the dead?

Dark thoughts and fearful! yet they bring  
No terrors to the triumph hour,  
Nor stay the reckless worshipping  
Of blended crime and power:  
The fair of form, the mild of mood  
Do honor to the man of blood.

Men — Christians, pause! the air ye breathe  
Is poisoned by your idol now;  
And will ye turn to him and wreathe  
Your chaplets round his brow?  
Nay, call his darkest deeds sublime,  
And smile assent to giant crime?

Great King of Peace, whom we adore,  
Look down with pity from above!  
Oh, lift the awful curse of war,  
And reign in peace and love!  
Oh, come, Lord Jesus, quickly come,  
Erect thy Kingdom and thy Throne!

## A Young Man's Vision.

BY CHARLES W. STUBBS, D.D., DEAN OF ELY.

*Preached at The Hague, Sunday, May 21, 1899.*

"And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions."—JOEL 2: 28.

These words of the Prophet Joel had their fullest accomplishment, as you all know, in that new Revelation of God to the world, symbolized in the rushing wind and the fiery tongues of Pentecost, which we to-day are commemorating on this Whitsunday, on this great church festival of the Holy Ghost. But the prophetic words have also had a special fulfilment—have been fulfilled from epoch to epoch in the history of the church of God.

In the ancient church they found an immediate realization. For almost within the generation in which Joel lived, we see the simultaneous rise of prophets of all degrees of cultivation, and from every station in life. Amos, the sheep-master of Tekoa, the gatherer of figs, the prophet of simple style and rustic imagery; Zechariah, the cultured priest and gentle, courtly seer; Micah, the wild village anchorite, pouring out his terrible warnings on the drunkenness, the folly, the oppression of his country, and yet telling also of a reign of universal peace when men shall "beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks"; and, greatest of all, Isaiah, the statesman-prophet of Israel, of great and faithful vision, "very bold," as St. Paul says of him, in extending and enlarging the boundaries of the church, looking beyond the dark and stormy present to the onward destiny of the human race, when God "shall be found of them that seek him not, and made manifest unto them that ask not of him." These are but a few. There are many prophets of that period whose very names are lost. Some, no doubt, were wild enthusiasts only, whose ravings did perhaps as much harm as good. Some were hypocrites, who "affected the black prophetic dress without any portion of the prophetic spirit." But all were characteristic of one of those great revivals of religion, one of those spiritual flood-tides in the history of humanity, which have, alas! their baser as well as their nobler aspect.

But Joel did more than utter a special prediction for his own time. He declared one of those great principles which, as I have said, are fulfilled over and over again, and play so large a part in human history. The principle is this: that ever and anon, in a nation's or a church's history, after some great national calamity, after some long-continued ecclesiastical torpor, there comes a sudden and mighty out-flood of the Spirit, stirring a nation or a people to its depths, vivifying an almost dead church, rousing dull spirits into energetic life, exalting common men and women above their ordinary selves. On every side at such periods in the world's history there arise prophets and heroes, warriors and preachers, holy and devoted souls.

Five centuries after Joel, when Israel was a conquered and tributary people, its kings no more, its national and church life crushed down, there came such a flood-tide of the Holy Spirit of God, which is the spirit of holy valor, and patriotism, and national righteousness. You

may read the whole grand story in the Book of Macca-bees. It was a time when the tameness and commonness went out of life for all men. New hopes and aims, new daring and strength seemed to pass into every heart. Men and women, in their daily task, lived not only for that, but for their country and their God. Old men dreamed dreams, and young men saw visions, and upon the servants and the handmaids was poured out the new spirit of faithfulness and truth.

Two centuries later the principle was at work again on a vaster scale. The old world was waiting for a new birth. Old religions, old philosophies, old political systems, all seemed to have reached a stage of decrepitude. The power of imperial Rome, the traditional wisdom of Greece, the narrow national cult of the Hebrew—all seemed to be worn out. The last element of good seemed to have gone, for hope was dead. The world seemed to have reached

"That last dread mood  
Of envious sloth and proud decrepitude;  
No faith, no ark, no king, no priest, no God,  
While round the freezing founts of life in snarling ring  
Crouched on the bare worn sod,  
Babbling about the unreturning spring,  
And whining for dead gods that cannot save,  
The toothless systems shiver to their grave."

But when the hour was darkest there came the new birth, the founding of the Christian Church, the preaching of the apostles, the fervor of the martyrs, the wonders of the first Christian age. St. Peter saw the fulfilment of the Prophet Joel's words in their fullest sense on the first Whitsunday. The chill and gloom of the crucifixion day had passed. The little church of the first believers had awakened to a sense of its mighty mission, and every member of it felt the glow of inspiration in his earnest heart. And ever since that time, nearly two thousand years ago now, men have been living under what is called a new dispensation, a new order of things. Ever since that time when the last great crowning revelation of God was made to man, there has been in the world a society of men who looked out upon life in a new way. They looked out upon this matter-of-fact world of ours, and somehow they came to see that it was not only what it appeared to be from outside; they came to see that life, human life, had not only to do with outward things; that they, as men, had not only to obey certain laws of conduct and living, under penalty of punishment from the governor, or the king, or the emperor, whose subjects they were,—but they came to see that they were members also of a great invisible kingdom, ruled over by a Lord whose throne was not upon earth, governed by laws whose sanction rested not in outward things, in penalty or punishment, but lay in a divine compulsion which they felt in their own hearts, in their own inmost spirit, in a conscience, they called it, not a mere outward authority, saying to them at every turn, "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," but an inner voice of the soul ever whispering, "I ought," and "I ought not."

And this new way of regarding life these men came to think was the most important thing in all the world. They gave up everything, they left their secular callings, their business in life, to go abroad everywhere telling people of this new, wonderful way of regarding things. They could not help it. A mysterious divine compulsion

was laid upon them. It burnt in their hearts as a divine energy; it touched their tongues with a divine fire.

If we could have asked them what it all meant, they would have said, "It is the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire,—it is that enthusiasm, that influence, that energy, which our ascended king promised he would send down upon us, his own Spirit, the Paraclete, the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth who should guide us into all truth."

And full of this divine compulsion, and because of it, they were able to touch the hearts of other men; they got them to see life as they saw it, to obey the invisible king, as they obeyed him, from love and loyalty of heart; they drew men into their brotherhood, into this society of the Holy Ghost, this spiritual kingdom, this church of the new believers, of the men who thought about life in a new way.

And now nearly two thousand years, as I said, have passed away, and to-day that little society of earnest believers in that far distant land has become a mighty corporation, having branches in all parts of the world, with a long history behind it, a record of heroes, and saints and martyrs, and doctors and teachers, the holiest and the noblest of our race, and with a long future before it of beneficence and salvation for the world.

And in that long history, over and over again as the ages went on, the words of the prophet Joel have been fulfilled. For although, alas! it is true that over and over again also the vision has faded and the prophecy has disappointed; that at times even the church itself has only seemed to be Christian to its own shame and to its Master's dishonor—"Christiana ad contumeliam Christi"; that the new heavens and the new earth have never yet fully come;—still, still, thank God, there has been progress—who can deny it?—progress by periodic movements, flood-tides of the Spirit of God, on which the ark of humanity and civilization and social order, the ark of the church has ridden nearer and nearer to the haven where it would be.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.  
And not by eastern windows only,  
When daylight comes, comes in the light,  
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!  
But westward, look, the land is bright."

For "when Christ ascended up on high, he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men"; for the individual the gift of true life, for society the gift of prophecy and vision and of dreams. "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."

The gift of prophecy: the power to recognize new truth from God and to speak it forth, to interpret it to mankind in words of fire or deeds of light.

The gift of vision: the strong, clear grasp of master ideas, the keen, living sense which a young and generous mind feels for great principles struggling perhaps for life in some mean age of scrambling and selfishness and greed; setting the heart strong and resolute to uphold the cause of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost through the coming years.

And the gift of dream: no longer the fantastic vision of minds half-dazed with new light, but the conviction of the old man's dearly bought experience, that what perhaps he may be unworthy to see or bring to pass shall yet surely come, shall yet be a common thing full of blessing for the world; and while his own hopes of seeing it depart, yet suffers not his heart to harden, but passes solemnly in spirit into another age, and sees God surely bringing life to its perfect end at last.

It would be impossible, of course, in a single sermon to characterize fully any one of those great epochal movements in the history of Christian civilization which has made modern Christendom what it is to-day. And even if I ask you to think only of one aspect of that civilization, the origin and growth of sentiments of International Morality and Law,—a subject which must be in all our minds at this time, in this place, on this historic soil,—it is impossible to do more now than place a cursory finger from point to point on that marvelously diversified chart which shows the onward progress of humanity towards higher and nobler and more Christlike conceptions of statecraft and government.

1. It has been said that when Charles the Great knelt by the high altar of St. Peter's, at Rome, and received from the hand of Pope Leo III. the crown of the Cæsars, and the shout of the people rang out through the church, "*Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatori vita et victoria*" (To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving Emperor, life and victory), modern history began. Certainly with him began a new vision of power in Europe, new in reality, new in its relations to society. For the first time since the fall of the Roman empire in the West, a great king had arisen among the new nations to rule with strength and glory, a founder of social order, a restorer of religion, a patron of education, a statesman, a legislator, an emperor, as the popular acclaim had entitled him, truly "great and peace-giving," because his aim was not only to conquer and overthrow and selfishly to enjoy, but to labor long and resolutely, and with deliberate purpose, to bring order out of chaos, government out of confusion, for the benefit of man and the good of the peoples. It is true that his romantic reign of nearly fifty years was but an episode of political order and statesmanship in a wild and tumultuous age, but the work of Charles—a genius preëminently creative—was not lost in the anarchy which followed, for he had laid the foundations upon which, for many generations, men continued to build. His policy and deeds were gradually wreathed round with a gorgeous mist of legend and romance, but at least he left behind a memory and a tradition of a settled government and of a noble and extensive scheme of polity, an ideal of imperial duty and obligation, to which his successors in a later age could look back with a devout admiration. For so wisdom is justified of all her children, and God fulfils Himself in many ways.

2. And again, in that later time of turbulence and political confusion, through all the disasters of private war and public feud which characterized the peoples of Europe from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, who shall say that the old prophecy of Joel, the newer promises of Pentecost, had no fulfilment? Into "that wilderness of the peoples" the church of Christ had gone



forth, and had proved herself "not only a herald of spiritual blessings and of glorious hopes in another life, but a tamer of cruel natures, the civilizer of the rude, the cultivator of the waste places, the educator, the guide and the protector" of the weak and oppressed. When little else could be done, was it nothing, do you think, that the church organized "the Truce of God"?

"From Thursday evening among all Christians"—so ran the words of an ordinance of the Council of Limoges in 1031—"friends or enemies, neighbors or distant, peace must reign till Monday at sunrise; and during these four days and four nights there ought to exist a complete security, so that everyone can go about his own affairs in safety from all fear of his enemies, and under protection of this truce and this peace. Let those who observe this peace be absolved by the Father all-powerful, by Jesus Christ His Son, and by the Holy Ghost. Let those who have promised truce and have voluntarily broken it be excommunicated by God." There are many sad chapters, it is true, in the history of Christendom humiliating to the disciple of Christ, but surely that chapter in the "Gesta Christi" of the Middle Ages is at least a touching one, which although it tells first of desolated towns, depopulated villages, wasted fields, plundered peasants, widows and orphans weeping under the curse of war, yet goes on to speak of that "Crusade of Peace" preached by the church for two centuries or more, made the subject of conciliar and synodical and episcopal enactment, quieting, if only for a time, the waves of strife, inspiring men with a new spirit of goodwill and concord and brotherhood, under which it might be for months, or weeks only, or days, the bloody sword was suffered to rest in its sheath, the homes of the poor to go unplundered, and the unwonted "Peace of God" to fall upon a land drenched with tears and blood.

3. It was not, however, until the fifteenth century was passed, and the various communities of Europe—each retaining characteristics of its original source, but each also taking to itself, with the assertion of individual freedom, new characteristics—had finally separated by definite national signs into free and liberal states, that the foundation was laid of the modern system of international policy. The adoption of standing armies, although they may seem to have created new dangers for our modern industrialism, it must never be forgotten, disarmed war of half its terror. But the need of some recognized code of law to regulate the intercourse of the new nations became pressing. In 1625 the groundwork of such a code was laid by Grotius, Advocate-General of the Treasury of Holland and Pensionary of Rotterdam, in his treatise "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*," a work which has been said by jurists to have contributed more than any other uninspired book to the commonwealth of nations. And indeed, in memory of the Pentecostal promise, ought we to speak of the book as uninspired?

It is true that such a code as that of Grotius could not have arisen in any country where the jurisprudence of ancient Rome had not been the fountain of all legal ideas and the groundwork of all positive codes, nor could it have been written by any man who was not a learned student of that ancient system. But Hugo Grotius was not only a student of Roman jurisprudence; he was something higher and better. He had been a great

Christian poet before he became a great Christian publicist. I venture, therefore, to say that it was because in his youth he had seen poetic visions of the ideal truths of Christianity, that in his old age he dreamt wise dreams of the true relations which should bind together the nations of Christendom, and saw clearly how necessary to the maintenance of the social state is the recognition of the sphere of spiritual as well as of temporal government. Certainly his immortal work is permeated, every line of it, in every chapter and in every section with the Christian spirit. In the first words of his preface he touches the keynote of all Christian progress through comradeship and association when he says: "The Sacred History doth not a little provoke us to mutual love by teaching that we are all of us born of the same first parents." And in the last chapter of his book he strikes once again the true chord of Christian fellowship as he recalls to the memory the parting benediction of the great Master in the memorable words with which he closes: "A safe and honored peace is not too dearly bought if it may be had by foregoing as well the offending as the charges and damages of war, especially to us Christians, to whom our great Lord and Master hath bequeathed peace as His last legacy. . . . God, who alone can do it, instil these things into the hearts of those who manage the affairs of Christendom!"

4. Once more, and lastly, for I must hurry to a conclusion, can we doubt that in our own age the Pentecostal prophecy has been and is being fulfilled? Have we no young men nowadays who see visions, no old men who dream dreams, which it will be good for the world to see realized, even in part, of that divine order in which "God shall fulfil Himself," not only "in many ways," but in the one way of perfectness—

"When shall all men's good  
Be each man's rule, and universal peace  
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,  
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,  
Through all the circle of the golden year?"

English churchmen, at any rate, cannot certainly at this time forget the example of one great English statesman whose body, just a year ago at Whitsuntide, they were burying in Westminster Abbey "with a nation's lamentation," whose splendid political achievements have left an indelible mark on English statesmanship and on English citizenship, whose voice in the plentitude of his power and strength had ever been raised, not only for what he thought the good of his own countrymen, but for the deliverance of the oppressed and downtrodden peoples in any part of Christendom, and whose example of Christian fortitude and patience at the last taught lessons to the English people concerning the reality of religion and the power of prayer in daily life more potent for the inspiration and ennoblement of national life than all the splendid achievement of the strenuous years that lay behind. And when we recall these things, we cannot forget that it was also to Mr. Gladstone that we owe the Geneva Arbitration of 1872, an event by which two great nations, at a time of great bitterness of popular feeling, and when one side felt itself deeply injured, under circumstances which in all past history would have been thought to justify a declaration of war, deliberately controlled their passion of resentment, and determined to

submit their differences to impartial arbitration, a decision which in its issue has not only largely contributed to the happy brotherly relationship of England and America to-day, but has also thus enabled the modern world to take probably the greatest step forward in history towards the application of right reason and Christian wisdom to the settlement of international disputes. Nor can we forget many another occasion in which that great Englishman seemed to be taking a prophet's stand, looking forth on the nations, reading the secret causes which make them living or dying, and then, "looking beyond the results of the moment" in the sure conviction of his long and dearly bought experience, dreamt the old man's dreams, among others — can we doubt it? — of the golden year of international peace, "satisfied" — I quote his own words — "that though to-day may not see it and to-morrow may not see it, yet the fruits of patience and perseverance will be reaped in the long future of the nation's existence, when the reckoning cannot fail."

And, my friends, if, happily synchronizing with the holy memories of Whitsuntide, the commemoration this week by English churchmen of their great statesman's death-day a year ago takes us back in thought to an old man's prophetic dream, certainly the great event of this week in this place, to be held by history — God grant it — as a perpetual memory of blessing to all civilized peoples, speaks in unmistakable tones of a young man's vision. Can there be any Christian in this place to-day, who, recalling the ancient Pentecostal prophecy and promise of which I have spoken to you, would wish to think that these last words of the young Czar's rescript are anything but an inspiration and a prayer, sincerely responsive to the leading, piously pleading for the guidance of God's Holy Spirit of wisdom, peace and love?

"This Conference shall be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge in one powerful focus the efforts of all the states which are sincerely seeking to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It would at the same time cement their agreement by a corporate consecration of the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples."

What is it that blocks the way — do we ask? — to this land of Utopia, to the present earthly realization of the young man's vision, the old man's dream? I can only answer, the mountains of difficulty, which some tell us stand in the way, are moral difficulties for the most part, faults of character and will, failure of moral courage and purpose — in a word, want of faith. And yet, if we be Christians, we cannot, we must not, lose heart. The mountains of difficulty may be there. We cannot deny it. They do block the way to the promised land. But we walk by faith, not by sight. It was a saying of the great Napoleon, looking out from France on the neighboring country of Spain: "There are no more Pyrenees!" The power of the human will, the vaulting ambition of one man was — so he thought — sufficient to remove this greatest of natural boundaries. My friends, do we forget the promise of Him who said that by faith we too should remove mountains? Mountains of difficulty, mountains of misunderstanding, mountains of prejudice, will only vanish before the courage which despises difficulty, before

the insight which sees into the heart of stone, before the love which compels confidence. Ah yes! the true Christian faith is like that fabled sword of which one reads in the Song of Roland, by which that renowned Paladin cleft a way for his army through those same Pyrenees mountains to the open land beyond. Such a breach of Roland, doubt it not, will one day be made through the mountain walls of national jealousy and national pride and national prejudice, and open out a way to the land of international peace.

May God of his great mercy send into the hearts of each member of this Peace Congress his great gift of vision! Let us pray for them; and what words could we better use than those in which for so many generations the Church of Christ has yearly sung her Advent antiphon of preparation for the Christmas message of peace on earth, goodwill to men:

*"O Sapientia! quæ ex ore Altissimi prodiisti, attingens a fine atque ad finem; fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia: veni ad docendum eos viam Prudentiæ!"*

## The Redemptive Power of Love.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

*From the "Coming Age."*

"God is love." — 1 JOHN 4:8.

"Love is the fulfilling of the law." — Paul, ROM. 13:10.

"Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,  
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace."

— Whittier.

### I.

Far back, in ages more savage, barbarous and unreasoning than the present, we find great prophet souls who caught luminous glimpses of the redemptive power of love — lofty natures who, in exalted moments, discerned that love and hate were at the zenith and nadir of human development. These were sneered at in their day. Even the great Galilean, who struck the keynote of enduring progress when he enunciated the Golden Rule, was scorned, slandered and crucified.

By the easy-going, self-loving conservatives, who with pharisaical pretensions made long prayers and posed as the upholders of law and order while they devoured widows' houses, Jesus was either dismissed with such terms of contempt as "wine-bibber," "friend of publicans and sinners," or openly assailed as seeking to overthrow law, order and religion. The primitive Christians who taught the new commandment of loving one's enemies suffered as malefactors, and no methods of torture were too brutal to be meted out to them.

Socrates, with brain teeming with ennobling ideals and elevating thoughts, found the hemlock pressed to his lips by those who claimed to be the defenders of law and religion. Epictetus, poor and maimed in body, was banished by Domitian, so great a menace was such a love-radiating, gentle and spiritually-minded person to an emperor who dwelt in an atmosphere of hate, suspicion and sensualism. It was Epictetus who observed that "nothing is nobler than high-mindedness, gentleness and philanthropy, and doing good."

The rise of man is marked by the supremacy of love over hate, of the spiritual over the animal. Domitian, who was the incarnation of hate and animalism, could

not tolerate the radiance of a soul so charged with lofty love as Epictetus. He was like the ancient Cretan who, after dwelling for thirty years in a dark cave, was one day dragged into the radiant, health-giving sunlight, when he screamed aloud that the sun's rays poisoned him.

I remember when at college a friend of mine related a little instance which occurred in his own life. He was sitting one dark day at the bedside of his dying child. Suddenly the little sufferer exclaimed, "Oh, father, we are down in the cellar; how dark and cold it is! Let us go up into the beautiful sunlight." And in a moment, without heeding the tender words which gushed from a breaking heart, it stretched out its little arms, exclaiming, "Now we are going into the light, and, oh, father, how bright and beautiful everything is!" So the human race, which for uncounted ages groped in the cellar of animal passion, under the dominion of hate, selfishness and brute force, is slowly beginning to perceive a new light, is gradually going up out of the cellar into the sunlight of love. The path is long, and humanity moves slowly.

Social development, ethical progress and spiritual supremacy are marked by centuries and ages rather than days and months. Yet, when we compare the development of humanity to-day with the high-water mark of olden times, when the doctrines of "an eye for an eye" and "might makes right" were all but universally accepted, and when the acme of ethics was considered reached by those who loved their friends and hated their enemies, we shall agree with Whittier when he sings:

"There sometimes glimpses on my sight  
Through present wrong the eternal right;  
And step by step, since time began,  
I see the steady gain of man."

Notwithstanding the ebbs in the rising tide of human life, the general trend of humanity is unmistakably toward the realization of that spirituality which alone can give unto the immortal soul peace, joy and the reserve strength which only comes to those who are enabled to draw upon the eternal reservoir of redemptive love. When a soul is so permeated with love that it goes out to every struggling life, it has reached a degree of true culture of far more moment to humanity and itself than the most elaborate intellectual training that the proudest universities can give. The arrogant multi-millionaire who assumes superiority by virtue of dollars, and who, dwelling on the animal plane, lives for selfish gratification, is far lower in the scale of true nobility than the unselfish and devoted mother, in the little log cabin on the western frontier, who patiently and lovingly strives to make her home a center of love, peace and happiness, and whose dearest aim is to bring up in the paths of truth, integrity and highmindedness the lives intrusted to her keeping.

## II.

An atmosphere of love promotes harmony and favors health in body and mind. It fills the soul with peace; it encourages every ennobling emotion; it carries with it the dignity, gentleness and refinement of true culture. There is a beautiful oriental tradition in which is described a rose that is said to bloom eternally at the gate of Paradise, and that at some moment there comes into every life a breath of its wonderful fragrance, raising by

its mystic power the thoughts, ambitions and aspirations to nobler ends, and filling the whole being with a peace and happiness never known before. Such is the influence of love, which keeps the Golden Rule as a guide and beacon through life, ever striving to elevate manhood, to sweeten some bitter life, to strengthen some faltering soul.

Emerson thus speaks of the growth of love in a single breast, narrow in nature at first, but reaching out into the world in the grand consummation of its development: "For it is to be considered that this passion of which we speak, though it begins with youth, yet it forsakes not the old, or rather suffers no one who is really its servant to grow old, but makes the aged participator of it not less than the tender maiden, though in a different and nobler way. For it is a fire that kindles its embers in the narrow nook of a private bosom, caught from the wandering spark out of another heart, glows and enlarges until it beams upon multitudes of men and women—upon the universal heart of all, and so lights up the whole world and all nations with its glorious flame."

Love is the motor of life upon the higher plain. Many men and women who are struggling from the lower to the higher fail to appreciate this fact in its full significance; hence there is friction, the warring of the selfish desires and the old-time ideals and ambitions with the higher and broader impulses from which is born unselfishness, that sweet but unostentatious flower of the spirit, so like the violet, mignonette, and lily-of-the-valley, which, obscured by their more showy companions, are content to live, blossom and breathe forth their wonderfully refined fragrance for the delight of all who come within the range of their influence. When the spirit of love rules in the brain, it becomes luminous, the harshness disappears, and breadth of thought is no less marked than the positive inspiration which emanates from the love-lit natures. Well might the ancient apostle rank love above even sturdy faith and steadfast hope.

A very beautiful illustration of the redemptive power of love over a person considered low in the scale of culture was related to me many years ago, and, as it is so typical in its character, I give it as nearly as I can recollect it. The incident occurred in France during the gloomy days of the terrible religious persecution in that then ill-starred land. A philanthropist, named Jerome Harel, who saw and felt the sufferings of the masses in their fierce struggle for life, went frequently into the streets where the poor were crowded together in misery and wretchedness, and freely dispensed money to the distressed. One day he came face to face with a young man on whose haggard countenance despair had stamped its frightful impress. Irresistibly drawn to this youth by that strange magnetic power of which the wisest know so little, yet feel so oft, he accosted him kindly, and inquired into the trouble that so visibly manifested itself in his face. Frankly the youth replied that he was suspected of being tainted with heresy, and his employer had discharged him some days since. His parents were dead; a sister, to whom he was devoted, was his only near relative; she was now dying with fever,—he had no money for medicine or food. He had tried everywhere for work, but all gates were closed to him. M. Harel heard his story; gave him means; visited the sick

sister, who died a few days later. Subsequently the youth was arrested and sent to the galleys, his only crime being that he was "suspected of heresy." At the galleys, Listolier—for such was the youth's name—coming constantly in contact with criminal natures, breathing an atmosphere of brutality and crime, became himself hardened, as have tens of thousands of other innocent victims, who have been sent to prison comparatively good men, but to emerge from confinement ruined wretches destined to curse the race. In the course of time Listolier was set at liberty; he made his way to Paris. Here the Argus eyes of the police watched him from time to time. He felt conscious of the stamp of shame he carried with him. He sought work, only to meet repeated refusals. He begged bread; he almost starved. And then came the fearful struggle in a man's nature when starvation joins with forces of evil for the conquest of spiritual promptings; the conflict in his soul was frightful, and at last he fell. Two months later he was making his livelihood by robbery. One night he broke into the mansion of a rich bachelor. He entered the bedroom where peacefully slept the master of the house; the moonbeams fell through the window across the bed, lighting the face of the sleeper. Listolier approached, knife in hand, murder in heart. Suddenly he seemed riveted to the floor; his face grew strangely white; from his hand the glittering blade fell with a crash; on his knees by the bed sank the robber, while from his lips escaped a groan such as mortals only utter when the soul writhes with remorse. M. Harel—for the sleeper was none other—awoke, and, seizing a weapon, prepared to defend himself. He soon found, however, he had no cause for fear. Listolier, in the agony of remorse, narrated the details of his career after his arrest, closing by saying, "Now, sir, kill me or call the police. I came here prepared to murder. I never saw before how hopeless a wretch a man may become." "You came here to murder," said M. Harel, slowly; "you shall remain here a saved man. I know," said the aged philanthropist, "the causes that led to your ruin, for you were not sinful when the cruel edict of intolerance sent you to the galleys. Society is as much responsible for your downfall as you yourself;" and to himself he added—"far more so." Then he continued: "Now I, a part of society, will help redeem you. Stay with me, my trusted servant. To-morrow I go to the south of France for some months; you may accompany me. When you return your associates will have lost sight of and forgotten you, and you yourself will be so changed that you will not fall into temptation. The gates of the future open before you and offer you the opportunity to be a true man."

Listolier was saved. He became invaluable to M. Harel—brave, noble, frank and trustworthy, with a great heart ever throbbing in sympathy for the poor and oppressed. Before his death M. Harel gave him a large sum, saying in so doing, "The poor will be blessed when I am gone"; and they were, for, long after M. Harel's face was seen no more, the poor blessed M. Morrel, the good, who was none other than Listolier, the convict. This story is a sublime illustration of the power of love, whose sweet influence uplifts every soul that encourages its development, and sheds on other lives the glory of

the higher life, the richest blessing from above, the splendor of a divine influence.

The scholastic education, so highly prized and so valuable in this day of fierce competition for success in life, does not supply that culture most essential to the building of happy homes on earth, and the unfolding of a broad, spiritual life, or that preparation absolutely necessary for the soul, if it is to be fitted on earth to enter the University of Eternity. In truth, too frequently the college education and the influence to which the young life is subjected in getting it tend to destroy this most vital element of true education.

All influences that promote selfishness, intolerance and a love of vice or immorality, or that take from life its deeper and richer significance and encourage a butterfly existence, are essentially demoralizing and destructive to the proper growth of one's higher nature. When we measure a life by the work it accomplishes in ameliorating the sufferings, stimulating the higher impulses, and brightening the existence of the toiling and struggling brotherhood of man,—in creating an ideal home, where the soul is cultured, where the fruits of the spirit ripen into the richest maturity, where the flowers of truth, charity and gentleness fling forth their fragrance on every hand, where day by day man advances nearer and nearer the great throbbing soul of Infinity, while his heart expands and becomes more Godlike at every step that is taken,—we say, measured by this standard (and only by this can we regard life worth living), many whose names are great, and whose fame hangs on the lips of tens of thousands, are only skeletons, soulless and lifeless, while thousands whose names the mad world little notes are entitled to a lofty position.

### III.

The development of the supremacy of love is a growth rather than something to be attained at a single bound. For there is so much inborn selfishness in the heart of man that must be uprooted, so much love of one's own enjoyments and disregard for the fate of others that must be placed in subordination, that he who wishes to give his soul here that culture that will make life on earth a blessing to the race, and life beyond a triumphal march of endless progression,—he who appreciates the boundless possibilities of the spirit, and who would, so far as opportunities permit, benefit every life that comes into contact with his own, will find before him a lesson that requires all the days allotted to him to master. He cannot hope to attain a disinterested or unselfish heart in an hour, a day, or a year; it is a growth,—the changing of the crude rock into the breathing statue. One might as well expect to master Greek or Latin in a day as suddenly to change his nature, in which there is so much that is selfish, into a life of self-sacrifice.

We cannot wait for great opportunities to present themselves; it is the little acts of life that give wealth or poverty to our higher nature, according as they are improved or disregarded. When the needs of the world come to us for a helping hand we are liable to revolve in our minds as to whether or not we are to be benefited. Self—self—always self, instead of inquiring whether the action needed or steps contemplated will help the world onward, or make the hearts and homes of the people purer and happier.

Nowhere is the cultivation of unselfishness more important than at the fireside. If the husband and wife will mutually determine to cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice in their daily life, their homes will be gardens of joy, peace and fragrance, and the children that come into such charmed circles will follow the precepts given and the examples seen in the lives of their parents, and grow up strong in the cardinal virtues.

#### IV.

Our educational systems are largely responsible for the lack of emphasis given to the Golden Rule and all it implies in society to-day. Hugo has well said, "The tendency of man to-day is to fall into his stomach." We may go a step farther, and add that another pernicious tendency of scholastic education is to exalt the intellect above the spiritual nature. It is not enough that man be fed; the mind must be instructed. It is not enough that the intellect be schooled; the higher intuitions must be quickened, the moral nature aroused, the coronal region of the brain must be stimulated, that divine illumination, that spiritual supremacy may ensue. This is true in regard to society no less than it is applicable to individuals. The powerful parasites who prey upon the hard earnings of millions, acquiring vast fortunes by means of indirection, no less than the swindler, the forger and the polished libertine, are striking illustrations of intellectual training when it is not accompanied by a moral uplift. The fatal flaw in our educational systems of the past is to be found in a narrow training, or an equally limited and often more dangerous inculcation of religious dogmas and creeds, in lieu of that broad spirit of love which, by developing the superior region of the brain, causes the Golden Rule to supplant the spirit of selfish greed, creedal dogmatism, or unilluminated intellectuality.

Slowly we are learning more and more of the redemptive power of love. The breadth, peace, strength and nobility it gives to life when this supreme lesson is learned is even now beginning to flush the eastern sky of thought with a prophecy of the splendor of a new day.

### This Unholy War.

BY GEORGE W. HOSS.

Some wars have been characterized as "holy," but if any deserve the title of "unholy" it is the one now raging between England and the Transvaal in South Africa. This unholiness lies, as I see it, with England. Look at the conditions:

1. A peace-loving and Christian Queen, who has for more than half a century reflected honor on her nation and on her sex.

2. A people in the very front rank of nations in civilization and Christian sentiment. So strong is this sentiment that the government has deemed it wise to recognize one branch of the Christian Church and provide for its support from the public revenues.

3. The English nation, through its commissioners in the Peace Conference at The Hague, was one of the most prominent and most efficient in formulating and adopting the articles providing for an International Court of Arbitration.

4. These articles pledge all nations ratifying the same (1) to efforts to secure peace among nations in general,

and (2) to specific efforts among themselves. Here are the first two articles:

"Article 1. With the object of avoiding as far as possible recourse to force in international relations, the signatory powers agree to employ all their efforts to bring about by pacific means the solution of differences which may arise between states.

"Article 2. The signatory powers decide that in the case of grave difference of opinion or conflict they will, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers."

5. In harmony with this comes a proposition from the Transvaal to England for arbitration. This is in the first article of the ultimatum from the Transvaal, and reads thus:

"That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration or by whatever mode may be agreed upon by this government and her Majesty's government."

In the face of this, all England runs mad with the war spirit. Instead of considering arbitration, in six days Parliament is voting money and men for war. This war spirit is fairly expressed by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, in Parliament, when he said: "There will be no disposition on the part of this House to place any obstacles in the way of granting supplies for the rapid and effective prosecution of the war."

The spirit of disregard of arbitration is shown: (1) in the fact that no mention, so far as the press dispatches show, was made of the Transvaal proposition; (2) in the vote on the resolution in behalf of arbitration. Mr. John Dillon moved an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, as follows:

"We humbly submit, before more bloodshed takes place, that a proposal be made in the spirit of the recent Conference at The Hague, with a view to finding in arbitration a settlement of the differences between the two governments."

After a very brief discussion, a vote was taken with 54 for the resolution and 322 against. Here were 54 out of 376 in favor of arbitration, and 322 opposed. Here is the war spirit scenting blood. Verily, we are driven to the sad conclusion that the *savage* is still dominant in man whenever the war tocsin is sounded. Christianity and Christian civilization seem to go for nothing. Mr. Dillon uttered a sentiment—namely, "In the spirit of the Conference at The Hague"—that ought to have made every member of Parliament stop and reverently consider whether the voice of twenty-six nations does not mean something. But no; it was dashed aside with a rush and flippancy, as if it were the voice of a town meeting.

Even in the face of this majority against arbitration, we are happy to be assured that there were a few elect ones who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Mr. Dillon characterized this as an "ignominious war"; another as a "damnable massacre"; and Mr. Davitt resigned his seat in the house as a means of expressing his protest against the war, and in his speech of resignation he declared that "This war would be known as the greatest crime of the century." Can any lover of peace doubt that the centuries to come will look back upon this war as the blackest spot on the once fair escutcheon of England?

In view of the above, and in view of the disproportionate strength of the two nations,—a giant attacking a pigmy,—can we do aught else than call this an unholy, an ignominious war? We do not consider the question of honor, that bugbear of nations. Christ did not consider the question of honor when they came out with sword and staves to take him, but divinely, and in the spirit of peace, said to Peter, "Put up thy sword."

Opportunities come alike to individuals and to nations. Christ's opportunity came, and he used it in behalf of peace and humanity. England's opportunity came,—the opportunity to help in the great cause of arbitration, and later in disarmament, and ultimately in the establishment of peace, perpetual and universal, among the nations of the earth,—but alas! that opportunity is gone, and the mighty has fallen, dragging the garments of white-robed Peace in the dust.

In closing, two points are to be noted: (1) That these statements concerning Parliament are taken from press dispatches. If these are erroneous, and so do injustice, I am sorry. (2) Neither England nor any other nation has, so far as I know, ratified the articles of the Hague Conference, and hence is not bound in a legal sense by these articles; but she is bound by a higher and more sacred bond, namely, responsibility for her influence—an influence that, on the side of peace, might set the nations forward half a century; on the side of war, may sweep many into the abyss of blood and cripple civilization for decades to come.

WICHITA, KAN., Oct. 26.

### Why the Alaska Boundary Commission Failed.

The best statement of the Alaska boundary question, from the American point of view, which has yet been given to the public, was that made by Hon. John W. Foster, a member of the Commission, before the National Geographical Society at Washington on November 3. Mr. Foster, reading and expounding the treaty of 1825, said that the territory in dispute had been in the undisputed possession of Russia, and afterwards of the United States, for more than seventy years, or since the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain. According to this treaty, Russia was to have a continuous strip of territory on the mainland from the extremity of Prince of Wales Island around all the arms of the sea. The strip was to be ten marine leagues wide in all its extent, unless inside that limit a chain of mountains existed which constituted a natural watershed between the two countries. Surveys have established that there exists no such defined watershed. Proof that the territory in question is none of it British is found, he said, in the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company, with the approval of the British and Russian governments, leased of the Russian-American Company in 1839 the very strip now in controversy.

Mr. Foster stated that the British government, for the first time in an official manner, set up its claim of a line near the seaward mountains and the waters of all the inlets of the sea after the meeting of the joint high commission at Quebec, in August of last year. He then referred to the publication by the Canadian government of the protocol of proceedings of that commission.

The protocol shows that, after sessions of several months, the commissioners were unable to agree. In a failure of concurrence as to the language of the treaty of 1825, one of the two methods of adjustment was proposed by the British commissioners. The first was a conventional boundary by which Canada should receive, by session or perpetual grant, Pyramid harbor, on Lynn canal, and a strip of land connecting it with Canadian territory to the northwest, and the remaining boundary line to be drawn in the main, conformable to the contention of the United States. The American commissioners, not being prepared to accept this proposition, the alternative was submitted by the British commissioners of an arbitration of the whole territory in dispute, in conformity with the terms of the Venezuelan arbitration, and, in response to an inquiry from their American colleagues whether the selection of an umpire from the American continent would be considered, the British commissioners replied that they would regard such a selection as most objectionable.

The American commissioners declined the British plan of arbitration, and stated that there was no analogy between the present controversy and the Venezuelan dispute; that in the latter case the occupation of the territory in question had, from the beginning, been followed by the constant and repeated protests and objections of Venezuela, and the controversy was one of long standing; but that in the case of the Alaskan territory there has been a peaceful and undisputed occupation and exercise of sovereignty for more than seventy years, and that no question respecting this occupation and sovereignty had been raised by the British government until the present commission had been created. They challenged their British colleagues to cite a single instance in history where a subject attended with such circumstances had been submitted to arbitration, and in declining the British proposition they proposed the plan of settlement which had been framed by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote in 1897. The treaty which these two distinguished statesmen framed so carefully marked the most advanced stage yet attained for the peaceful settlement in international questions not susceptible of adjustment by diplomatic negotiation. In that convention, drafted with a view to "consecrating by treaty the principle of international arbitration," they provided that all such questions should be submitted to arbitrators and an umpire except territorial claims. They recognized that territorial questions affected so vitally the sovereignty and honor of nations that as to them a different method was necessary, and they provided that these should be submitted to a tribunal of three judges of the highest standing in each country, and that a binding decision could only be rendered by a vote of five of the six judges. The American commissioners embodied this plan in their proposition for the settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute, with the modification that a binding decision might be rendered by four of the six judges.

This proposition was rejected by the British commissioners, and, no other plan being brought forward, the joint high commission adjourned with the understanding that the boundary question should be referred back to the two governments for further diplomatic negotiations.



## Commerce Will Suppress War.

In an address on the "Interdependence of Nations," given before the International Commercial Congress recently held at Philadelphia, Edward Atkinson spoke thus of the ethical principles controlling commerce and making it certain that international trade will ultimately suppress war:

My faith is firm in the power that makes for righteousness, and I believe the dawning century will witness the fruition of Kant's prophecy of eternal peace, when the beneficent force of commerce will suppress the hell of war.

On what grounds may it be held that the force of commerce will suppress war? We may assume that there is a power supreme which makes for righteousness and that the conduct of the work of this world must be governed by ethical principles. If there is no such power, then the reverse. What are the principles or rules of action governing the conduct of commerce? Probity, integrity, truth, a high standard of character, mutual trust and mutual service. What is the motive? Gain; not at the cost of others, but to mutual benefit. What is the service of commerce? To distribute the abundance of things necessary to human welfare; to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to house the homeless. It has been well said by Sir Henry Sumner Maine that the conception of trust on which credit rests, which gives life to commerce, is relatively modern. In the Homeric literature the cunning of Ulysses possessed as high a merit as the wisdom of Nestor or the courage of Achilles, but in the conduct of modern commerce such conditions have been developed in the relations of men to each other as to make it a truth sustained by observation that "the trust reposed in and deserved by the many creates the opportunity for the fraud of the few." At a moderate estimate of the value of the annual product of this country and the cost of its conversion from one form to another, and of its distribution through all its manifold phases, there is at least five hundred dollars' worth of trade, of bargain and sale every year, nine-tenths at least on credit, in order that each man, woman and child of our seventy-six million people may be fed, clothed and sheltered. It would not be worth a quarter of one per cent. or twenty-five cents on a hundred dollars to secure the guarantee even of the nation for the payment of these obligations substantially at the time when they become due. Neither banks nor merchants could pay a quarter per cent. for such a guarantee on all transactions. Aside from these purchases and sales of goods and wares, there are to be added the huge dealings resting on good faith, in stocks and bonds, in real estate, and for services of other kinds.

Reverse this picture. Admitting that high and noble qualities have been, are now, and will again be developed in the conduct of war; admitting that war in the defense of liberty is justifiable, sometimes necessary,—yet on what principles is the science of war now based? What motives of action govern the conduct of warfare even when directed by the men of highest repute? Is not the first precept to take advantage of the enemy at every point? In the conduct of a campaign must not the motive be to deceive the opponent, to mislead him, to learn about his movements by the use of spies? Is it

not necessary, in fact, to lie, to cheat, to ambush, to strike the enemy in the back or on the flank, to secure the gun or other instrument of carnage by which his forces may be slaughtered without power of defense on his part; often to destroy his property, to devastate his country, and by every evil method that would be thought dishonorable and fraudulent in commerce, to secure the ends that are sought in warfare? I challenge any one to deny the validity of these statements. They may be qualified, they may be palliated, they may be stated in less offensive words; but in their general terms such are the differences in precept and practice between the conduct of commerce and the conduct of war. It follows that to deny that as time goes on the hell of war will be suppressed by the service of commerce is to deny that God reigns.

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## New Books.

A HISTORY OF QUAKER GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA. By Isaac Sharpless, president of Haverford College. Philadelphia: T. S. Leach & Co. Two vols., 12 mo., cloth. Price, \$1.50 per vol.

T. S. Leach & Co. of Philadelphia have just published the second volume of President Sharpless' "History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania." The first volume was published in 1898 under the title, "A Quaker Experiment in Government." It treated the subject of what has been called William Penn's "Holy Experiment in Civil Government" in an original and critical way. President Sharpless, in addition to being a scholarly, painstaking and conscientious investigator, is peculiarly fitted for the treatment of the whole subject of the Quaker history of Pennsylvania, by having passed his life in the very region where this history was made. He has thus been able to grasp many phases of the subject which no investigator from a distance could ever do. In this second volume he has made a careful effort to give the real facts as to the position which the Friends took in the Revolutionary War, a subject which has been much commented on and much misunderstood. Dr. Sharpless does not attempt "either to defend or to condemn the position taken by the Friends of Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War; but as accurately as possible, in the light of contemporary writings found in the records of meetings, private letters and public documents, to state that position fairly." These documents, with which the volume is so enriched, throw an immense flood of true light on the subject, and ought to enable any honest historian hereafter to form a correct and fair judgment of what the Friends of that time were and of the relation of their actions to the principles by which they were guided. If the novelists who have recently attempted to throw these Quaker doings into fiction would "read, ponder and inwardly digest" these documents of President Sharpless' book, we should have no more such hideous historical caricatures as some of those found, for instance, in "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker." We commend President Sharpless' two volumes to all students of American history, for the subject which he so accurately treats is more than Quaker history. The Quakers, as Dr. Gregg says, were among the most important "makers of America."

### War's Cup of Woe.

The following item, sent out by the Associated Press last week, helps us see, though we cannot *feel*, what must be the almost daily scenes in the towns and villages of the Transvaal, where nearly all the men are under arms:

"A private message from Ladysmith to-day says that a messenger, who had just arrived from Pretoria, says, the women there are weeping and wailing on the market place. Three trains have been despatched from Klerksdorp to fetch the wounded from Mafeking. It is estimated there are seven hundred killed and wounded."

The sight of men dying or lying wounded on the field never completes the picture of a battle. Most of the bullets which pierce a human body on the field pierce a human heart in some far-off home. The paper which tells us about this market place, with its crowds of weeping, wailing women, wives and mothers, who have lost their loved ones, also tells us about the "marvelous heroism" of the soldiers. It is this marvelous heroism of soldiers in the heat of battle which has for centuries so fascinated and dazzled the eyes of men that they have failed to notice the weeping of the women in the market place, refusing to be comforted, because the fatal bullet has not only killed men, but pierced and torn hearts. War on its own battle-fields is ghastly enough, but its cup of woe is not fully realized until we hear the bitter cry from the homes and the market places. And this is the way civilized men, after nineteen centuries of Christianity, decide which nation is right on an international question!—*The American Friend*.

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### No Tonic to Literature.

The *Union Signal*, discussing a recent war editorial in the *Independent*, says:

"The excitement of war does doubtless set pugilistic pens a-going. Romance clings about the soldier who rides forth to die or kill. But the very ferment of the mind when the dogs of war slip the leash deny the possibility of that calm, pure, strong, depth of thought out of which alone true art is born. Men do not understand death truly when they are hurrying each other into the valley of the shadow. If they did, they would stay their hands. 'Man's inhumanity to man' cannot teach the sacredness of human brotherhood. The gentle strength of womanhood has a broader platform for development and putting to the proof when peace broods than when war frowns. Life is a small thing when it is an exchange for lead and steel, and the "splendor" of death on the battle-field is a sorry thing beside the triumphal passing on of lives victorious over life—and death. In times of peace all the arts take on new vigor. This cannot otherwise be. The human mind is like the chemist's vessel where crystals form. A shock to the liquid delays crystallization. In stillness only are the lovely forms perfected. In times of peace man's best nature and noblest powers grow and expand. The pulsings that answer to the cannon's boom are not creative currents—the *Independent* 'to the contrary notwithstanding.' A crop of war songs, stories and speeches may 'enrich' the magazines for awhile, but it will take prayers and tears and life itself to overcome the fever induced thereby."

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**ARTICLE I.** This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

**ART. II.** This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

**ART. III.** Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

**ART. IV.** Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

**ART. V.** The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

**ART. VI.** The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

**ART. VII.** All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

**ART. VIII.** The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

**ART. IX.** The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

**ART. X.** The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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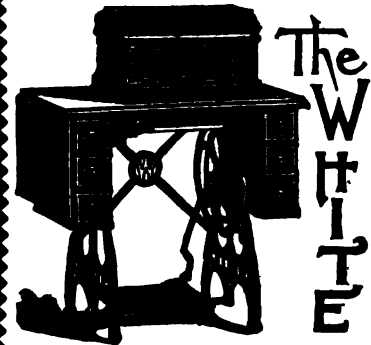
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